FINAL REPORT

ON THE

SURVEY AND SETTLEMENT OPERATIONS

REVISION

IN THE

DISTRICT OF CHAMPARAN

PART I.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT.

CHAPTER I.

MATERIAL PROGRESS

RECENT DEVELOPMENT.

A SURVEY and record-of-rights were completed for Champaran in 1898 and a Gazeteer of the district was compiled in 1907.

There has been no event of political importance to chronicle since the Mutiny of 1857. More recent events have an interest that is agrarian, economic or administrative. It may be said in general that the last twenty years have been a period of steady though not rapid progress, retarded at first by the continued depression following the famine of 1897, and later by agrarian differences in the last decade.

Population.

2. Mr. Stevenson-Moore has given a careful analysis of population in relation to agriculture based on the census figures of 1891. Since then the census has twice been taken, and it remains to trace the progress that the figures disclose Mr. O'Malley in the Census Report for 1911 writes:— "Compared with the other districts of the Tirhut Division, Champaran has but a thin population Not only is the proportion of unculturable land (17 per cent) higher than elsewhere, but a large part of culturable area still awaits development. Pasturage rather than agriculture has engaged the energies of its inhabitants until fairly recent times Partly for this reason and partly because of the prevalence of malaria, which saps their energies, the people are but indifferent cultivators, and only two-thirds of the culturable area has been brought under the plough".

The following statements compare the mean density per square mile and the percentage of increase or decrease of population in the North Bihar Districts

Mean Density per square mile

District.	1911	1901	1891	1881	1872
Saran ...	851	893	919	855	774
Champaran ...	540	507	527	[illegible]	403
Muzaffarpur ...	937	[illegible]	894	[illegible]	750
Darbhanga ...	875	870	837	786	623
Bhagalpur ...	506	[illegible]	491	[illegible]	[illegible]
Purnea ...	398	376	390	370	344

Percentage of variation. Increase (+) or Decrease (—).

District.	1901-1911.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.	1872-1881.	Net variation 1872-1911.
Saran	— 4·09	— 2·3	+ 7·5	+ 10.4	+ 10 3
Champaran	+ 6·6	— 3 7	+ 8 0	+ 19·5	+ 32·5
Muzaffarpur...	+ 3·2	+ 1·5	+ 5 0	+ 15·0	+ 26 6
Darbhanga	+ 0 3	+ 3·9	+ 6·5	+ 23·1	+ 37·1
Bhagalpur	+ 2 4	+ 2·8	+ 3·3	+ 7 8	+ 17·2
Purnea	+ 6·0	— 3·6	+ 5·2	+ 7·8	+ 15 8

Thus while Champaran shows considerable progress for the last 40 years there was a considerable setback in the period 1891-1901, a setback from which the district does not appear to have quite recovered even yet. The famine of 1897 is accepted locally as the cause of this temporary decline but convincing reasons are given in the 1901 Census Report for attributing the fall to malarial affections and epidemics of cholera and plague. The matter is not however free from doubt. The population of the district made a remarkable recovery between 1901 and 1911 in which period it shows the largest proportional increase of the North Bihar Districts, just as in 1901 it showed the greatest proportional decrease. It does not appear that there has been any very conspicuous improvement in public health in the decade 1901-1911 though the general impression is that climate has gradually improved.

Again it will be seen in dealing with statistics that there has been a decrease in the cultivated area since the last settlement. It is difficult to attribute this to climate or public health, as the decrease has been most marked in thanas Motihari, Kesaria and Gobindganj which are not particularly conspicuous for bad climate or epidemics. The population of thanas Motihari and Gobindganj is still less than in 1891, while that of thana Kesaria has scarcely increased. In these three thanas the arrested development must be due to something more than climate and health. It is perhaps to be attributed to some extent to comparative lightness of the soil, and in the opening up in the last two decades of the more fertile northern areas by numerous new communications and irrigation systems. The following is a statement showing for 1891, 1901 and 1911 the density of population in the thanas and subdivisions.

Number of persons per square mile:

	1911.	1901.	1891.
Sadr Subdivision	726	686	724
Motihari	643	602	660
Adapur	784	749	747
Dhaka	854	771	803
Kesaria	689	661	683
Madhuban	806	810	849
Gobindganj	605	581	678
Bettiah Subdivision	4 0	373	377
Bettiah	656	623	607
Bagaha	302	285	304
Shikarpur	307	272	2 4

The density is greatest in thanas Dhaka, Madhuban and Adapur, where the land is very fertile and is now largely protected by irrigation. The development of Madhuban has been arrested by plague.

The failure of Bagaha to recover the density of 1891 is due to the malarious climate of the northern tract and the transfer of 48 southern villages to thanas Bettiah and Shikarpur.

3. The total population of the district according to the last Census is 1,908,385. The following are the previous totals:—

population.	
2	1,440 815.
1	1,721,608.
1	1,859,465.
1	1,790,468.

4 Out of the total population 1,723,902 persons or 90 per cent are shown as engaged in agriculture. The numbers under each subdivision of agriculture are :—

Classification.

Orinary cultivation—

1. Receivers of income from agricultural land ...	15,300
2. Ordinary cultivators	1,297,498
3. Agents, Managers of landed estates (not planters), clerks, rent collectors, etc.	4,638
4. Farm servants and field labourers	410,862
5. Growers of special products and market gardening	595

The raising of farm stock claims 13,943 persons.

Champaran is more dependent on agriculture than any district in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, as 903 persons out of every 1,000 are supported by it It has also the largest rural proportion of population.

The rapid development of the district must depend largely on immigration. It is to be regretted that there has been a falling off since 1901 and that at the same time emigration has increased The comparative figures are.—

—	Immigrants	Emigrants
1901	1,06,781 ...	36,077
1911	95,518 ...	47,832

5. The climate has been fully described in the last settlement report and in the gazetteer. Mr Stevenson-Moore in comparing the maximum and minimum temperatures of the years 1874 and 1898, observes that for every month the maximum temperatures of 1898 are higher than those of 1874 while the minima are lower. Such figures as I have been able to gather for recent years show that the range of variation has been maintained.

Climate, Rainfall

Year	Maximum.	Minimum
1903	107	39
1904	103	30
1905	102	32
1906	105	39
1907	105	33
1908	107	36
1909	103	35
1910	103	44
1911	103	43

The maximum for 1874 was 94 and the minimum 49. The maximum for 1898 was 105 and the minimum 40. Observations have been discontinued for Motihari since 1912.

Although from reasons that will appear later in this chapter the District is no longer so much at the mercy of the seasons, rainfall is still a factor of enormous importance in agricultural economy. The following is a statement of the average for the District in recent years —

	Inches
1898-99	55 47
1899-1900	72 08
1900-01	45 72
1901-02	45 00
1902 03	55 70
1904	53 18
1905	61 61
1906	55 23
1907	35 93
1908	38 11
1909	53 70
1910	63 [illegible]0
1911	52 95
1912	42 12
1913	[illegible]1·35
1914	52 [illegible]0
1915	76 22
1916	[illegible]8 [illegible]1

6. The extension of medical relief in the last 20 years has been remarkable, and reflects much credit on the local administration. The following figures will speak for themselves:—

Medical Relief.

Year.	No. of Dispensaries.	No. of Patients treated.
1898	7	49,218
1899	7	66,741
1900	6	58,988
1902	6	71,103
1903	6	64,337
1904	6	72,548
1905	6	82,850
1906	6	89,096
1907	6	96,830
1908	6	99,850
1909	7	1,27,880
1910	7	1,34,301
1911	7	1,38,256
1912	7	1,45,680
1913	7	1,48,850
1914	8	1,49,910
1915	12	1,83,665
1916	14	2,20,7[illegible]6
1917	15	2,40,914
1918	15	2,44,404

There are now dispensaries in practically every part of the District, viz. Motihari, Ramnagar, Kesaria, Dhaka, Amolwa, Adapur, Sangrampur, Lauria, Chainpatia, Madhuban, Bettiah, Barharwa, Bagaha. Of these the first 10 are financed by Local Funds, while the last 3 are private-aided. There are in addition two travelling dispensaries for the Motihari and Bettiah Subdivisions, which also are supported by Local Funds. The capital invested and the income and expenditure respectively will be seen from the following figures:—

	1898	1918
	Rs.	Rs.
Capital invested	6,143 ...	6,59,300
Total Income	24,529 ...	1,05,059
Total Expenditure	23,972 ...	72,930

The chief feature of recent years has been the munificent endowment by the Bettiah Estate of the King Edward Memorial Hospital, an institution excellently equipped and high in popular estimation.

The average death-rate per thousand of population has shown a fairly steady decline, interrupted at periods by epidemics.

Average death-rate per 1,000

for years 1899 to 1903	34·55
„ „ 1903 „ 1908	31·92
„ „ 1908 „ 1913	31·38
„ „ 1913 „ 1917	32·51

There have been severe epidemics of cholera at intervals, the years 1900, 1903, 1906, 1910 and 1913 showing a high mortality from this cause. Plague was practically unknown in the district until recent years, but since 1910 it has been steadily recurring. It is to be hoped that this scourge, like other epidemics, will yield to the extension of municipal and rural sanitation, which will get an impetus from the considerable expansion of income that the District Board may now expect as a result of the revaluation following the settlement operations. Considerable improvements have already been effected in the roads and drainage of the Motihari and Bettiah municipal areas.

7. In 1898 there were 1,359 miles of road maintained by the District Board. The total mileage is now 1,473, that is, one mile of road to every $2\frac{1}{3}$ square miles of country. The mileage is in fact ample, and the Board

Communications.

has very rightly concentrated its attention on the bridging, repairs and improvement of existing roads, which have, especially since motor traffic has become general, improved out of all knowledge. There is now a completely bridged communication between Muzaffarpur and Bagaha, and all the main roads of the district are excellent, though the mileage metalled is still necessarily small. The District Board has spent, from 1893 to 1917, Rs 11,67,783 on original work and Rs 6,13,101 on repairs, an average of Rs 61,462 and Rs 32,215 per annum respectively.

Railways

8. Up to 1893 the district had only one Railway line from Mehsi to Bettiah, with a small branch line between Sagauli and Raksaul—in all 71 miles. Since then new extensions from Bettiah to Narkatiaganj, Narkatiaganj to Bhiknathori, Narkatiaganj to Darbhanga, and Narkatiaganj to Gorakhpur have added 125 miles to the system, and completely revolutionised the outlook of the district, which is now bisected by a main line from the south-east to the north-west, and encircled by another along the eastern boundary. The western portion of the district is connected up with the central line by a succession of good feeder roads running from the Gandak to the north east.

Thus the rice of Bagaha, Shikarpur and Adapur thanas can be put on the markets of the north west provinces, the value of land has been enhanced, and the district has developed a steadily growing export trade. It is not to be expected that these extensions and the resultant prosperity should be unattended by incidental evils. Extensive embankments must often run across natural waterways, and this is particularly the case in regard to the Narkatiaganj Gorakhpur line. The railway runs from east to west while the natural drainage from the Himalayan foot hills is from north to south. The Tribeni Canal runs almost parallel to the railway and shares with it the popular blame for the serious floods that occur when the rush of water from heavy rains in the hills, being unable to escape through the waterways

any case it would be extremely difficult to provide an immediate escape for the immense volume of water that descends from the foot hills in these occasional visitations. All permanent communications in a country with a heavy rainfall must necessarily have the defect, and the disadvantage, of obstructing the free flow of water.

Protection of cultivation

9. Although it can not be said that Champaran is immune from damage by floods, a successful attempt has been made to confine the Gandak by an embankment some 62 miles long extending down the western border of the district. This work is maintained on the contract system at an expenditure of approximately Rs 20,000 per annum, and protects an area of 2,6 7 square miles. On the other hand, strides have been made in the extension of irrigation facilities. The north and east of the district contain a large proportion of *bangar* soil, which grows winter rice, and is peculiarly suited to irrigation. It is in this area that the canals operate, the south and west of the district, on the other hand, having a preponderance of upland with a light soil, which the people consider unsuited to artificial irrigation. The district is ordinarily blessed with abundant rainfall, but when it is either below the requisite quantity, or badly distributed, the winter rice crop is endangered. It may be said that with the irrigation facilities now existing the district is practically immune from famine on an extensive scale. There are now three main canals—

(1) The Tribeni Canal, which traverses in the whole north of the district from Tribeni Ghat to Mainatand.

(2) The Tiur Canal which runs almost due south towards Lakhaura from Chaurodano.

(3) The Dhaka Canal which runs south and west from the vicinity of Bairagnia Station.

The Tribeni Canal was designed to irrigate that portion of the district to the west of Motihari which is bounded by the Nepal frontier and the Sikrahana river as far east as the boundary between Bihar and Nepal runs north and south. It was partly constructed in the year 1897 as a famine relief work, and was again taken up in 1901. The first portion was opened on the 7th June 1909, and the extension of the irrigation has gone on continuously since in a series of lengthy distributaries running south. Nearly 62 miles of the main canal have now been constructed, and there is a suggestion of a further extension from Mainatand south towards Sathi in order to cover the area previously served by the Sathi *Pains*, the history of which will be found in the chapter on Attestation.

The Tiur Canal which takes off from the river of the same name was originally made mainly at the expense of the Madhuban Babu and other Zemindars. It was completed in 1879 at a cost of Rs. 72,926 of which Government paid Rs. 6,881. It was taken over by Government in 1886, and has been maintained since that time from provincial revenues. The construction of distributaries was taken up after the famine of 1897, and completed in 1905-06. There is now a project for the construction of an extra distributary towards Lakhaura, for which 49 acres of land have been acquired. This canal traverses what is perhaps the most fertile tract in the District.

The construction of the Dhaka Canal was commenced in 1896-97 as a famine relief work, because the rice crop had failed almost entirely in thana Dhaka in the famines of 1873 and 1896, and much expenditure had been incurred on relief. The canal and its distributaries were completed in March 1908.

One further irrigation work, which has a chequered history and is no longer in operation, remains to be described. The Masan *Pain* in the Ramnagar Raj was constructed at the expense of Government as a famine relief work in 1897-98. The Collector found that the demand was greater than the supply of water, and that there was consequently much jealousy and bickering about it, and that the interests of the Ramnagar raiyats were being neglected. A meeting was held in the Collector's house in June 1899 which was attended by the Collector, the Inspector of Works, and some European Zemindars whose interests were concerned. It was agreed that the management of the work should be vested in the District Engineer, and that the sum of Rs. 800 annually required for the maintenance of the *Pain* should be paid by the Raja of Ramnagar and Messrs. Bion, Marsham and Coffin in proportion to the benefit derived from irrigation by their respective villages. Again in May 1900 the Collector and the District Engineer met the parties requiring water for irrigation at Bettiah, and an arrangement was made whereby the *Pain* was divided into five sections, and the parties agreed to contribute the costs according to the area irrigated. The subscriptions for maintenance amounted in 1901-02 to Rs. 1,786, in 1902-03 to Rs. 1,409, in 1903-04 to Rs. 1,886, in 1904-05 to Rs. 803. In this year the dissolution of the arrangement began. The decrease of income was due to conflicting claims for water, which the Collector fruitlessly endeavoured to settle by compromise. In 1905-06 only Rs. 228 was contributed out of a total assessment of Rs. 2,853, and the Collector proposed to give up the management. From this year the *Pain* was practically closed. As no subscriptions were paid the Collector gave up the management, and the head villages seized all the water. This work was extremely useful during the short period when it was in operation, and it is to be regretted that the suggestion that it should be taken over by the Public Works Department has not materialized.

The areas commanded by the three working canals are as follows:—

Tribeni Canal	...	...	...	284,800	acres.
Tiur Canal	...	...	...	6,000	„
Dhaka Canal	...	...	...	16,000	„
		Total	...	306,800	„

The great importance of this protection will be realized from the fact that, assuming an average outturn of 15 standard maunds per acre, it ensures an annual yield of 4,602,000 maunds of paddy, or roughly 2 maunds per head of the total population of the district. The figures for areas irrigated will be considered further in the Chapter dealing with Statistics

Trade, Commerce and Industry

10. The chief economic features of the period under discussion, beyond a general rise in prices, are the decline of indigo manufacture, the expansion of the sugar industry, and the increase of trade with the outside world. It will [illegible] abnormal [illegible] port [illegible] iate [illegible], so [illegible]

Year.				Imports in Maunds	Exports in Maunds.
1900-01	...	...	...	533,000	842,000
1901-02	...	...	..	538,000	885,000
1902 03	...	...	...	563,000	1,084,000
1903 04	...	...	...	602,000	1,369,000
1904-05	...	...	...	738,000	1,430,000
Quinquennial total		...	...	2,974,000	5,617,000
1905-06	...	...	...	682,000	1,172,000
1906-07	...	...	...	1,300,000	779,000
1907-08	...	...	...	928,000	1,725,000
1908-09	...	...	...	1,029,000	1,621,000
1909-10	...	...	...	1,026,000	1,367,000
Quinquennial total		...	...	4,965,000	6,664,000

Of the total exports rice accounts for 16 per cent. and paddy for 21·25 per cent. Linseed accounts for 19 per cent, and mustard seed for 15 per cent. The chief imported articles are salt, 30 per cent, and coal and coke, 39 per cent

The figures for the succeeding quinquennium are :—

Year				Exports in Maunds	Imports in Maunds
1911 ...	...	..	...	3,008,070	2,490,180
1912 ...	...	...	...	4,255,794	2,692,089
1913 ...	...	...	...	2,472,633	1,671,624
1914 ...	...	...	...	3,641,436	2,605,554
1915 ...	...	...	..	3,152,520	2,606,499
Quinquennial total		...	..	16,530,153	12,066,246

Indigo.

11. At the time of the last settlement indigo was the most extensively grown of all non-food crops in the District and covered 95,970 acres. In the recent operations, the crop figures of which were compiled before war conditions had taken effect, only 8,872 acres were found under this crop. The interval

has been a period of steady decline, which can best be illustrated by the following figures taken from the quinquennial reports of the District Officers:—

Year.	Maunds produced.	Value.	Price per maund.
		Rs.	
1900-01	20,362	3,156,110	155
1901-02	18,446	2,859,130	155
1902-03	9,437	1,486,763	158
1903-04	14,430	2,020,200	140
1904-05	15,335	1,533,500	100
Total ...	78,010	11,055,703	...
Average ...	15,602	2,211,141	142
1905-06	8,717	1,282,618	147
1906-07	9,495	1,449,809	153
1907-08	10,365	1,554,750	150
1908-09	9,898	1,229,763	125
1909-10	6,269	940,671	150
Total ...	44,744	6,457,611	...
Average ...	8,949	1,291,522	144

The areas under indigo for the same period were :—

Year.	Acres.
1900-01	86,000
1901-02	75,000
1902-03	84,000
1903-04	84,000
1904-05	84,000
Average ...	82,600
1905-06	55,000
1906-07	38,600
1907-08	52,600
1908-09	47,400
1909-10	36,000
Average ...	45,920

The decline of the industry has actually been due to a cause that is purely economic, that is, the inability of the natural product to compete with the synthetic dye discovered by the Germans at the end of the last century, but, as will be seen in the chapter on recent agrarian history, the system must eventually have collapsed before the force of popular clamour. A former Collector remarked on the rapidity with which the abandonment of indigo had proceeded:

"The effect of the change cannot fail to be far-reaching but it is too early to predict what the consequences will be. One result is, however, already apparent. The cessation of the indigo advances, following the withdrawal of the opium advances, has resulted in a shortage of ready money which in some parts of the District is marked."

The need has been met partly by payments for sugarcane and other country produce, and by money-lending by the Factories on comparatively moderate terms, but co-operative credit, which is clearly the best solution of this universal agrarian difficulty, is yet at an early stage of development.

The Sugar Industry.

12. The sugar industry has had varying fortunes in this district. It was introduced by immigrants from Azamgarh and Gorakhpur more than one hundred years ago, and, during the first half of the 19th century, thrived extensively. At that time European factories were engaged in sugar manufacture, but they subsequently abandoned it about 1880 for indigo, which

became more profitable Indigo in its turn has declined and there has been a great revival of sugarcane growing The area under cane at the time of the last settlement was only 10 330 acres In the recent operations it was found to be 19 687 acres The reported figures in the interval show a steady rise —

Year	Acres
1900 01	13 000
1901 02	11 400
190[illegible] 03	9 900
1903 04	10 500
1904 05	10 500
1905 06	11 500
1906 07	13 100
1907 08	15 [illegible]00
1908 09	16 000
1909 10	12 100
1910 11	14,500
1911 12	18 000
1912 13	18 500

In the latter part of the last century the manufacture was in the hands of small refiners These have suffered considerably from the competition of the large modern factories that have sprung up since 1905 There are now three large Sugar Factories in the District at Lauria, Bara and Siraha A fourth Factory at Babhnouli across the Gorakhpur border also taps the cane of Champaran The cane is grown on various systems somewhat after the indigo pattern —

(1) The *Zirat* system, The Factories grow cane on their own lands under direct cultivation The best produce is obtained from this source

(2) The *Asamiwar* system is two-fold On the one hand there are *Tinkathia* agreements as for indigo These agreements are now obsolete since the passing of the Champaran Agrarian Act On the other hand, there are what are known as *Khushi* agreements under which the raiyat takes an advance and binds himself to grow cane on a certain area for one year only The difference between the *Tinkathia* and the *Khushi* agreements lies in the fact that while the latter is only annual and need not be renewed unless the raiyat so wishes the former was to all intents and purposes a permanent arrangement from which the raiyat could not easily escape and under which he could not demand terms in accordance with the varying pitch of the market from year to year

It may be said at once that the type of *Khushi* agreement which I have described is also invalidated by the Champaran Agrarian Act and that in future such agreements can be made only for the delivery of a certain weight of crop, and not with reference to a definite area to be cultivated The system under which sugarcane has been obtained by the Bara Concern in recent years is peculiar, and deserves further description In former years the factory, in the villages held by it as a landlord, claimed and exercised in practice the right to have indigo or sugarcane grown by raiyats on 3 kathas per bigha When the *Tinkathia* system was being replaced by other arrangements and the planter landlords took compensation from the raiyats for giving up this claim, the Bara Concern instead of releasing for a lump sum the whole 3 kathas in each case, adopted the following procedure One katha out of the three was entirely released from obligation in consideration of an assessment at rates which varied from Rs 15 to Rs 50 per bigha These sum were not actually collected, instead the raiyats executed new agreement to grow sugarcane on the remaining two kathas, and admitted the receipt of advances, on which an interest of 12 per cent was chargeable These advances were not paid to them, but were actually the sums assessed on the

has been a period of steady decline, which can best be illustrated by the following figures taken from the quinquennial reports of the District Officers:—

Year.	Maunds produced.	Value.	Price per maund.
		Rs.	
1900-01	20,362	3,156,110	155
1901-02	18,446	2,859,130	155
1902-03	9,437	1,486,763	158
1903-04	14,430	2,020,200	140
1904-05	15,335	1,533,500	100
Total ...	78,010	11,055,703	...
Average ...	15,602	2,211,141	142
1905-06	8,717	1,282,618	147
1906-07	9,495	1,419,809	153
1907-08	10,365	1,554,750	150
1908-09	9,898	1,229,763	125
1909-10	6,269	940,671	150
Total ...	44,744	6,457,611	...
Average ...	8,949	1,291,522	144

The areas under indigo for the same period were :—

Year.	Acres.
1900-01	86,000
1901-02	75,000
1902-03	84,000
1903-04	84,000
1904-05	84,000
Average ...	82,600
1905-06	55,000
1906-07	38,600
1907-08	52,600
1908-09	47,400
1909-10	36,000
Average ...	45,920

The decline of the industry has actually been due to a cause that is purely economic, that is, the inability of the natural product to compete with the synthetic dye discovered by the Germans at the end of the last century, but, as will be seen in the chapter on recent agrarian history, the system must eventually have collapsed before the force of popular clamour. A former Collector remarked on the rapidity with which the abandonment of indigo had proceeded:

"The effect of the change cannot fail to be far-reaching but it is too early to predict what the consequences will be. One result is, however, already apparent. The cessation of the indigo advances, following the withdrawal of the opium advances, has resulted in a shortage of ready money which in some parts of the District is marked."

The need has been met partly by payments for sugarcane and other country produce, and by money-lending by the Factories on comparatively moderate terms, but co-operative credit, which is clearly the best solution of this universal agrarian difficulty, is yet at an early stage of development.

The Sugar Industry.

12. The sugar industry has had varying fortunes in this district. It was introduced by immigrants from Azamgarh and Gorakhpur more than one hundred years ago, and, during the first half of the 19th century, thrived extensively. At that time European factories were engaged in sugar manufacture, but they subsequently abandoned it about 1880 for indigo, which

became more profitable. Indigo in its turn has declined, and there has been a great revival of sugarcane growing. The area under cane at the time of the last settlement was only 10,330 acres. In the recent operations it was found to be 19,687 acres. The reported figures in the interval show a steady rise :—

Year	Acres
1900-01	13,000
1901-02	11,100
1902-03	9,900
1903-04	10,600
1904-05	10,500
1905-06	11,600
1906-07	13,100
1907-08	15,200
1908-09	10,000
1909-10	12,100
1910-11	14,600
1911-12	18,000
1912-13	18,500

In the latter part of the last century the manufacture was in the hands of small refiners. These have suffered considerably from the competi- [illegible] up since 1905. There are [illegible] Lauria, Bara and Siraha. [illegible] border also taps the cane of Champaran. The cane is grown on various systems somewhat after the indigo pattern :—

(1) The *Zirat* system. The Factories grow cane on their own lands under direct cultivation. The best produce is obtained from this source.

(2) The *Asamiwar* system is two-fold. On the one hand there are *Tinkathia* agreements as for indigo. These agreements are now obsolete since the passing of the Champaran Agrarian Act. On the other hand, there are what are known as *Khuski* agreements, under which the raiyat takes an advance and binds himself to grow cane on a certain area for one year only. The difference between the *Tinkathia* and the *Khuski* agreements lies in the fact that while the latter is only annual and need not be renewed unless the raiyat so wishes, the former was to all intents and purposes a permanent arrangement from which the raiyat could not easily escape, and under which he could not demand terms in accordance with the varying pitch of the market from year to year.

It may be said at once that the type of *Khuski* agreement which I have described is also invalidated by the Champaran Agrarian Act, and that in [illegible] delivery of a certain weight [illegible] to be cultivated. The system [illegible] the Bara Concern in recent [illegible] iption. In former years the factory, in the villages held by it as a landlord, claimed, and exercised in practice, the right to have indigo or sugarcane grown by raiyats on 3 kathas per bigha. When the *Tinkathia* system was being replaced by other arrangements and the planter landlords took compensation from the raiyats for giving up this claim, the Bara Concern, instead of releasing for a lump sum the whole 3 kathas in each case, adopted the following procedure: One katha out of the three was entirely released from obligation in consideration of an assessment at rates which varied from Rs 15 to Rs 20 per bigha. These sums were not actually collected; instead the raiyats executed new agreements to grow sugarcane on the remaining two kathas, and admitted the receipt of advances, on which an interest of 12 per cent. was chargeable. These advances were not paid to them, but were actually the sums assessed on the

has been a period of steady decline, which can best be illustrated by the following figures taken from the quinquennial reports of the District Officers:—

Year.	Maunds produced.	Value.	Price per maund.
		Rs.	
1900-01	20,362	3,156,110	155
1901-02	18,416	2,859,180	155
1902-03	9,437	1,486,768	158
1903-04	14,430	2,020,200	140
1904-05	15,885	1,588,500	100
Total ...	78,010	11,055,708	...
Average ...	15,602	2,211,141	142
1905-06	8,717	1,282,618	147
1906-07	9,495	1,449,809	153
1907-08	10,365	1,554,750	150
1908-09	9,898	1,229,763	125
1909-10	6,269	940,671	150
Total ...	44,744	6,457,611	...
Average ...	8,949	1,291,522	144

The areas under indigo for the same period were :—

Year.	Acres.
1900-01	86,000
1901-02	75,000
1902-03	84,000
1903-04	84,000
1904-05	84,000
Average ...	82,600
1905-06	55,000
1906-07	38,600
1907-08	52,600
1908-09	47,400
1909-10	36,000
Average ...	45,920

The decline of the industry has actually been due to a cause that is purely economic, that is, the inability of the natural product to compete with the synthetic dye discovered by the Germans at the end of the last century, but, as will be seen in the chapter on recent agrarian history, the system must eventually have collapsed before the force of popular clamour. A former Collector remarked on the rapidity with which the abandonment of indigo had proceeded:

"The effect of the change cannot fail to be far-reaching but it is too early to predict what the consequences will be. One result is, however, already apparent. The cessation of the indigo advances, following the withdrawal of the opium advances, has resulted in a shortage of ready money which in some parts of the District is marked."

The need has been met partly by payments for sugarcane and other country produce, and by money-lending by the Factories on comparatively moderate terms, but co-operative credit, which is clearly the best solution of this universal agrarian difficulty, is yet at an early stage of development.

The Sugar Industry.

12. The sugar industry has had varying fortunes in this district. It was introduced by immigrants from Azamgarh and Gorakhpur more than one hundred years ago, and, during the first half of the 19th century, thrived extensively. At that time European factories were engaged in sugar manufacture, but they subsequently abandoned it about 1880 for indigo, which

became more profitable Indigo in its turn has declined and there has been a great revival of sugarcane growing The area under cane at the time of the last settlement was only 10 330 acres In the recent operations it was found to be 19 087 acres The reported figures in the interval show a steady rise —

Year	Acres
1900 01	13 000
1901 02	11 400
190 03	9 900
1903 04	10 500
1904 05	10 300
1905 06	11 500
1906 07	13 100
1907 08	15 900
1908 09	16 000
1909 10	12 100
1910 11	14 500
1911 12	18 600
1912 13	18 500

In the latter part of the last century the manufacture was in the hands of small refiners These have suffered considerably from the competi [illegible] There are [illegible] d Siraha [illegible] the cane of Champaran The cane is grown on various systems somewhat after the indigo pattern —

(1) The *Zirat* system The Factories grow cane on their own lands under direct cultivation The best produce is obtained from this source

(2) The *Asamiwar* system is two fold On the one hand there are *Tinkathia* agreements as for indigo These agreements are now obsolete since the passing of the Champaran Agrarian Act On the other hand, there are what are known as *Khuski* agreements under which the raiyat takes an advance and binds himself to grow cane on a certain area for one year only The difference between the *Tinkathia* and the *Khuski* agreements lies in the fact that while the latter is only annual and need not be renewed unless the raiyat so wishes the former was to all intents and purposes a permanent arrangement from which the raiyat could not easily escape and under which he could not demand terms in accordance with the varying pitch of the market from year to year

It may be said at once that the type of *Khuski* agreement which I have described is also invalidated by the Champaran Agrarian Act and that in future such agreements can be made only for the delivery of a certain weight of crop and not with reference to a definite area to be cultivated The [illegible] under which sugarcane has been obtained by the Bara Concern [illegible] years is peculiar and deserves further description In former years the factory, in the villages held by it as landlord, claim[illegible] in practice the right to have indigo or sugarcane grown [illegible] kathas per bigha When the *Tinkathia* system was being replaced [illegible] arrangements and the planter landlords took compensation from [illegible] giving up this claim, the Bara Concern instead of releasing [illegible] 3 kathas in each case adopted the following proce[illegible] the three was entirely released from obligat[illegible] ment at rates which varied from 1s 1o to 1[illegible] were not actually collected, instead the [illegible] to grow sugarcane on the remaining two [illegible] of advances, on which an interest of 12 [illegible] advances were not paid to them, but [illegible]

one katha as described above. The factory paid the raiyats at the rate of three annas per maund for the cane, and obtained from the Sugar Concern five annas per maund. The raiyats complained of this arrangement which was clearly not in their interest, and it is to be hoped that the system has since been improved. Although on the whole there has been a considerable growth in the sugarcane industry in the last decade and although the existing Factories are prospering, it must be recognized that the extension of this industry is subject to limitations. A large proportion of the land of the District is not suitable for growing sugarcane, and the crop requires an intensive cultivation that does not at all appeal to the indolence of the typical raiyat of the District.

Co-operative Credit.

13. The chief handicap of the cultivator is lack of capital. The normal state of a raiyat is one of indebtedness, borrowing and repaying from year to year. He is continually in need of assistance, and the development of a spirit of self-help is thus impeded. Of all the remedies for this state that have been suggested, co-operation seems to promise the best results, and I propose to trace very briefly the history of the movement in Champaran. Those who wish to study it in greater detail can refer to the official publications that issue from year to year. The Co-operative Societies' Act was passed on the 25th March 1904, and although the progress made in the Champaran District since then has not been extraordinary, it is a matter for satisfaction that there has been a steady process of growth, and no serious set-back. For this growth beyond the zealous work of officials, much credit is due to non-official help received. Mr. J. E. Rutherford of the Bettiah Estate, as honorary organizer, rendered valuable services in the early stages of the movement. Later Mr. Holttum of Loharia and Mr. Gordon of Murla organized considerable extensions in the Bettiah and Sadr Subdivisions, while in recent years the Rev. Mr. Hodge of Motihari has been the life and soul of the movement in that area. A start was made in 1904-05 with five societies consisting of 50 members. In 1905-06 we find four societies with 101 members and a working capital of Rs. 3,086. The advance thence onward will be seen from the following figures:—

Year.	Societies	Members.	Working capital.	Income.	Expenditure.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1907-08	19	432	4,960	3,693	3,340
1908-09	18	436	8,748	4,525	4,[illegible]80
1909-10	18	451	9,203	4,375	3,917
1910-11	18	496	9,188	5,419	5,336
1911-12	19	566	13,243	2,553	6,320
1912-13	23	725	22,839	20,657	20,222
1914-15	49	1,147	64,457	47,521	46,303
1915-16	46	1,144	65,548	...	...
1916-17	40	1,161	54,012	...	...
1917-18	52	1,284	56,197	...	...

The figures of income and expenditure are not shown in the annual statements subsequent to 1915. In addition to these societies, which are purely agricultural, there are three non-agricultural societies with 260 members and a working capital of Rs. 18,925. During the year 1917-18 the agricultural societies advanced Rs. 22,135 to individuals, while the non-agricultural societies advanced Rs. 17,611. The chief obstacle to the development of the movement is the illiteracy of the people for whom it is intended, and the consequent necessity of continual help and support from outside sources. Natural enemies of the movement are money-lenders who cannot be expected for obvious reasons to favour it, and landlords, who fear the spirit of independence which it may engender in the raiyats. It cannot be said truthfully that the zamindars have offered any opposition to the movement in Champaran so far, and indeed some of its most strenuous supporters have been planters. In order, however, that agricultural societies should stand by themselves and be self-managing, a condition

precedent is a great extension of primary education in the shape of village schools. As Mr Hammond, a former Registrar, wrote —

"*Primary education must precede any improvement in village life, whether agricultural, economic or sanitary*"

My own impression is that in this district the development of the movement can best be fostered by the planters and that it would be in the interests of the latter not less than of the raiyats that co operation should become a normal feature of village life. I can best describe the position in the words of the late Mr Buchan, a former Registrar —

"A large part of North Bihar falls within the sphere of operations of indigo planters. The planter is a person possessing great

[illegible]

facts make the planter an ideal organizer of co operative credit societies"

It may be said that in recent years the relations between planter, landlords and tenants have been so strained as to impair the usefulness of the former in this connection, but this is only a passing phase of agrarian conditions and better relations are bound to return. It may be said also that it pays the planter better to lend money to raiyats direct. It is true that the latter [illegible] e but under the present law the security of the lender is [illegible] safe, and at the same time [illegible] profitable investment

14 Although education [illegible]

Education

District is primary schools for [illegible] which has been noticed in [illegible] Department considers that an increase of nearly one hundred per cent in the number of primary schools is desirable on the basis both of area and of population. Champaran is still far behind the other districts in the Tirhut Division but it is satisfactory to note that considerable progress has been made in recent years despite the check on expenditure imposed by war conditions. The figures below trace the gradual advance that has been made since the beginning of the present century —

Year	Institutions.	Pupils
1900 01	877	19 785
1901 02	810	19 9?4
1902 03	819	19 606
1903 04	790	19 434
1904 05	800	18 495
1905 06	806	18 03?
1906 07	98	17,770
1907 08	943	21 ?68
1908 09	902	19 958
1909 10	958	20 888
1910 11	9 8	21 772
1911 12	1,017	22 663
1912 13	1 065	2 56?
1913 14	1 121	25 1??
1914 15	1 138	[illegible]
1915 16	1 170	[illegible]
1916 17	1 104	[illegible]
1917 18	1 041	[illegible]

The proportion of children at school to the total [illegible] age is still very small. According to the last census [illegible] 141 302 boys and 144 956 girls or a total of 286 258 children [illegible] On [illegible] these in 1911 12 14 4 per cent of the boys [illegible] 7 9 per cent of the total were attending sch[illegible] 1916 17 were boys 16 9 per cent, girls [illegible] Development in education as well a[illegible] tration, will in the future be [illegible]

The main wealth of the country is produced by the land, but the permanent settlement has diverted into the hands of proprietors all the unearned increment that would otherwise have gone to the State and been utilised for the benefit of the people.

Litigation.

15. Although it cannot be said that the settlement operations in Bihar have resulted on the whole in a reduction of the volume of litigation, there can be no doubt that the record-of-rights has thwarted and prevented baseless claims, simplified issues and given definiteness and certainty to decisions, qualities they lacked before. It is unfortunate that the changes of jurisdiction that have taken place have made it impossible to collect accurate records of civil litigation in the District for the last 10 years. Champaran was attached to the District of Saran up to 1906, since when it has been attached to Muzaffarpur. The following figures are for cases instituted in the permanent court of the Munsif at Motihari for the years 1907 to 1917:—

Year.	Small Cause Court.	Money.	Rent.	Title.
1907	1,530	606	2,254	364
1908	955	496	1,623	436
1909	687	385	1,615	305
1910	332	720	1,663	291
1911	688	550	1,869	332
1912	888	434	1,818	342
1913	137	1,199	2,424	386
1914	458	704	2,124	351
1915	273	984	2,473	329
1916	217	1,168	4,226	422
1917	292	1,592	5,187	619

The figures of the last four years have been swollen by disputes due to the settlement operations and the indigo question. In the matter of rent suits it is important to remember that a considerable majority of the cases disposed of are decreed *ex-parte*.

CHAPTER II.

LAND REVENUE ADMINISTRATION.

I.—General.

Land Revenue.

16. The land revenue administration of Champaran is essentially simple and such difficulties as have arisen have been due solely to disputes between landlords and tenants. Practically the whole District is permanently settled, and there have been only slight fluctuations in the revenue demand. Such reductions as have occurred from time to time are due either to land acquisition or to the diluvion of a few temporarily-settled estates. The total number of estates is still small, although there has been a gradual increase resulting from partitions. The following figures will show how the position has developed since 1899:—

Year.	No. of revenue paying estates.	No. of revenue free estates including railway lands.	Temporarily-settled estates.	Government Estates.	Total Revenue Demand.
1899-1900	1,229	54	8	Nil	515.420
1900-01	1,229	54	8	Nil	515,566
1901-02	1,233	54	6	2	515,573
1902-03	1,240	61	5	2	515,426
1903-04	1,240	63	5	2	515,426
1904-05	1,215	65	5	2	515,410
1905-06	1,254	66	5	1	515,469
1906-07	1,261	78	5	1	514,982
1907-08	1,263	79	6	Nil	515,116
1908-09	1,263	79	6	Nil	516,114
1909-10	1,265	79	6	Nil	515,112
1910-11	1,284	80	6	Nil	515,116
1911-12	1,295	80	6	Nil	515,137
1912-13	1,305	80	7	Nil	515,118
1913-14	1,317	80	7	Nil	515,133
1914-15	1,329	80	7	Nil	515,138
1915-16	1,337	80	7	Nil	515,163
1916-17	1,349	80	6	1	515,135

17. The following statement of the partition cases instituted thana by thana since 1899 shows how little Champaran is subject to disintegration on the whole :—

Partition

Statement showing Partitions Cases and Estates formed from 1899-1900 to 1917-18.

	Bagaha.			Gobindganj			Dhaka			Madhubani			Kesariya			Bettiah.			Adapore			Motihari			
	No of cases instituted	No. of estates affected	No of estates formed by partition	No of cases instituted	No of estates affected	No of estates formed by partition	No of cases instituted	No of estates affected	No of estates formed by partition	No of cases instituted	No of estates affected	No of estates formed by partition	No of cases instituted	No of cases affected	No of estates formed by partition	No of cases instituted	No. of estates affected	No of estates formed by partition	No of cases instituted	No of estates affected	No. of estates formed by partition	No of cases instituted	No of estates affected	No. of estates formed by partition	Total of cases instituted.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1900	1	...	...	...	...	...	...			...	...		...			...			...		...				1
1901	1	...	...	1	...	...		1	2	...	...			...		...		...			...				2
1902	1	2	4		...		1		...	2	...	...	2			...			...	...		...	...	...	7
1903 ...	2	...	...	1	...				...	1				...	...		...	...	...		...	...		...	4
1904 ...	...	1	3	1	...	...	1	...		1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...		...	...		...			4
1905 ...	...		5		...		...	...		...	1	4	1		...	...	...				...	...	...	...	1
1906 ...	...	1	...		...	...	...		...	2	...		1	1	2	...	...						...	...	3
1907 ...	1	...		...	...	...	1	...	...		1	7	1	...									...	...	3
1908	...	...	...		1	2	1	...		...	...			...			...	...		...		...	...	...	1
1909 ...	1		...	...	...		2	...		1	1	1					...	...			...	...	...	...	4
1910		...					3	...	...		...			1	2	1		...	...		...	...		...	6
1911 ...		3	4	...	...			2	2		...				...				...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1912	...	1	2	1			6	2	16	3	1	4	1					...	...				...		...
1913 ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	1	1	1	1	1			...	1		...	2						
1914	...			1	...	...	...	8	11	2	1	1	...	1	1	...		...			...	...			
1915 ...			...		...	...	1	1	1	...	2	4		...	...		1	...	...			...			
1916 ...	...	...	...	1	1	5	...	2	4	3	1	3	1	...		...	2				3	...			
1917 ...	...		...	...	1	1	1		...	...	2	6		...	...		...	...		...					
1918	...		...	...	1	3	3	1	3	...	...		1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	
Total ...	7	7	18	7	4	11	22	13	43	17	17	29	9	5	5	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Partitions do not appear to offer any [illegible] as elsewhere, to have led to serious infr[illegible]

18. In land registration likewise the volume of work appears to be comparatively small. The figures for 19 years are given below :—

Land Registration.

Year	Total number of cases instituted. Contested.	Uncontested.	Total.
1899-1900	46	406	452
1900-01	26	281	307
1901-02	70	362	432
1902-03	19	377	396
1903-04	25	292	317
1904-05	33	379	412
1905-06	36	415	451
1906-07	25	368	393
1907-08	27	327	354
1908-09	17	346	363
1909-10	14	286	300
1910-11	21	338	359
1911-12	27	291	318
1912-13	55	386	441
1913-14	16	418	434
1914-15	7	246	253
1915-16	20	203	223
1916-17	16	230	246
1917-18	21	353	374

The number of cases is artificially increased by the fact that when one man, holding shares in several Touzis, dies, cases have to be instituted separately in respect of all the Touzis in which he had an interest. Proceedings under section 65 of the Land Registration Act are frequent, as information of omissions is received from the Sub-Registrar. In contested cases of land registration the settlement records are duly considered as evidence bearing on the vital question of possession.

19. There has been considerable activity in the Land Acquisition Department in recent years, owing to the railway extensions and canals, for which it has been necessary to provide. The statement below will show for the years 1899-1917, and for each thana separately, the area acquired permanently, the amount of compensation paid, and the average cost.

Land Acquisition.

Thana.	Area.	Amount of compensation paid.	Average cost per acre.
	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.
Adapur	671	1,28,572	191
Bagaha	3,018	2,80,269	93
Bettiah	404	1,03,217	255
Dhaka	655	1,18,461	181
Gobindganj	38	6,414	169
Kesaria	34	4,613	136
Madhuban	21	6,318	301
Motihari	34	6,288	185
Shikarpur	3,264	3,61,603	111
Motihari Municipality	21	6,392	304
Bettiah Municipality	2	2,592	1,296
Total	8,162	10,26,739	125

It will be seen that 8,162 acres have been acquired at a cost of Rs. 10,26,739, or an average of Rs. 125 per acre. The largest areas appertain, of course, to Thanas Bagaha and Shikarpur, as that area is affected both by the new railways and by the canal. The high incidence of costs in the case of Madhuban Thana is due to the acquisition of valuable land with a large number of trees near Mehsi station. In Municipal areas the

cost for building sites has gone as high as Rs 2 500 per acre The area acquired has affected the cultivated area of the district and added to the uncultivated area The results will be discussed in the chapter on Statistics

Cess

20 The cess demand at the beginning of the century was Rs 1,75 000 The revaluation of 1907 raised it to Rs 1,87 000 The present figure is approximately Rs 1 89 000 and revaluation proceedings are again in progress In 1898 Mr Stevenson Moore was of opinion that the valuation then was more than sufficiently high and that revaluation would not be productive of an increase This prophecy however, was not supported by the result At present there is room for further and very considerable expansion of the cess demand, as will appear from the facts and figures in the next paragraph

The present incidence of land revenue.

21 In estimating the leniency of the revenue assessment it is misleading to draw conclusions from averages derived from total area and total revenue as a district lightly assessed with refe area of waste and the relatively its real assets In general in revenue judged by assets which are the only real criterion, tends to become increasingly lenient, as will be seen from the following analysis of the revenue and assets of the Bihar districts —

District	Assets			Revenue	Ratio of revenue to assets	Incidence per acre
	Cash rent	Value of produce rent and khas land.	Total			
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs a p
Patna	37 98 960	40 91 080	78 92 930	15,20 728	1 5	1 2 0
South Monghyr	19 14 033	20 23 008	47 37 031	5 07 307	1 9	0 4 4
North Monghyr	18 9 728	11 98,320	29 37 048	3 74 060	1 8	0 6 5
Purnea			44 20 06	11 72 863	1 4	0 6 2
Bhagalpur	40 41,595	29 01 770	69 46 365	5 54,819	1 11	0 3 4
Darbhanga	53 71 68	16 56 873	70 28 155	7 88 3 1	1 9	0 5 10
Muzaffarpur	4 700 0	18 19 00	63 89 510	9 65 128	1 6	0 9 11
Saran	48 78 960	10 86 581	59 65 541	19 63 9 4	1 4	0 11 10
Champaran	29 28 4 8	10 76 68	40 05 100	5 15 125	1 8	0 3 7
Gaya	35 63 187	88 12,517	1 23 75 104	14 83 775	1 8	0 7 9
Shahabad	50 64 08	49 11 131	9 6 773	17 78 578	1 6	0 10 5

Champaran is thus fourth among the lightest assessed districts at present, and in view of in new cultivation and in the increase hat it will at some time in the future At present the total revenue of the ets at the very lowest computation, cannot be less than Rs 10,00,000 The Rs 40 00 000 is made up as follows —

	Rs
Cash rental	29 28 498
Produce rent and khas land	10 76 682
Total	40 05 1 0

In estimating produce rent and land in direct cultivation of landlords I have assumed an annual value of Rs. 6 per acre, and I do not think that this can be criticised as extravagant. I have entirely omitted (1) *Sairat* and (2) enhancements under section 105. These additional items would add approximately Rs. 2,00,000 to the valuation. The leniency of revenue assessment cannot be better illustrated than by an analysis of the operations under the Sale Law since 1899.

Year.	Estates liable to sale.	Estates sold.	Revenue of Estates sold.	Purchase price.
			Rs.	Rs.
1899-1900	66	14	531	9,.05
1901-02	47	10	414	15,826
1902-03	34	3	47	2,020
1903-04	42	1	12	40
1904-05	41	1	42	105
1905-06	57	1	5	215
1906-07	52	Nil	Nil	Nil
1907-08	94	Nil	Nil	Nil
1908-09	122	1	10	90
1909-10	93	2	103	1,100
1910-11	88	1	2	100
1911-12	57	1	9	25
1912-13	45	Nil	Nil	Nil
1913-14	47	Nil	Nil	Nil
1914-15	44	Nil	Nil	Nil
1915-16	62	Nil	Nil	Nil
1916-17	61	1	9	80
1917-18	52	Nil	Nil	Nil

It will be seen that in 20 years only 36 estates have been sold, and that the revenue of these latter is altogether trivial. In ten years there have been only six sales, representing a revenue demand of Rs. 132. The revenue of all the estates sold in the period of 20 years is Rs. 1,183 while the purchase price is Rs. 28,906, that is, 25 times the revenue. Private sales of estates and their purchase value will be discussed in the chapter on Statistics.

22. The Cess Act was amended by Bihar and Orissa Act I of 1916. In 1910, by Bengal Act IV of that year, a great innovation had been introduced in revaluation procedure in the utilisation of the Settlement Department. The first definite experiment made with this procedure was in the district of Hazaribagh, where it was found very cumbersome and practically unworkable. The defect was, briefly, that the valuation rolls or village valuation statements were compiled at a premature stage, and there was consequently infinite labour, confusion and trouble in correcting, revising and recasting the statements at every stage succeeding the attestation of the record. The legislation of 1916 was intended to remedy this, and to introduce a more workable procedure. The new provisions introduced by the Amendment Act are clearly more workable than the old, and are in fact now being successfully employed in Saran district. It is unfortunate that the new procedure was not available while the Champaran operations were in progress. On the other hand, we had a sufficiently large number of grave questions to deal with, and the subordinate staff was so incompetent at times that it would have been difficult to get, in addition to the record-of-rights, a correct series of valuation rolls. Under the new system rolls are not drawn up until the record has gone through the whole of the summary processes and check, that is, has been attested and draft published and checked in recess after the hearing of all objections. Provision is made for the incorporation in the rolls of the increased assets due to rent settlement. It would have been well, if possible, to postpone the compilation of the rolls until after the case work stage had passed, but this would mean in every case that the whole settlement staff would have left the district permanently, and would no longer be available.

Legislation.

The Bihar and Orissa Public Demands Recovery Act, 1914, is merely an adaptation of the Bengal Act of 1895 and does not merit any particular discussion.

[illegible] we are concerned is Act I, [illegible] Tenancy Act. It will be in- [illegible] The account of the opera-tions that follows may give some material for determining how far those objects have been attained. This is probably the most important agrarian measure passed since 1885. Its objects were—

(1) While on the one hand giving landlords greater facility for the collection of their rents, yet on the other to discourage their evading the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, with regard to the enhancement of rent by entering into unfair, inequitable and collusive compromises with their tenants;

(2) to give greater authority to the record-of-rights when such record has been duly prepared and published;

(3) to give power to Government to [illegible] landlords, and to take steps [illegible] reduction of rents when they [illegible] enhanced as to be oppressive to the cultivators of the soil; and

(4) to revise the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, to the extent of [illegible] as had given rise to conflict of opinion and judicial decision.

The main provisions were to the effect that—

(1) no court shall give effect to any agreement or compromise the terms of which, if they were embodied in a contract, could not be enforced under the Act;

(2) in all rent suits the record-of-rights [illegible] entry on the record shall be pr[illegible] by evidence to be incorrect [illegible] ance with entries in the record [illegible] for so doing; and

(3) it is provided that in an area in which a record-of-rights has been [illegible] Local [illegible] bed by [illegible] proce- [illegible]

It will appear from the pages that follow that there has been, and is still the greatest need for scrutinising compromises between landlords and tenants. In the settlement operations just completed numerous cases were found where compromises, obviously involuntary on the raiyats' part, were paraded before the courts of the Revenue Officers [illegible] serious attempt was made to support a [illegible] misquoting high judicial authority. The [illegible] correctness of the record-of-rights has be[illegible] furnishes an excellent restraint on frivolous litigation, and at the same time is the line of least resistance for a judicial officer, as the onus of proving the record incorrect, which always rests on the party who challenges it, is not easy to discharge. The necessity both for restricting contracts and compromises and for strengthening the authority of the record is strikingly illustrated by the case of the Madhuban Estate. In this estate the rents of raiyats were the subject of a very bitter contest at the last settlement. The zemindars' claims failed in the large majority of cases, and appeals and suits in subsequent proceedings failed to shake the record. The contest did not end here.

The raiyats had subsequently either to execute registered agreements admitting the rents claimed by the zemindars, or were sued for those rents, and, after much harassment, made to compromise on the basis of them in the

Civil Court. The following are striking examples of the result of this procedure:—

Year of Civil Court Decree.	Rent determined at last settlement.	Rent decreed.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1903	2 12 0	4 14 9
1904	5 1 6	11 5 9
1904	9 0 0	23 4 9
1904	3 6 6	28 14 0
1905	1 8 6	6 3 6
1909	1 11 9	7 11 0

In all these cases there was a compromise in the face of the record-of-rights and in subversion of it. The decree in the case of 1909 after the introduction of section 147A is clearly illegal from every point of view. In all these cases of compromise in Court and out of it, the last settlement rent was upheld in the present operations.

II.—Agrarian History.

23. The chief interest, however, attaching to land revenue administration in this district is the general question of the relation between landlords and tenants. During the last settlement, and up to then, there had not been any very serious friction, though occasions had happened when the growing of indigo had caused trouble. To understand the connection between recent events, it is necessary to visualise the condition of affairs prevailing in the district at the beginning of the present century. The Bettiah Estate was on the whole in peace. The Madhuban Estate was in a condition of violent struggle over the question of rent. The Ramnagar Estate was in confusion from many causes The greater part of the District is covered by factories which hold leases, temporary (*thika*) or permanent (*mukarrari*), under the proprietors. A "Factory" properly speaking means an indigo factory, but the same term is applied to the headquarters of *thikadars* who have no manufacturing industry. The rent rate of the District was very low, averaging Re. 1-13-9 per acre. The land is fertile, and in places very fertile, but, strange to say, the most fertile portion, that is, the *bangar* lands in Thanas Bagaha, Shikarpur and Adapur, was most liable to famine, owing to its need of water and the absence of protecting agency. Thus circumstanced the raiyat had to pay to the middlemen who were their immediate landlords, in addition to rent, some substantial consideration, which took various shapes. In the indigo planting area the general custom was that each raiyat grew for his landlord indigo on $\frac{3}{20}$ths of his holding, and received from the planter a certain price fixed by contract. This arrangement, though *prima facie* a free contract, was not so, but was a binding obligation universally enforced. In the non-indigo area the raiyats paid to their immediate landlords various *Abwab* with a general average incidence of about Rs. 3 per bigha. Now it is well to understand at the outset that the whole history of the last 20 years, and more particularly of the last decade, has been the gradual awakening of the tenantry to the doubtful legality of these additional considerations which they rendered to their landlords, and their efforts to escape from them, culminating in the enquiry of 1917, and the subsequent special legislation. I will now endeavour to trace, without unnecessary detail, the chain of events. I have referred throughout, not to hearsay, but to authentic documents or information judicially acquired during the present operations. In 1899 the District officer received complaints against two indigo concerns and one European Manager of a zemindari about illegal *Abwab*. It is clear from the contemporary records that the words *Hunda* and *Tinkathia* were used to indicate contributions levied in lieu of the cultivation of indigo In 1900 a petition was filed against a *Thikadar* of the Bettiah Estate for taking *Abwab*. As usual the allegations were not proved, and the petitioners did not present the real facts. This, I may observe, is a feature which I have had much occasion to notice in Champaran raiyats, even when they have a

perfectly valid true case. The following is a quotation from the land Revenue Administration Report:—

> [illegible] occasion [illegible] hen they [illegible] entirely [illegible] of indigo [illegible] used to [illegible] demand [illegible] planters' favour. This arrangement seems inequitable, but the planters concerned appear to think it could be justified in the Civil Court. Such contributions have been paid *for years.*
>
> "Occasionally some person to serve his private ends stirs up the raiyats to object. Nevertheless the system is not likely to last long."

From 1902 to 1905 though the same conditions prevailed, there were no decided complaints. In 1905-06 the Bihar Planters' Association expresed disapproval of the action of one of the large Indigo concerns in taking from the raiyats a levy called *Hunda* as compensation or damages for not cultivating indigo, and the manager agreed to discontinue the levy. In 1906-07 the Collector discussing the continuance of the *Abwab* system writes:—

> "Long custom, traditional homage to landlords and a desire to live in amity with them, explain the acquiescence of the tenants in these demands."

From 1907-08 the question of the relations between landlords and tenants became acute. The most noteworthy event of the year was the murder, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, of Mr. Bloomfield, Manager of the Telhara Factory. This was the outcome, not of any of the large questions between landlord and tenant, but of an isolated case in which the *Thikadar* had refused to sanction the transfer of holdings. The reduction of opium cultivation occasioned considerable loss to the raiyats, and they were all the more ready, therefore, to revolt against the existing system. There were complaints against *Thikadars* for collecting *Abwab,* and considerable trouble originated in the Sathi area.

The Sathi Disturbances, 1907-08.

24. From early in the year 1907 there was a general feeling of uneasiness, vague and indefinite at first but subsequently very perceptible. Continual meetings of the Muhammadan raiyats were held in the Sathi area under the guidance of one Shaikh Gulab. Acts of violence were committed on factory servants by raiyats who refused to labour for the factory after [illegible] C[illegible]tions were obtained, but reversed on appeal [illegible] which continued. Arson followed and, most [illegible] n of the raiyat's own crops in the *Tinkathia* [illegible] convictions were set aside by the appellate court, and the prestige of the recusant party was enhanced. A common fund was raised for contesting cases and petitions were put in against the factory specifying—

(1) that *harja,* or damages for not growing indigo, was being taken although no *sattas* had been executed;

(2) that other illegal cesses were taken by the *Amla*; and

(3) that the services of labour and cartmen were not paid for.

The Factory shut off the supply of water through the *pains* which it had constructed, and there followed thefts of water and prosecutions on this account. Some of the leading raiyats, Shaikh Gulab, Shaikh Rajab Ali, Shaikh Willayat and others were made special constables. They refused to act, and were convicted under the Police Act. The High Court set the conviction aside in March 1908. Meanwhile the tenants had petitioned His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. But in an enquiry that followed by the Subdivisional Officer and the Collector the raiyats grossly exaggerated and thus obscured the real facts. Petitions continued, and the raiyats complained that they were being made to affix their thumb impressions to documents. In February and March 1908 raiyats disputed with the factory the possession of the oats and other crops grown in the *Tinkathia* land and thousands of cases were instituted. Eventually it was agreed that whatever crops in this land were grown from

Tinkathia or indigo obligation. The enhancements were about sixty per cent. over the original rents, and were effected by registered documents. This transaction was popularly known as *Sharahbeshi*.

(2) In villages held on temporary lease the planter took lump sums, called *Tawan*, from the raiyats in consideration of their release, and gave them in return a promise, embodied in an informal document called *Munfi Chitthi*, that he or his successors would never ask them to grow indigo or any other crop for the factory.

The distinction between the two methods is very important. The indigo area lies mainly within the Bettiah Estate. The planters hold villages in permanent or temporary leases. The principle adopted was that the whole compensation for the cessation of indigo should go to the planter. If rents had been enhanced in the temporarily-leased villages, $\frac{9}{10}$ ths of the increase would go to the proprietor; whereas by taking lump sum payments the planter was enabled to appropriate the whole compensation. The distinction was not observed by all the Factories. The Rajpur Concern consistently adopted the *Tawan* method in all its villages, *Thikadari* and *Mukarrari*. The Pipra concern, while enhancing rents in its *Mukarrari* villages, continued *Tinkathia* cultivation in its *Thikadari* villages. The Lalsaraya Concern did not adopt either method, but merely assessed to rent excess areas discovered in the possession of raiyats at the last settlement, which the Factory had then agreed to leave unassessed, so long as the raiyats continued *Tinkathia* cultivation. The obvious objection to the adoption of both methods by the same concern, according as the villages were *Thikadari* or *Mukarrari*, was that the raiyats who paid *Tawan* might reasonably regard themselves as immune from further enhancements, and the Bettiah Estate in fact applied for enhancement of rents under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act in all its *Thikadari* villages. To facilitate the execution of the *Sharahbeshi* agreements special Sub-Registrars were deputed to the actual localities of the Factories. In the case of *Tawan* those raiyats who had not the ready cash to pay either borrowed from *Mahajans*, or mortgaged their land, or sold their stock, and thus paid, or executed hand-notes acknowledging the receipt of a *Takavi* loan corresponding to the amount of *Tawan* due with interest at 12 per cent.

These substituted arrangements proceeded through 1912, 1913 and 1914 and were in fact in full swing when the revision operations started in October 1913.

27. It will be well at this stage to state briefly the several difficult matters with which the administration was confronted :—

(1) The Sathi trouble had not really ended as the Collector was approached with petitions against the *Pain Kharcha* which was substituted for indigo cultivation.

(2) Regarding *Tawan*, as no complaints were being received, the administration did not consider it necessary to interfere with the parties.

(3) It was quite impossible without regular judicial proceedings to decide on the legality of the enhancement agreements or *Sharahbeshi*. The Collector received a certain, though not a large, number of petitions from raiyats complaining of compulsion in connection with these agreements, but there was not sufficient evidence on which to take action.

(4) The whole system of *Tinkathia* indigo was now regarded as unsound and unpopular, and it was difficult, and perhaps dangerous, to interfere with any voluntary arrangements that the parties might wish to make in substitution of it.

(5) The *Abwab* system still continued in the north of the District, but a comprehensive enquiry was necessary to elucidate all the facts concerning the nature and the extent of these levies.

In 1914-15, the record-of-rights for the Bettiah Subdivision was attested. Towards the end of 1914 a number of petitions were presented to His Honour ... and other matters, and these ... Department. It was quite ... ected on a large scale. The ... *kadars*. The administration ... n in the Ramnagar Estate. ... was attested. The legality ... the ... cape ... this ... yats, and the agitation extended over a large portion of the Sadr Subdivision. The raiyats, throughout this period manifested remarkable cohesion and persistence, but they failed to prove the main plea on which they based their attack, that is, that force had been used to procure all ... The majority of the enhanced rents were thus allo ... the Bhuinhar Babhans of the Pipra and Turkau ... turbule ... the Settlement Officers had a ... ctual violence, however, occurre ... to accept the enhanced rents ... leaders of the Bettiah raiyats ... One of the raiyats attended the Provin ... 5 and again the All-India Congress in 1916. ... hi visited the District and stayed there ... raiyats, with intervals of absence, till July ... the 15th May ... d arrived as ... unparalleled ... entirely sus- ... nd indignity, ... situation was ... a head, and ...

Members were Mr. D. J. Reid, a Muzaffarpur planter, Mr. Gandhi and the Hon'ble Raja Harihar Prasad Narain Singh, whose place was subsequently taken by the Hon'ble Raja Kirtyanand Singh of Banaili.

The Committee of Enquiry. 28. The terms of reference were :—

(1) To enquire into the relations between landlords and tenants in the Champaran District, including all disputes arising out of the manufacture and cultivation of indigo ;

(2) to examine the evidence on these subjects already available, supplementing it by such further inquiry, local and otherwise, as they may consider desirable ; and

(3) to report their conclusions to Government, stating the measures they recommend in order to remove any abuse or grievances which they may find to exist.

The Committee commenced its sittings at Bettiah on the 17th July, and finally reported to Government on the 4th October 1917. The report was reviewed by Government in Resolution No 6296-R., dated the 18th October 1917 (published ... *Gazette* of October 24th, 1917) ... s that the *Tinkathia* system was ... with the relations that should ... modern conditions, and that it should, therefore, be altogether abolished ; that the feeling against *Sharahbeshi* was so strong, and the prospect of ruinous litigation so imminent, that it was desirable to terminate the present situation by a settlement in which both

parties should make concessions; that the taking of *Tawan* was not justified in temporarily leased villages; while in permanently leased villages in which this levy had been taken it was desirable that some arrangement analogous to that in connection with *Sharahbeshi* should be settled; that *Abwab* had been extensively levied and that the existing law did not furnish a sufficient restraint on this practice. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the findings on minor matters. It was recommended that emergency legislation should be introduced to effect the abolition of the *Tinkathia* system and to prescribe the conditions under which indigo might be continued on a purely voluntary basis, and to reduce by 20 to 26 per cent. the enhancements effected by *Sharahbeshi*, and to cancel all entries in the Record-of-Rights regarding the existing obligations to grow indigo. It was also recommended that section 75 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, which in its existing shape was inoperative, should be amended in order to give power to the Collector to deal with cases of illegal levy summarily.

With reference to *Tawan*, the Committee proposed that where it had been taken in temporarily leased villages, the Bettiah Estate should make it a condition of the renewal of the temporary leases, that 25 per cent. of the *Tawan* collected should be paid back to the Estate, and that the Estate should refund it to the tenants concerned. Moreover, since *Tawan* must be regarded at least in part as capitalised rent, it was recommended that the Bettiah Estate should for a period of seven years forego any enhancement which might be granted in the Settlement courts on the ground of the rise in prices, of the rent of any tenant who had paid *Tawan*.

The Champaran Agrarian Act, 1918

29. Government accepted the Committee's recommendations generally and undertook legislation to give effect to them. Accordingly a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council in the cold weather, 1917-18, and in its final form the Champaran Agrarian Act (Act I of 1918) received the assent of the Governor-General on the 1st of May, 1918. The Act abolishes the *Tinkathia* system, and renders invalid any existing or future contract between a landlord and a tenant which contains a condition to set apart the land of the tenancy or any portion thereof for the cultivation of a particular crop. In accordance with a compromise arrived at between the raiyats, represented by Mr. Gandhi, on the one hand, and the Pipra, Turkaulia and Motihari Factories on the other, it is provided that the *Sharahbeshi* enhancements should be reduced with effect from the 1st October 1917 by 20 per cent. in the case of Turkaulia, and by 26 per cent. in all other cases. On the other hand, where the *Sharahbeshi* enhancement had either been disallowed by the Settlement Department, or not imposed at all, and the indigo condition was in force and entered in the Record-of-Rights, it is provided that this entry should be cancelled, the condition should be abolished, and the rent of the tenancy should be enhanced, to an extent proportionate to the reduced enhancement allowed in respect of *Sharahbeshi* tenancies belonging to the same or neighbouring villages of the same landlord. This new rent was to be entered in the Record-of-Rights and deemed a part thereof. Provision is also made for giving effect to these enhancements, reductions and cancellations and entries in the Record-of-Rights, and for appointing an authority to that end. The Act finally prescribed that contracts for a term not exceeding three years between tenant and landlord should be permissible if they were for the delivery of a specified weight of a particular crop, as distinguished from the cultivation of a certain area with that crop. It must be said, however, that the legislative body rejected the clause in the Bill which was most of all designed to protect the raiyats' interest, that is, the clause conferring on the Collector summary powers to fine landlords for the exaction of *abwab*. The administration is still powerless to deal with illegal exactions except in the area which happens to be under the control of the Court of Wards.

Subsequent measures.

30. The Settlement Department carried out the alterations in the record prescribed by the Agrarian Act during 1918-19. The excitement meanwhile was subsiding, but the payment of rents was very unsatisfactory, and the Bettiah Estate and its tenure-holders had the very greatest difficulty in meeting the financial demands upon them. After Mr. Gandhi had left the district,

the more turbulent element among the raiyats frankly repudiated him and his agreement on their behalf, and raised all possible frivolous objections to the recording of the new rents by the Settlement Department. I had myself left the settlement at this time, but the action of the Bhuinhar Babhan raiyats in particular merely confirms the unpleasant impression which I had gathered from a somewhat long experience of them. To ease the situation and to give Factories the help to which they were justly entitled, Government allowed, under section 158-A. of the Bengal Tenancy Act, the extension of the certificate procedure to the villages and rents of the Turkaulia, Motihari and Pipra Concerns. This action has had a beneficial effect, although at the time of writing this report large arrear balances are still said to be due. I have personally always been of the opinion that the extension of the certificate procedure to chosen landlords would be on the whole a measure beneficial to both the landlord and the tenant. It would merely save them from the delay, trouble and expense of *ex-parte* suits in the Munsif's Court. The accounts of the Factories are excellently kept and usually beyond criticism, and the only condition necessary would be that the Manager should be a man of such character that he could be trusted not to abuse the procedure in cases where rents were not beyond doubt.

31. In this brief account of the recent agrarian history of the District I have purposely avoided all the controversy that surrounded the subject, and it does not seem necessary for me to enter at length, or indeed at all, into the merits of cases that have been the subject of a public enquiry and legislation. Although the conditions in Bengal were entirely different, the report of the Indigo Commission of 1860 recalls many of the features of the recent controversy.

Planter as a landlord

32. While it must be agreed that there were evils in the system that prevailed and that these evils demanded a remedy, it is important to remember that a very exaggerated picture of conditions is obtained from the contention that has marked the last five years. The system itself was tolerable under an efficient and just management, such as, for example, that of the Pipra Concern, in whose area there appears to have been no friction of any kind for the twenty years preceding [illegible] also true that the indigo remuneration for $\frac{3}{20}$ths [illegible] for the whole holding, and the raiyat thus, hav[illegible] was saved *nolens volens* from the usual consequences of his own thriftlessness. The average indigo planter, who, like all influential Zemindars, strenuously asserted and enforced his authority, took an active interest in the welfare of his tenantry, and was [illegible] man. He decided [illegible] ably accepted, and [illegible] ndpoint of theoretical jurisprudence, there is much to be said for the authority that saved the lower classes from courts and from a technical legal system that they did [illegible] and ready justice [illegible] was the extent of [illegible] ised by unworthy persons. The impression derived from the experience of the Settlement Department is that the planters on the whole have not used their power unjustly; that they were severely handicapped by the dishonesty and unreliability [illegible] arly [illegible] heat [illegible] It [illegible] rcial basis can survive.

III—The Zemindari Organization

33. The district comprises 2,816 villages. Three-fourths of the total area is held by three large proprietors, the Bettiah Estate, the Ramnagar Estate and the Madhuban Estate. A considerable portion of the whole is leased either

difficult for them to give the time really required for the question of the settlement of fair rents between the landlords and the tenants. The matter is one of great importance both to landlords and tenants, since the rents so settled cannot be altered during the next fifteen years, and it seems therefore questionable that it should be allowed to be disposed of in the summary way that the Settlement Officer will be bound to adopt ".

This view is based on a most serious, but not unusual, misconception of facts.

The officers deputed for rent settlement are specially selected for ability and for experience. Their experience in rent questions is infinitely superior to that of Munsifs, and they have the additional advantage of a special knowledge of the economic condition of the area dealt with—a knowledge that renders possible a practical exercise of equity which is altogether beyond the reach of ignorance or pedantic legality. I have also found these officers to be, in ability, above the average of Munsifs that are deputed to this Department, though I am glad to record that I have had to deal with sound and capable officers among the latter. The proceedings are not in any sense summary, but strictly in accordance with the Civil Procedure Code. The difference in practice between the Civil and Revenue Courts is in the expedition with which cases are disposed of in the latter, and the consequent avoidance of unnecessary expense and trouble to the parties. Indeed landlords have frequently complained to me of the habitual and scandalous delays in the Civil Court.

The Behar Landholders' Association bore reluctant testimony to the superiority of the Revenue Courts in enhancement cases :—

> " It can be urged that the landlords could go to the Civil Courts with enhancement suits, but those who had an experience of such suits know how procrastinating and expensive are the methods of the Civil Courts. Civil Courts determine enhancement on documentary evidence only, while the Revenue Officers, with all their faults, possess all the necessary information, and, aided by local and other enquiries, can administer better justice, and in fact have, in the majority of cases, been able to settle fair and equitable rents within a shorter time and with less expense."

The Behar Planters' Association, when asked whether it was equitable and expedient that the contemplated revision of the record-of-rights in the Northern Behar Districts should include in the scope of its operations a special machinery for the revision of rents as between landlord and tenant, replied that such a course would be neither equitable nor expedient. The reasons given for this opinion are :—

(1) that the enhancements would favour landlords at the expense of tenants;

(2) that enhancements would not be acceptable ;

(3) that such facilities for periodical enhancements were never contemplated ;

(4) that as revenue was not to be increased there was no reason for special facilities for enhancing rents.

(5) that there had been no permanent rise in price of agricultural produce as was shown by the fact that rates of grain in the last two years of normal rainfall were almost identical with those of 15 to 20 years previously. Where high rates had prevailed it had usually been the result of a short crop.

This view acquires a special interest from the fact that in 1917 the Association complained to the Local Government against the Settlement Department for persisting in a qualified application of the theory of prices enunciated in the first instance by the Association itself. But memories are short, while influences and necessities are often pressing.

The question of costs.

39. Two other questions were discussed with reference to the cost of the operations. It was decided that Government should not bear any share of the costs beyond the loss of interest on capital advanced—a sum of between 3 and 4 lakhs of rupees, and that the whole net costs should be recovered from landlords and tenants. With regard to the respective shares of the costs which landlords and tenants should bear, this was left for decision by the Local Government, especially in view of the uncertain question as to the extent to which enhancements would be applied for.

The actual cost, gross and net, their apportionment and recovery will be dealt with in a later chapter. The work proved to be much more elaborate and tedious than had been anticipated, and the expenditure far exceeded the original estimate.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARGE AND PROCEDURE.

40. During the summer of 1913 I was engaged in recruiting the staff ... numerous arrangements that ... otifications for the Bettiah, ... 1913 (Nos. $\frac{8645}{8-IR}$ and $\frac{8656}{8\ IR}$) and I was appointed Settlement Officer on 23rd September 1913.

I was in charge of the operations from their commencement up to 5th April 1918, with the exception of three short periods of privilege leave in September-October 1915, September 1916, and September-October 1917. ... casions and Mr. A. R. ... station camps, while ... amps and the whole ... and Babu Haridas ... camps.

Procedure.

41. Three important questions arose with reference to the procedure to be adopted in Revision:—

(1) In what way precisely was the survey to be done?

(2) How far, and in what way, was the original record to be utilized?

(3) What units of area should be adopted as villages?

... pointed ... tiously, ... observe ... as the ... d settle- ... already a set of maps and a record-of-rights to which attaches the presumption of correctness.

SURVEY.

42. It was found in Orissa and Gaya that the outline and areas of fields undergo much change in a period of 15 or 20 years. As a consequence, if all the original features and numbers of the maps are retained, and changes are shown by means of new additional lines and additional fractional numbers the maps lose one of the first essentials of survey, i.e., clearness, by being overcrowded with detail. The multiplication of details also swells the number ... both expenditure and ... e recorded, checked, ... ding stage. It was ... hose position in the ... scarcely possible to ... and that the prac- ... jumbled compromise

between the physical divisions of land now and the divisions of 20 years ago, was not possible. It became necessary then to devise some method by which an accurate survey could be done on the basis of the old maps, without the reproduction of their obsolete features. To Colonel Crichton is due the credit of solving this difficulty by the invention of the blue print system. The development of this system, and of a scientific method of map correction, may be fairly claimed, I think, for the Champaran Settlement.

43. The surveyor is given a photographic reproduction of the old map in blue. The surviving features of this map are pencilled over by the surveyor and subsequently inked, and such new lines as are necessary are plotted in, pencilled and subsequently inked. All obsolete features are left in blue. A completely new serial of numbers is inserted independent of the old series and in accordance with the new existing units. When the corrected map is inked up, and its boundaries verified with all adjoining boundaries, it is sent for reproduction by the vandyke process. It emerges as a completely new map containing (*i*) the surviving features of the old map and (*ii*) new units due to the subdivision, amalgamation, or alteration of the old units and entirely without trace of the obsolete features of the old map. Blue lines do not appear in photographic reproduction.

The blue print system.

44. It was proposed, for the purposes of map correction, to utilize the data of the original survey, i. e., the trijunction marks, and the traverse or theodolite stations around the boundaries of villages, and within them, but while the trijunctions were found in most cases to have survived, a short experience proved clearly that most traverse stations had disappeared, and that to find the precarious remnant would involve an expenditure of labour and time which the results would not repay. A series of experiments showed that we could find in the maps themselves a sufficient number of unaltered positions which could be adopted, after verification, as fixed stations. These were such points as field corners, bridges, trees and pakka buildings. Before adoption each such position was tested by measurements from three independent positions. If this test was satisfactory the position was regarded as probably accurate. As however the outside positions, or points from which the measurements were made, might themselves have changed since the old map was prepared, the further test was applied of joining up the adopted stations, and of comparing their distance on the ground with the plotted distance on the map. The possibility of error was now considerably reduced. Again the whole system of adopted stations was tested and proved by linking it up with the trijunction marks. If this test was satisfactory there was no longer any reasonable ground for doubting the accuracy of the established positions. The object was to divide up each map into a framework of quadrilaterals based on the adopted stations. The quadrilateral lines would (1) show by the correspondence or otherwise of their points of intersection of field boundaries on the map with the measured distances on the ground, whether, and how much, the fields had altered in outline, and (2) furnish fixed data for correction, and for the insertion, by scientific survey, of new details.

The system of Adopted Stations.

In practice adopted stations were established at intervals of about 15 to 20 chains around the boundary and in the interior of each map, and it was contrived that, so far as possible, no point on the map should be more than 30 chains removed from such a station. The system has proved successful and, in the absence of a completely new traverse, which, incidentally, would involve difficulties in the maintenance of village units, I do not see how a better system can be devised. I have considered it necessary to enter into the details of a somewhat technical subject, as I am dealing with the first Behar revision, and the experience gained should be invaluable in future operations. In Appendix XIV will be found a sketch showing the result of revising a typical map on the system outlined above.

THE UTILISATION OF THE OLD RECORD

45 The adoption of a new serial of plot numbers rendered it unnecessary to consider the question of preparing skeleton copies of the old khatians, or records of holdings It was clearly desirable however that we should not ignore the old record, but utilize it, so far as was possible and expedient It was decided then, after consideration, to furnish the surveyor of each village with the following information from the previous record —

(i) a copy of the *khewat*, or record of proprietors and tenure holders,
(ii) a copy of the *terij* or abstract of tenancies, showing for each tenant in the last survey and settlement, the area held on cash rent, the area held on produce rent, the total area the status of the tenancy, the landlord or tenure holder under whom it was held, and the rent,
(iii) a plot index showing for each number in the old map the tenancy to which it belonged, and whether it was held on cash or produce rent

Thus we had for the purpose of reference a complete summary of the old record, and experience has proved it to be invaluable at every stage of the operations

In September 1913 I had these copies prepared in 18 days by 200 copyists under the control of a Kanungo Pandit Birinchi Jha (since promoted to the Subordinate Executive Service) for the whole of the Bettiah Sub division The copies for each village are very small in volume, and manageable, and the cost of the copies was only Rs 3 000 While these copies have no connection with the work of an amin, they are used by the Assistant Settlement Officer at Khanapuri in the decision of disputes, they are again referred to by the Attestation Officer in disputes and for the purposes of testing the legality of existing rents, of comparing old and new holdings, of comparing the old and new incidence of rent, and of deciding miscellaneous claims regarding the assessability of lands to rent, and trespass They were all the more valuable in Champaran as the raiyats in many parts had not preserved their copies of the old khatians, and as some of the landlords had not received copies

In order to maintain the necessary connexion between the old and new records and to facilitate references a plot index has been prepared showing for each plot in the record the corresponding old plot or plots With the help of this index and the old and new maps there can be no difficulty in indentifying any land in both records

VILLAGE UNITS

16 While the law directs that the village unit for the purpose of record of rights, should follow the Revenue Survey, unless the Board of Revenue sanctions a departure therefrom, it was found necessary in the original operations owing to the inadequacy of the scale of the Revenue Survey maps and the consequent uncertainty as to details along the boundary, to follow the line of possession in surveying the boundaries of villages [illegible] aps it was found that the facts of possession [illegible] were made and that raiyats of villages [illegible] into the neighbouring villages Now to follow the exact lines of the new fields would have involved numerous changes in village boundaries The result would have been that for every nominal village so affe[illegible] map, (2) the [illegible] discrepancies [illegible] litigation I[illegible] accordance with the last settlement, and an order und[illegible] Bengal Tenancy Act was issued to legalize this course Whil[illegible] thus maintained, effect was given to existing posses[illegible] for the land in question the actual cultiv[illegible] This course has avoided many disputes and [illegible] the maps and records This question did not [illegible] the Bettiah Subdivision where the propriet[illegible] to two estates The difficulty in regard to the [illegible] dealt with in the Chapter on attestat[illegible]

CHAPTER V.

SURVEY AND KHANAPURI.

47. Field work started in the beginning of November 1913. Then the difficulties were considerable, as the work was entirely new, and the staff of Amins and Inspectors was not very competent, and had to be trained. The whole staff was at first concentrated in working parties round Bettiah for training. We tried to relay the old traverse stations, but the attempt, besides taking an immense amount of time, was generally unsuccessful. Eventually the system of adopted stations was introduced, and these have proved successful in furnishing a framework for map correction. An attempt was made also to carry on the khanapuri, or preliminary record-writing, *pari passu* with survey, but this also was found impracticable. The amin armed with a map is inclined to shirk corrections, and to compose a record to suit the uncorrected map. The only way to curb this tendency is to make him correct the map in blocks, or quadrilaterals, before he writes up the record.

48 The following is a statement of the survey and khanapuri done year by year :—

Progress.

Year.	Thana.	Area in square miles.	Plots in old record.	Plots in new record.
1913-14	Bettiah			
	Bagaha	1,540	1,022,372	1,271,808
	Shikarpur			
1914-15	Bettiah			
	Bagaha	180	70,185	51,015
	Motihari			
	Dhaka			
	Adapur			
	Gobindganj	1,530	1,715,419	2,114,708
	Kesaria			
	Madhuban			
	Total	3,250	2,807,976	3,437,531

The programme for 1913-14 was the map correction and preliminary record-writing of the Bettiah Subdivision, with the exception of the 250 square miles of hill and jungle which had been excluded from the previous settlement. Of the 1,720 square miles thus taken up it was possible to finish only 1,540 square miles in the first season, as the ravages of the river Gandak had obliterated all the old land marks over an area of 180 square miles, and a new traverse survey was necessary. The survey of this area was postponed. During the season 1914-15 the survey and preliminary record-writing of the six thanas of the Sadr Subdivision were completed without difficulty, and a new traverse rendered possible the revision of the diara area in both Subdivisions. Also maps and khesras were prepared for the Bettiah and Motihari municipalities. The survey was difficult, especially in the Bettiah Subdivision. The fields were found to have altered to an abnormal degree, and the plotting in of the new detail was correspondingly laborious. The general causes that contribute to render maps and records out of date are partition, family subdivisions of tenancies, transfers, fluvial action, abandonments, and new reclamation. There were in Champaran additional special causes of change.

(*i*) The famine of 1897 came when the original record was practically completed. This led to a decrease of population and the abandonment of considerable areas.

(*ii*) The Tribeni Canal was constructed after the last settlement. It runs for 60 miles along the north of the district and irrigates the area south of it through numerous distributaries. The canal has created competition for land in the area commanded and has intensified cultivation.

(*iii*) Four Railway
Bhiknatori
have been
drawn cultivation towards it at the expense of the more remote tracts and has brought many new bazars into existence

(*iv*) The malarious climate of the north of the district helped by agrarian discontent and by the nomadic habits of the Tharus, led to great changes in thanas Bagaha and Shikarpur In many villages of this area no trace whatever of the old field divisions was found

These causes will not continue to operate to the same extent, and it is reasonable to anticipate that at the next revision the survey will not furnish such a difficult problem

DISPUTES

19 Disputes were far more numerous than was anticipated and there can be no doubt that a large percentage of them was due to the machinations of corrupt amins and landlords agents

The figures are —

Subdivision	Number of disputes	Average number per square mile	Percentage of dispute to plots
Bettiah	25 009	16	2
Sadr	39 107	23	1 8
District figures	64 116	19	1 86

The real percentage of plots in dispute however is nearer 5, as most disputes relate to more plots than one

In the Bettiah Subdivision all the Khanapuri disputes were decided by the Assistant Settlement Officers In the Sadr Subdivision this was found to be impossible, and the simpler types of disputes were decided by Kanungoes ... Settlement Officers The volume of ... Settlement Officers were left very ... ndence of the field work The

Bettiah Subdivision ... 000
Sadr do .. ,700

If we assume the normal field season to be 6 months and allow 25 working days to each month an Assistant Settlement Officer in order to finish his work in time should have had to decide between 40 and 15 disputes per working day This is not possible as the Assistant Settlement Officer has other, and very important, duties to perform

The reasons that contributed to disputes were —

(*i*) Private partitions of tenancies since the last settlement
(*ii*) Abandonment and subsequent claiming of holdings
(*iii*) Fraud in transfers and confusion and doubt as to their nature
(*iv*) Attempts to set aside the old record
(*v*) The unsatisfactory titles of rent free tenancies
(*vi*) The conflicting claims to rights in trees

There was in addition the very important fact that the main proprietors of the district adopted the impractical policy of disputing existing facts, forgetting in the first place that, so far as the law allows, we are bound to record facts and, in the second place, that much time wasted in frivolous claims deducts seriously from the energy and attention that can be devoted to the accuracy of the records

Boundary Marks.

50. The majority of the trijunction marks were found to have survived and to be in correct position. The figures for the subdivisions are :—

Subdivision.	Total number of trijunctions.	Number of marks found.	Percentage found.
Bettiah	3,138	1,93[illegible]	61
Sadr	2,924	1,[illegible]33	63
District figures ...	6,062	3,768	62

New stones were embedded at all the places where the marks were missing. In general the preservation of trijunction marks in the district has been satisfactory. The percentage of missing marks is swelled by the fact that in the Gandak diara area no marks survived. Traverse station marks as a rule could not be found. The clay cylinders employed as marks were too small and too fragile to be of any permanent utility. It is much to be regretted that traverse stations were not permanently marked in the original operations, as they would be invaluable both for identifying positions, and for the correction of the maps.

Boundary Disputes.

51. Boundary disputes were not numerous, but the law on boundaries gave considerable trouble. It has been explained already that the previous cadastral boundaries of villages were maintained. Errors such as gaps or overlaps in the old maps were corrected either without dispute, or under section 41, Survey Act, where there were disputes. The Ramnagar Raj, on the ground that areas of waste and jungle had wrongly been surveyed within mukarrari villages at the last survey, disputed the boundaries of all the villages held by mukarraridars, or permanent tenure-holders, and claimed that the boundaries of the Revenue Survey maps should be followed.

The action taken was simply to relay the boundaries according to the last Survey under section 45 of the Bengal Survey Act, without prejudice to possession or title, the former of which could be contested in internal disputes, and the latter in the Civil Court. Much trouble was thus avoided. The adoption of any other course, such as for instance, the decision of all such disputes under section 41 of the Bengal Survey Act, would have stultified the general policy of stability sanctioned by the Board of Revenue under section 115-A, Bengal Tenancy Act.

The Champaran-Gorakhpur Boundary.

52. In 1887 the boundary between Gorakhpur and Champaran was determined by a Commission. Gorakhpur had been cadastrally surveyed in 1885, while Champaran was surveyed between 1892 and 1896. The maps of the border villages of the two districts were apparently not compared at the last settlement, and a comparison in 1914 revealed the fact that they did not agree. There had been boundary disputes between the Bettiah Estate on the one hand and the Tamkuhi and the Salemgarh Estates on the other, and a difficult dispute between Mauza Dhumnagar (thana Bagaha No. 432) in Champaran and Mauza Amwa in Gorakhpur disclosed the fact that an area of 27·50 acres had been excluded from the maps of both the districts. The United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa Governments agreed to have the discrepancies reconciled by Mr. J. R. Booth, I.C.S., of the Gorakhpur District and the Settlement Officer, North Bihar. We were seriously handicapped by the fact that the maps of the previous Commission's decision could not be found either in the United Provinces or in the Bihar and Orissa offices. We met on the boundary during the last week of November 1915, when we went over all the disputed ground and again on 12th March 1916. We submitted our joint reports in March 1916. The Governments of both provinces have since accepted the recommendations made in the report. The maps have been brought into agreement, and the boundary has been demarcated by masonry pillars at the disputed places wherever these were of such a nature as to admit of permanent

demarcation. The identification and relaying of the boundary will always be a matter of difficulty in certain areas that are subject to the ravages of the river Gandak, and do not admit of permanent boundary demarcation. Every experience of shifting rivers confirms the soundness of the view in which all the Bihar Settlement Officers seem agreed, viz, that the whole non-permanent area between high bank and high bank should be within the administrative control of one district. It is important to remember that the boundary line adopted is merely administrative, and is not intended to decide the conflicting claims of neighbouring estates.

MUNICIPAL SURVEYS.

53. The Municipalities of Bettiah and Motihari were, at the request of the Commissioners, surveyed under the provisions of the Calcutta Survey Act. The actual survey was done in the summer of 1915. The Bettiah Municipality was taken up on 1st May 1915, and finished on 17th July 1915. The survey was based on a network of traverse stations fixed by the Traverse Office. The survey was supervised by [illegible] t Superintendent of Survey, the [illegible] map was on the scale 64 inche [illegible] all encroachments that may be made on public lands.

A khesra or map index was prepared showing for each plot in the map—

(i) the mahalla,
(ii) the name of the owner,
(iii) its description,
(iv) its area,
(v) the holding number according to the Municipal register.

There were 474 disputes, which were decided locally by the Assistant Superintendent of Survey. Only one appeal was instituted. It was decided by the Collector who had bee [illegible] under section 11 of the Act. After t [illegible] was published under section 20 in [illegible] May 1916, and the maps and records were deposited for two months in the Municipal Office. Subsequently 11 objections were disposed of by the Superintendent of Survey. On 8th June 1917, Government's approval of the Survey was notified. Twenty copies of the map with the records have been deposited in the Municipal Office, while the original map has been deposited in the Bihar and Orissa Drawing Office.

The same procedure was followed in the Survey of the Motihari Municipality. The late Babu Mahendra Nath Sarkar was an Assistant Superintendent of Survey. There were 84 disputes, which that officer decided. The six appeals filed were decided by the Collector. The following are the more important dates :—

Commencement of Survey	6th May 1915.
Completion of Survey	18th July 1915.
Notification under section 20	19th January 1916
Deposit of record in Municipal Office	22nd January to 22nd March 1916.
Notification of Government's approval of the Survey ...	8th June 1917.

The records with twenty copies of the map have been made over to the Municipal Office.

In addition to the detailed maps, index wall maps on the scale 8 inches = 1 mile have been prepared for each Municipality and its surroundings. The following is a statement of areas and cost :—

—	Area surveyed	Total cost.	Total plots	Cost per acre	Cost per 100 plots.
	Acres.	Rs		Rs. a. p	Rs a p.
Bettiah ...	743 00	2,378	9,273	3 2 0	25 8 0
Motihari ...	116 56	620	2,528	4 5 6	22 4 9

The costs of the operations were advanced in each instance by the Municipality.

Boundary Marks.

50. The majority of the trijunction marks were found to have survived and to be in correct position. The figures for the subdivisions are :—

Subdivision.	Total number of trijunctions.	Number of marks found.	Percentage found.
Bettiah	3,138	1,93[illegible]	61
Sadr	2,924	1,[illegible]33	63
District figures ...	6,062	3,768	62

New stones were embedded at all the places where the marks were missing. In general the preservation of trijunction marks in the district has been satisfactory. The percentage of missing marks is swelled by the fact that in the Gandak diara area no marks survived. Traverse station marks as a rule could not be found. The clay cylinders employed as marks were too small and too fragile to be of any permanent utility. It is much to be regretted that traverse stations were not permanently marked in the original operations, as they would be invaluable both for identifying positions, and for the correction of the maps.

Boundary Disputes.

51. Boundary disputes were not numerous, but the law on boundaries gave considerable trouble. It has been explained already that the previous cadastral boundaries of villages were maintained. Errors such as gaps or overlaps in the old maps were corrected either without dispute, or under section 41, Survey Act, where there were disputes. The Ramnagar Raj, on the ground that areas of waste and jungle had wrongly been surveyed within mukarrari villages at the last survey, disputed the boundaries of all the villages held by mukarraridars, or permanent tenure-holders, and claimed that the boundaries of the Revenue Survey maps should be followed.

The action taken was simply to relay the boundaries according to the last Survey under section 45 of the Bengal Survey Act, without prejudice to possession or title, the former of which could be contested in internal disputes, and the latter in the Civil Court. Much trouble was thus avoided. The adoption of any other course, such as for instance, the decision of all such disputes under section 41 of the Bengal Survey Act, would have stultified the general policy of stability sanctioned by the Board of Revenue under section 115-A, Bengal Tenancy Act.

The Champaran-Gorakhpur Boundary.

52. In 1887 the boundary between Gorakhpur and Champaran was determined by a Commission. Gorakhpur had been cadastrally surveyed in 1885, while Champaran was surveyed between 1892 and 1896. The maps of the border villages of the two districts were apparently not compared at the last settlement, and a comparison in 1914 revealed the fact that they did not agree. There had been boundary disputes between the Bettiah Estate on the one hand and the Tamkuhi and the Salemgarh Estates on the other, and a difficult dispute between Mauza Dhumnagar (thana Bagaha No. 432) in Champaran and Mauza Amwa in Gorakhpur disclosed the fact that an area of 27·50 acres had been excluded from the maps of both the districts. The United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa Governments agreed to have the discrepancies reconciled by Mr. J. R. Booth, I.C.S., of the Gorakhpur District and the Settlement Officer, North Bihar. We were seriously handicapped by the fact that the maps of the previous Commission's decision could not be found either in the United Provinces or in the Bihar and Orissa offices. We met on the boundary during the last week of November 1915, when we went over all the disputed ground and again on 12th March 1916. We submitted our joint reports in March 1916. The Governments of both provinces have since accepted the recommendations made in the report. The maps have been brought into agreement, and the boundary has been demarcated by masonry pillars at the disputed places wherever these were of such a nature as to admit of permanent

demarcation. The identification and relaying of the boundary will always be a matter of difficulty in certain areas that are subject to the ravages of the river Gandak, and do not admit of permanent boundary demarcation. ... soundness of the view in which ... viz, that the whole non-perma... should be within the adminis... to remember that the boundary ... s not intended to decide the conflicting claims of neighbouring estates.

Municipal Surveys.

53. The Municipalities of Bettiah and Motihari were, at the request of the Commissioners, surveyed under the provisions of the Calcutta Survey Act. The actual survey was done in the summer of 1915. The Bettiah Municipality was taken up on 1st May 1915, and finished on 17th July 1915. The survey was based on a network of traverse stations fixed by the Traverse Office. The survey was supervised by ... Superintendent of Survey, the ... map was on the scale 64 inche... all encroachments that may be made on public lands.

A khesra or map index was prepared showing for each plot in the map—

(i) the mahalla,
(ii) the name of the owner,
(iii) its description,
(iv) its area,
(v) the holding number according to the Municipal register.

There were 474 disputes, which were decided locally by the Assistant Superintendent of Survey. Only one appeal was instituted. It was decided by the Collector who had bee... under section 11 of the Act. After t... n was published under section 20 in ... May 1916, and the maps and records were deposited for two months in the Municipal Office. Subsequently 11 objections were disposed of by the Superintendent of Survey. On 8th June 1917, Government's approval of the Survey was notified. Twenty copies of the map with the records have been deposited in the Municipal Office, while the original map has been deposited in the Bihar and Orissa Drawing Office

The same procedure was followed in the Survey of the Motihari Municipality. The late Babu Mahendra Nath Sarkar was an Assistant Superintendent of Survey. There were 84 disputes, which that officer decided The six appeals filed were decided by the Collector. The following are the more important dates :—

Commencement of Survey	6th May 1915.
Completion of Survey	18th July 1915.
Notification under section 20	19th January 1916.
Deposit of record in Municipal Office	22nd January to 22nd March 1916.
Notification of Government's approval of the Survey ...	8th June 1917.

The records with twenty copies of the map have been made over to the Municipal Office.

In addition to the detailed maps, index wall maps on the scale 8 inches=1 mile have been prepared for each Municipality and its surroundings. The following is a statement of areas and cost :—

—	Area surveyed	Total cost.	Total plots	Cost per acre			Cost per 100 plots.		
	Acres.	Rs		Rs	a.	p	Rs	a	p
Bettiah ...	758 90	2,378	9,273	3	2	0	25	8	0
Motihari ...	146 56	629	2,828	4	5	6	22	4	9

The costs of the operations were advanced in each instance by the Mun... pality.

Check of Survey and Khanapuri.

54. The prescribed standard of survey check or partal is 2 linear miles per square mile. The actual test done was 3·78 linear miles per square mile for the Bettiah Subdivision, and 3·88 linear miles per square mile for the Motihari Subdivision. The major portion of the check was what is known as "*katan partal*", i.e., partal in which whole fields are not replotted, but only intersections of the partal line with the field boundaries are tested. The necessity for checking Khanapuri *pari passu* with survey curtails the time which the inspection staff can devote to either, and katan testing is a much more rapid process than the ordinary partal. The Khanapuri or preliminary record was tested for 16 per cent of the total number of plots in the Bettiah Subdivision and for 14·37 per cent of the total in the Sadr Subdivision.

Some Additional Points of Interest.

55. It became clear at an early stage that landlords, as a rule, would try to preserve the areas recorded as in their possession at the last settlement. Proprietors' private land is defined in section 120 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In Champaran, as elsewhere in North Bihar, very little land was found to answer this description in the original settlement. The privileges which attach to such land by virtue of section 116 of the Act refer only to proprietors' land and not to land in the occupation of the tenure-holders. A very large area in Champaran is leased permanently or temporarily to tenure-holders, who in practice treat specified lands as their own private property and not liable to the accrual of adverse raiyati interests. With the exception of the negligible area recorded in the last settlement as "zirat" or proprietors' private land, all land found in the actual possession of proprietors and tenure-holders was recorded as "bakasht". This land, if let out even temporarily to a settled raiyat of the village, becomes a part of his occupancy holding. The Khanapuri Officers reported that in the estates of the Babus of Naraipur, Bargaon and Dumaria of the Bettiah Subdivision, as well as in the thikadari areas under the Bettiah Estate, many raiyats, though in occupation of such lands, did not claim to be recorded for them. As the competition in Champaran is ordinarily rather for raiyats than for land I did not consider it advisable to take any action beyond ensuring that their claims, if made, would be noted and considered. and The Madhubani raiyats did subsequently claim those lands at attestation, proved their possession in the majority of cases. I do not consider that the refraining from such claims in a large number of cases was due to any kind of intimidation. The facts that the raiyats did not regard themselves as having any permanent right or interest in such lands, and that the rents of such lands, as a general rule, were extraordinarily high, as compared with the prevailing rents, are sufficient to account for the abstention.

Suppression of Raiyats.

56. It was suggested that in Revision Settlements, in order to expedite work and reduce costs, an attempt should be made to attest the records in the Khanapuri season. This was impossible in Champaran. The newness and difficulty of the survey made progress slow. Landlords and tenants require to see what entries have been made before attestation, and in the case of big landlords like the Bettiah Estate it would not be possible to obtain copies and scrutinize the preliminary record in the year it is made. The keenness of the parties has been a prominent feature of Revision. The suggestion has the additional objection that it involves the sacrifice of the Khanapuri recess work, and experience shows that the record, being entirely new, needs every check that is applied in original operations.

Procedure.

57. The old record-of-rights contained 2,867,976 plots while the new record contains 3,437,531. There has thus been an increase of 22 per cent. It will be seen later that this did not involve an increase of the cultivated area. The increase is due to transfers and to subdivisions that follow from increase of

Fields.

population The average size of the field at the last settlement was 74 acre while now it is 60 acre

58 It was decided to map separately and enter in separate khatians areas of waste land on which raiyats had encroached Such cases were considerable

Encroachments

It is easy to misapply such instructions to cases for instance where old waste has really been settled with a raiyat or where encroachment has already been condoned and rent has be [illegible] Officer considered at the time that [illegible] *amla* of the Bettiah Estate t[illegible] Subsequent events however [illegible] has been found in rent settl[illegible] areas only in cases of specific encroachment

CHAPTER VI.

ATTESTATION AND COMPLETION OF THE RECORD

59 The attestation proceedings just like the survey and khanapuri were completed in two field seasons The following is a statement of progress —

Year	Thanas	Area in square miles	Total Plots	—
1914 15	Bettiah* Bagaha* Shikarpur	1 540	1,255 221	* Dara of Bettiah and Bagaha thanas excluded
1915 16	Motihari Dhaka Adapur Kesariya Gobindganj Madhuban	1 [illegible]0	2 190 379	
	Bettiah Bagaha	160*		* Dara only in Bettiah and Bagaha thanas
	District Total	3 2[illegible]0	3 445 600	

The area taken up in the field season 1914 15 was comprised almost entirely in the Bettiah and Ramnagar Estates The attestation started about the middle of October in a *training camp near* Bettiah, where *all the officers* worked to[illegible] The work was extrem[illegible] [illegible]ced officers employed [illegible] each village and partly to the very keen interest displayed by parties in the proceedings There was the additional very heavy burthen of dealing with the enormous volume of claims and objections put forward by the employes of the Bettiah Estate No attempt was made to force the pace beyond what the officers could bear, so that the field season continued on into May There were thirteen camps each dealing with about a lakh of plots

60 It became apparent early that the Bettiah Estate would strenuously contest the procedure and judicial attitude of this department The result was a continuous [illegible] [illegible]ct of inducing care in the w[illegible] necessarily the extra attentio[illegible] [illegible]ccuracy of th[illegible] record, and [illegible] which I leave

Procedure

for consideration elsewhere. It is necessary to treat the cases dealt with in the Bettiah Subdivision at some length, in order to show that great pains were taken to get a correct record, and because the cases themselves involve very important questions of law and principle, which have since become the subject of considerable public interest.

Each Attestation Officer was furnished, in addition to the preliminary record and a vandyke copy of the revised map prepared at khanapuri, with the following documents:—

(*i*) a blue copy of the last survey map of each village,

(*ii*) a plot index of the old record, a copy of the *terij* (or abstract of holdings) and *khewat* (or record of proprietors' and tenure-holders' interests) of the old record.

These documents enabled him to establish identity between positions in the new and old maps, and trace the history and changes, if any, of the old tenancies. During the *bujharat*, or preliminary explanation, of the record to landlords and tenants, the munsarims prepared for each village a schedule showing separately for each existing holding, its survey and jamabandi area and the rent claimed by the parties and showing also, if the holding dated back to the last settlement, its area and rent then. This schedule was scrutinized by the Attestation Officer before the rents were attested, and it served the purpose of indicating where enhancements and changes had occurred.

The landlords' representatives came armed with copies of the records, made between khanapuri and attestation. They were given every possible facility in the camps for filling in the entries of rent and status in accordance with the attested record.

61. It was found that thikadars or temporary tenure-holders had in some cases, without authority, converted to cash certain produce rents recorded in the last settlement. It was decided to record these rents as *batai*, noting at the same time the cash rate that was being paid for the period of the thika.

Commutations by Thikadars.

Thikadars in the Ramnagar Estate exercise the right of settling land with raiyats. Thikadars in the Bettiah Estate are forbidden, by the terms of their leases, to settle lands without sanction of the estate management, but they have commonly settled land without sanction. The practice was to settle the land at a slightly higher rate than it bore before, and to take at the same time a *salami* which the thikadar appropriated. In a number of such cases the estate called the raiyats to Bettiah, and, revising the settlements made by the thikadars, enhanced the rents by agreement. It was undoubtedly wrong of the lease holders to violate an important condition of the *pattas*, but in equity the estate's remedy would seem to be against the thikadar, as the raiyats had paid *salami* and taken the settlements in good faith, not being privy to the terms of elaborate contracts between their immediate and ultimate landlords. The view taken by the settlement department was that the settlements made by the thikadars were valid so long as the raiyats acted in good faith, and there was no evidence that they had acted otherwise. If then the settlements were made with settled raiyats, any enhancement of the rent made by the estate must be subject to section 29, Bengal Tenancy Act, and must be ruled illegal, if it exceeded two annas in the rupee. The Board, on a reference being made, "had no doubt either as to the equity or as to the legal correctness of the view, that a settlement of land by a lessee with a tenant is good in spite of its being made in infraction of a contract between the proprietor and the lessee to which the tenant is no party". The legal principle is so important that I shall dwell on it a little further. The Estate, relying on the High Court Ruling reported in 19 C. W. N., page 321, claimed that where thikadars had settled lands with raiyats without authority, and the estate subsequently enhanced those rents beyond the limit imposed by section 29, Bengal Tenancy Act, the enhancements should be allowed, *as based on compromises.* The ruling in question professes to re-affirm two previous rulings, (1) Sheo Sahay Pandey *versus* Ramrachya Ray (I. L. R. 18 Cal., 333.) and (2) Natha Singh *versus* Damri Singh, (28 Cal., 90).

In each of these cases there was a compromise as to the rent payable for a holding In each case the rent before the compromise had been in dispute, and there was no evidence to prove what the previous rent had been The compromises were not agreements to enhance, but agreements as to the nature and amount of rents up to then undetermined and disputed The attempt to extend the principle of these rulings to cases in which a rent, already known and paid for several years, is deliberately enhanced is in reality an attempt to set compromise above law, and to annul the enhancement provisions of the tenancy law This method of evasion is discussed in the printed proceedings relating to the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act of 1907 Examples of cases in which this question came up for decision are mauza Kotwa (thana Bagaha No 241) and mauza Gudra (thana Bettiah No 273)

62 In certain cases small additions had been made to holdings since the last settlement and the rent of the amalgama-

Amalgamations

The law on this point is not very clear On the one hand it would appear that when the identity of a holding is destroyed and a new holding is created, the rent of the new holding is altogether a matter of agreement between the parties On the other hand it is also clear that the rent of a holding cannot be doubled by the addition of an area equivalent to one twentieth of the holding, e g —

Old holding	1 bigha
Old rent	Rs 5
Amalgamated holding	1 bigha 1 katha
New rent	Rs 10

The rents were dealt with on the merits of each case

63 Enhancements of rent in consideration of the release of the raiyats from the obligation of growing indigo were met with in six villages of the Bettiah Subdivision held in permanent lease by the Turkaulia Concern. This subject became of the greatest interest, and will be dealt with fully in connection with the attestation of the Sadr Subdivision

Sharahbeshi

64 Very numerous claims were made by the Bettiah Estate to have a separate record of land held by raiyats by encroachment or otherwise, without settlement. The decision of these claims was often difficult and took much time I was of opinion that they were unnecessary, that the estate in any case should welcome the extension of cultivation and that as the estate was in a position to prove that its *Jamabandi* areas were based on measurement the excess lands could be assessed at the time of fair rent settlement This opinion was wrong in respect of two important matters The estate did not want these alleged excess areas or encroachments assessed at fair rates according to existing standards which Revenue Officers more or less follow but at very high rates comparatively Again it transpired at the fair rent settlement stage that the estate was not generally in a position to prove a custom of settlement of land after measurement, so that applications for the assessment of excess areas failed except where definite lands were attested as unrented but liable to rent or where the excess could be proved by a comparison of the old and new records of rights

Kabil lagan Claims

The policy then of the estate in claiming the separate recording of areas liable to rent has been justified, though, as might be expected the claims were made in a large number of cases unsuccessfully The following were the principles adopted in deciding these claims —

(i) Where separate khatians were made out at khanapuri for encroachments these were attested as liable to rent (*kabil lagan*)

(ii) In all cases of tenancies dating back to the last settlement, where new fields were held by the tenant without settlement, such fields were recorded in a separate khatian as *kabil lagan.* The landlord's *Jamabandi* showed where new settlements had been made and new rents assessed.

(iii) The case of tenancies originating after the last settlement is different. If certain plots are claimed as liable to assessment it must be clearly proved that these plots were not settled with the raiyat. To prove this it will be necessary to show what plots were actually settled. It is important to distinguish between settlements made by survey numbers merely, and those made after measurement. In the former case the landlord may have settled in good faith the area contained in those numbers in the survey maps, while the raiyats also in good faith accepted the fields as they stood at the time of the *bandobast*. Now the plots may have changed considerably in shape or size since the time of the survey, and the raiyat cannot be said to be a trespasser in respect of any increase that had already accrued to the fields when he accepted them. Hence such increases cannot be said to be *kabil lagan.* Where however there was a measurement, and the area thus measured and settled can be satisfactorily identified, any land held by the raiyat outside the settled area is clearly liable to assessment.

The question of unidentifiable excess area will be treated in connection with case work.

The application of the above principles is illustrated by the following case :—

Mouza Sirji Barhampur (thana Bagaha No. 119) was khanapuried in 1321F., and attested in 1322F. In 1320F. (i.e., the year before Khanapuri) all raiyats' holdings were measured by the amin of the *thikadar* (Chautarwa Factory) and areas found to be in excess of the *Jamabandi* areas were assessed to additional rent at the rates of the holdings The increased rents were realized in 1321-F. The estate did not approve of the assessment, and while disclaiming it claimed numerous plots as *kabil lagan.* Now the *thikadar's* amin had ascertained all the plots held by each raiyat, but apparently had not ascertained which specific plots were outside the *jamabandi* lands. The *patwari* said that only a few tenancies in the village dated back to the last settlement. He did not know if there had been a measurement and the times the various lands were settled. The Assistant Settlement Officer—

(1) disallowed the increases in the rents.

(2) disallowed the *kabil lagan* claims except where it appeared either that a last settlement tenancy had acquired fresh areas without assessment of rent, or that raiyats held lands at the time of attestation that were not found in their possession by the amin in 1320F.

65. The question of rights in trees has given trouble at every stage of the operations. The most prevalent division of rights in the district has been correctly stated in paragraphs 256 to 258 of the last settlement final report. There are two kinds of trees, *Gayari* and *Anthrope.* The former belong entirely to the landlord, and include those standing on malik's waste land, or on holdings surrendered to the landlord, or taken possession of by him on the abandonment of the raiyats. The *anthrope* trees are those planted by the raiyat in his cash-rented holding. In these the general custom is that the fruits belong entirely to the raiyat while the timber goes half to the raiyat and half to the landlord. With regard to cutting down trees on raiyati holdings the tenant usually takes the permission of the landlord, and so his right is limited by custom.

The tree question.

The above statement is sufficiently clear so far as it goes. The difficulty arose from several causes.

(i) The old record in a majority of cases contained entries of too indefinite a character to determine rights For example, trees in waste land are

usually entered *bakab e* (in possession of) *malil* and trees in raiyats' holdings are entered *bakab-e raiyat* merely Occasionally in the latter case the words *katne bechne pa nisf haq* (or *hissa*) *malik* are added In general then we had to decide the question of *rights* both in fruit and timber, whereas the record usually made no distinction of fruit and mentioned only possession

(ii) " " described is by no means universal, and f papers and a separate history, it was each village It was found that in tappa Deoraj which is inhabited by very forceful Shaikh raiyats, the latter clearly established a custom by which they took the entire fruit and timber of *anthrope* trees and the estate was unable successfully to contest their claim by proof of realization Again it was found the *biritdars* in general had full rights in trees in their rent free tenancies and that similar rights had in many cases been exercised by *birit bandobastidars* (i e, holders of former *birits* without title subsequently assessed to rent) These cases formed exceptions to the general custom of the villages in which these tenancies were found

(iii) Rights in *bar pakar* and *pipar* trees were claimed by tenants but it is an almost universal custom that these sacred trees belong entirely to the landlord

(iv) Anomalous cases were found in which although the general custom of a village was that trees in raiyats holdings belong entirely to the raiyats who had disposed of them without let or hindrance certain individuals had surrendered their right by yielding a share in timber in recent years to the landlord An example is mauza Bagaha which is a very old village

(v) In villages held in permanent lease by the Parsa concern it was found that an annual assessment was made of the half share of all *anthrope* mango and jack trees or an annual tree tax was levied to represent the average assessment The assessment is known as *kut* while the tree tax is called *piri*. When the validity of the claim came up for decision Mr Gordon Canning withdrew all claims in respect of the fruit of mango trees With respect to the jack trees it was found that the assessment or tax is of comparatively recent origin and the question whether the raiyats full rights in fruit had been extinguished by the requisite period of prevention and exclusion had to be decided on the evidence in each case

(vi) Trees are often planted on landlord's waste land by raiyats In such cases the generally prevalent custom is either that the raiyat gets all the fruit and the landlord all the timber, or that timber and fruit are enjoyed in equal shares by landlord and tenant

The cases were keenly contested especially the general claim of raiyats that they were entitled to full rights in *anthrope* trees a claim which they supported by referring to the last settlement entry *ba ab e raiyat* The explanation that *kabza* indicates possession only they regarded as merely ingenious In the Bettiah Subdivision however the subject of trees did not evoke the bitter resentment with which the raiyats received our decisions in the Sadr Subdivision Raiyats have repeatedly argued before me that the idea of dividing *anthrope* trees is entirely unfair that they pay rent for their holdings in which they have a permanent right, that the trees are part of the produce of their holdings and that there can be no justification for depriving them of this produce It must be confessed that this argument is difficult to meet

I submitted the following opinion on this subject to the Champaran Agrarian Committee —

" The raiyats resent this custom and I myself consider that its maintenance is impolitic and inequitable I notice that in recent settlements of lands the Bettiah Estate and its permanent tenure holders are entirely excluding and reserving trees I consider [illegible] would be sound policy to value the sell it to the raiyat What the latter without interference the produce of his own land, for which he pays rent and

the reservation of a right such as I have indicated merely adds one more to the pretexts for extortion and interference which *amla* and subordinates take advantage of."

It is sometimes stated as a final argument against the above suggestion that the handing over of trees to raiyats would lead to complete denudation of the district. This is merely a statement against which I must point to two concrete facts. In Purnea district in places where the landlords have reserved rights in trees the country is treeless, as the raiyats have no inducement to plant. In Saran where raiyats have full rights in *anthrope* trees, the country is excellently wooded.

71—Sathi concern.

66. The Sathi concern holds in temporary lease villages with an annual rent roll of about Rs. 60,000 under the Bettiah Estate. Indigo was cultivated formerly on the 'tinkathia system' The system, especially when jute was partly substituted for indigo, and Java Indigo was introduced, led to very serious discontent and some disturbances. The concern decided to stop indigo and jute growing, and for the income thus lost a compensation was attempted by turning to profit the irrigation system constructed originally for indigo lands. In 1908-09 the raiyats executed *sattas* or agreements binding themselves to pay annually an irrigation tax (*pain kharcha*) of Rs. 3 for every bigha in their holdings. The concern on its side promised (1) to supply water for the raiyat's holdings in a proper manner (*munasib tarika se*).

(2) to abstain from enhancing the raiyats' rents so long as they paid the tax.

Very elaborate enquiries were made by the Attestation Officers, specially Babu Akhauri Gopi Kishore Lal, whose camp (No. IX) embraced the greater portion of the Sathi area. Each village was visited, and the *pains* were examined from end to end. The raiyats strenuously contested the legality of the contracts, and alleged that their agreement had been obtained by force. This allegation however was not proved. The enquiries elicited the following main facts with reference to the whole subject :—

The *pains* consisted of 4 main systems taking off from the Pandai, Ramrekha and Maniari rivers and aimed at irrigating about 72 villages. The chief crop of the area is *aghani* or winter rice. The '*pains*' had the great limitation that they depended on the damming of rivers, and these rivers cannot in practice be dammed in the rainy season. The *pains* then were not in a position really to command and protect the *aghani* crop It was clearly proved also that they could never irrigate the whole area on which the tax was collected, and that the tax was in fact collected for villages never irrigated (for example mouza Poia, No. 329, mouza Hichopal, No. 471, mouza Nandtola No. 176, thana Bettiah). It was decided to record the tax as legally payable by raiyats in accordance with their contracts, so long as the raiyat in each case got a timely and adequate supply of water. This condition was considered to be the only one that could either be legal consideration for the contract, or be a conscionable interpretation of the words '*munasib tarika se*' in the *sattas*. There can be no doubt that the future enforcing of the contracts would have been extremely difficult in the great majority of cases. Before, however, the irrigation record could be attested, the collection of the tax was stopped by executive order. It was found that the condition against enhancement of rents, which was obviously *ultra vires* so far as the Factory was concerned, and was the main real consideration for the contract, was directly antagonistic to the interest of the superior landlord, the Bettiah Estate. There can be no doubt that the action taken was correct. It is not clear whether the management of the Estate had acquainted itself with the conditions before the settlement brought them to notice, but it subsequently came to light that the concern had definitely promised when the *pains* were constructed, that the raiyats would not be charged for water. It appears then that the raiyat paid for several years considerable sums on the strength of an agreement which the other contracting party was not in a position to fulfil completely.

67. A considerable area of so-called *zirat* land was leased out by the Sathi Concern on *hunda* rents (i.e., for a specified number of maunds of grain per annum). This land, being found at khanapuri in the possession of the raiyats, was recorded in their names. Between khanapuri and attestation the Factory, with the sanction of the [illegible] fixed cash rents for these lands, and also *salamis* to be [illegible] *hunda* raiyats who accepted the terms [illegible] the lands of *hunda* tenants who did not assent to the terms were settled with others. The whole transaction was [illegible] occupancy rights in the lands, [illegible] not as they wished. They [illegible] a Revenue Officer under [illegible] The right of settlement or agreement was with the proprietor, and not the thikadar, and the taking of *salami* by the latter meant the loss of so much capitalised rent to the Estate. The cases were noticed in Camp X in February 1914 by the Director of Land Records, who expressed strong disapproval of the transaction.

The Sathi Hunda lands

T[illegible] their agreements, and [illegible] however, Babunandan [illegible] sion, and, as he was clearly entitled to be recorded at attestation, his name was retained in the record. This man applied for commutation of his produce rent. The new settlement [illegible] out of possession for about three years and a half.

68. The question of *abwab* came into prominent notice as the result of enquiries ordered by Government into the allegations made in petitions presented by raiyats of North Bettiah.

Abwab and Painkharcha.

The greater part of the Bettiah Subdivision is held in permanent or temporary tenure. The permanent tenure-holders are indigo factories which [illegible] The temporary tenure-holders [illegible] d the major portion [illegible] thikadari areas cover [illegible] has been disconti- [illegible] whether they have [illegible] is a list of the main [illegible]

(i) *painkharcha*, generally at Rs 3 per bigha.
(ii) *bandh behri* at one anna per rupee of rent.
(iii) *hisabana* at one anna per rupee of rent.
(iv) *dasahara* at half an anna per rupee of rent.
(v) *tahrir* at half an anna per rupee of rent.
(vi) *farkawan* at eight annas to Re. 1 per tenant.
(vii) *bapahi putohi*, an illegal inheritance tax on heritable raiyati holdings.

Various other items such as *marwach* (a tax of Re 1-4-0 on the marriage of a girl), *tikabhenti, gurubhenti, batchapi, jungla samnawisi, dewan dasturi* and *uprohiti* have been admittedly levied.

69. It is important, however, to remember that in no one case are all these items levied, that the nomenclature of *abwab* varies from place to place

Incidence of abwab

that a raiyat seldom pays more than 100 per cent over his legal rent, and that the legal rent is low. The general incidence of *abwab* varies in practice from 30 per cent to 120 per cent of the legal raiyati rental. The possible demand and actual realizations of *abwab* can be illustrated from figures collected in the Ramnagar Estate. The following figures are taken from 10 villages :—

1 bigha = 2·28 acres.

Average holding = 6·53 acres or roughly 3 bighas.

Average rent per bigha = Rs. 3-10-6.

„ „ per acre = „ 1-9-9.

The average raiyat then will hold 3 bighas.

The following demands may be made on him :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
Rent	10	15	6
Pain kharcha	9	0	0
Bandh behri	0	11	0
Hisabana	0	11	0
Tahrir	0	5	6
Dasahara	0	5	6

These are the items ordinarily shown in the jamabandis

	Rs.	a.	p.
Total demand	22	0	6
Incidence per bigha	7	5	6

The gross produce of the average bigha will be about Rs. 40 so that in theory the raiyat is not overburthened although he is subjected to illegal taxation to the extent of 120 per cent of his rent. The actual realizations probably do not exceed 75 per cent of the rent. An analysis of the account books of the Deorhi mahal in the Ramnagar Estate for 5 villages over a period of 7 years discloses the following realizations :—

	Rs.
Rent	9,757
Cess	304
Abwab	11,204

The *abwab* are subdivided into *pain kharcha, bandbehri, hisabana, tahrir, dasahara,* which are shown in separate columns. It will be noticed that the total of *abwab* realizations is greater than the total of rent plus cess. There is a further significant fact in these accounts. For these 5 villages no rents are shown as realized in the years 1319, 1320 F., although *abwab* are duly entered as paid. It is clear that the first payments were credited to *abwab* and not to rent.

The attempted justification of *abwab*.

70. Attempts have been made to defend these levies on three grounds: (1) that the thikadar holds on uneconomic conditions so far as the legal assets of the leased areas are concerned, (2) that *abwab* are customary, (3) that rents are low and *abwab* have therefore been voluntarily paid.

With regard to the second ground, no alleged custom can prevail against the express provisions of the law (vide Permanent Settlement Regulations and section 74, Bengal Tenancy Act). With regard to the first, it cannot seriously be urged that the raiyat should be exploited to manufacture for the middlemen a livelihood which the proprietor is either unable or unwilling to grant. Besides, this line of defence cannot apply to *abwab* collected in villages held direct by the Ramnagar Estate. With regard to the third ground no cultivator will pay willingly what he knows he is not legally bound to pay. Recent events have brought this fact into prominence.

Painkharcha

71 The main *abwab* in North Bettiah is known as *painkharcha* The name is of comparatively recent origin as it is not found in old papers, and in some cases the zamindari papers themselves prove the name to be a modern disguise ... ...e general ... holding ... ealt with already Elsewhere the tax was claimed to be recorded only in the Chautarwa and Naraipur thikadari areas, and in the Ramnagar Raj The claims failed It was clearly proved that the tax was collected in villages in which there was no irrigation, or on lands not irrigated. The alleged contract in such cases would be void for want of consideration It appeared in other cases that, although some irrigation was practised in a village, the means of irrigation were maintained by the raiyats, and there was no definite contract for the payment of specified sums, or rates, that could be recorded in a record of-rights It appeared that in many cases the irrigation channels long preceded the *painkharcha* In certain instances (e g, mouza Bhawal, thana Shikarpur, No 597) it was clearly proved from books of account, and from admissions, that the present *painkharcha* is a changed name for *abwab* previously collected as such In a number of villages irrigated by the Tribeni Canal (e g, mauzas Sigri Bigri, Belwa, Murli Bharwa, Pahara, Basantpur Bakhri, etc) *painkharcha* has been levied by thikadars although the raiyats pay water rates to the Canal Department The ground on which *painkharcha* has been taken is that the canal water is conducted through the channels which the thikadars maintain, and which are not on raiyati land. If it be admitted that the grounds exist, the tax is illegal, so long as the channel has not been registered in the Canal Office, and until the rates have been approved by the Canal Officer, as required by the Irrigation Act

The Sikta Pains

72 The collection of *painkharcha* by the Sikta Factory was made the subject of a complaint into which the Settlement Officer was ordered to enquire No claim was advanced to have this tax entered in the record-of-rights, but its realization was admitted In the beginning the concern tried the growing of indigo, but this was abandoned in the early nineties The concern held temporary leases of 19 villages under the Bettiah Estate The leases have since been resumed on account of arrears of rent The concern had organized the construction of a number of "pains", which were registered as improvements in 1912 under section 80 of the Bengal Tenancy Act On the strength of this system a tax of Rs 3 per bigha was realized on all raiyati holdings In the beginning of 1322 F (1914), the thikadar decided to capitalize the demand by a realization for six years in advance This capitalizing of a doubtful tax was the breaking point of the relations between landlord and tenant, and was the occasion of an immediate complaint A neighbouring concern (Murla) had effected a similar capitalization without friction, but the Sikta venture ended in failure The enquiry disclosed the facts that the payment of *painkharcha* was not voluntary, and that the tax was not legally recoverable There was no definite evidence as to the terms of a contract between the parties It is not sufficient to point to the fact that the raiyats had paid the tax, as it was clearly proved that, even if the irrigation system was organized by the Factory it did not affect a large portion of the area in respect of which the tax was collected All the *pains* were inspected by Babu Ashutosh Sen Gupta, Assistant Settlement Officer The records of the proceedings under section 80 Bengal T ... ment was considered I ... all 19 villages There we ... possible under ex ... hannels ... de cult ... Here ... informal

from this source was about Rs. 9,500. I could not find any accounts of the original cost of construction, although in the applications for registration a definite sum was mentioned for each village. The following totals of expenditure on the *pains* appeared from the account books :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1903-04 or 1311 F.	632	9	0
1904-05 or 1312 F.	110	5	0
1905-06 or 1313 F.	46	12	0
1906-07 or 1314 F.	182	2	9
1907-08 or 1315 F.	184	14	9
1908-09 or 1316 F.	102	14	9
1909-10 or 1317 F.	85	14	9
Total for 7 years ...	1,345	9	0

According to the Manager's estimate the income for these years would be Rs. 66,000 so that the margin is considerable. These *pains,* if properly maintained, can be of considerable utility so far as they go, but it is clear that, if a tax is imposed, it should be on the basis of definite contracts for that area only which can be irrigated.

The origin of the *abwab.*

73. It has been argued that the *abwab* in the North of Champaran represent the *tinkathia* or indigo system which prevails in the large zamindaries owned and managed by Europeans in the indigo planting area. The two systems are not identical, though to the raiyat they both represent an extra burthen which he has to bear. The *tinkathia* system originated in a legitimate industry in which checks were found necessary to limit the demand made on the labour and land of the raiyat. The result of the checks was a system of contract, legally enforceable if properly carried out, and in some cases an obligation, recognized by law, attaching to the tenancies of raiyats who agreed to grow indigo when they took settlements of their lands.

The *abwab* in their present form have a two-fold origin:—

(*a*) They are partly a survival of old Indian taxes, such as were abolished at the Permanent Settlement, e.g., *Chumawan, Tahrir, Dewan Dasturi,* etc. These taxes are still commonly levied in Indian zemindaries. Their incidence is light, and many of them are only occasional, and not regularly recurring levies.

(*b*) *Pain kharcha* or *tinkathia* or *lagan* (the same collection is variously named) is an imitation of the indigo *tinkathia* system, the difference being that instead of taking and paying for indigo on three kathas of every bigha of a raiyat's holding, the landlord takes Rs. 3 per bigha in cash. A point of contact between the two systems is seen in the Bhasurarhi concern (which holds temporary leases under the Ramnagar Estate). The concern at first imitated the indigo system by taking three maunds of *dhan* per bigha from its raiyats in addition to rent. This was subsequently converted into a payment of Rs. 3 per bigha in cash. The influence of the indigo system is seen mainly in the stereotyped form which the extra demand has assumed. There is much to be said for the contention that *abwab* have been really less burthensome to the raiyat than the *tinkathia* indigo; on the other hand the latter rests on contract, while the former do not rest on any legal basis.

The Madhubani disputes.

74. The Settlement operations were the occasion of more excitement in the Madhubani area than in any other part of the Bettiah Subdivision. The Madhubani concern holds a number of villages in temporary lease from the Bettiah Estate. According to the figures supplied by the Factory the thikadar had a total rent roll of Rs. 49,829 while he paid Rs. 50,637 to his superior landlord. So far as rents were concerned, the thikadars thus suffered an annual loss of Rs. 800 approximately. The lease-holder had however 400 bighas of so-called *zirat* land of which he had let out the major portion to raiyats. Although they had not done so at khanapuri, the raiyats claimed

to be recorded for these settled lands at attestation. The land not being proprietor's private land within the meaning of section 120, Bengal Tenancy Act, is not privileged in any way, and such settled raiyats as were in possession of it clearly had occupancy rights. Now it is a condition in thikadari leases of the Bettiah estate that the thikadar should keep the so-called malik's *zirat* land in his own cultivation, and should not let it out as an occupancy holding. The thikadar in this case endeavoured to deny the settlements made, and his representatives claimed the *zirat* land, either as being in the thikadar's own cultivation (*bakasht*), or as being held in raiyati settlement by factory servants. The papers concerning these lands were entirely suppressed, and were not produced at any stage of the operations. This was a most serious handicap. The one clear fact was that the major portion of the *zirat* land was in the possession of the raiyats. With the raiyats in combined opposition to the factory, with factory papers that were unreliable, and with factory servants that were deliberately untruthful, the decision of the individual disputes was extremely difficult, though it would have been easy had the papers relating to these lands been produced. The great majority of the cases were decided against the thikadar, and there can be no doubt of the general correctness of the decisions. The following is a typical dispute decided by me:—

In mauza Madhubani a certain field was claimed as *zirat* by the thikadar's *amla*, and as his raiyati by a tenant named Tapsi Rai. I took up the case in presence of Tapsi's son, Raj Kumar and the thikadar's servants. Before me the thikadar's claim was altered. One Hazari Lal, a clerk, claimed the plot as his raiyati land. He added that he had let it out for one year to Tapsi Rai on *batai* rent. I asked Hazari Lal if he could identify the plot. He at once replied that he could. I got up at once and told him to come to the field, about 1½ miles away, and point it out. He appeared disturbed by this development, and, as I was about to set out, he corrected himself, and said that he himself could not identify the field, but that his servants Raghuru Koeri and Jagdari Ahir could point it out. Raj Kumar R[illegible] I went on at once f[illegible] questioned him. He c[illegible] re was nothing more t[illegible] proprietor supported these unsustainable claims throughout. At the section 103-A stage objections were filed by the Estate, claiming the lands as *kabil lagan*. Thus the possession of the tenants was admitted, but the rents were suppressed The objections were rejected after the parties had been allowed the fullest opportunity of producing evidence. As the thikadar would not produce papers, the rents had to be recorded in accordance with the raiyats' statements. Now the case of the Estate under section 103-A was that the lands had not been settled with raiyats, except for an occasional crop The evidence produced, even on the thikadar's side, contradicted this claim, and showed that the raiyats had been in possession for considerable periods. Regarding rent the witnesses for the objector stated that it was *batai*. This again contradicted the claim. The Revenue Officer called for accounts which were certainly in existence. They were not produced. We were asked to believe that several hundred bighas had been let out to several hundred raiyats without any list showing the names of the tenants with rents and areas, and without any account of annual realizations. But Akhouri Gopi Kishore Lal, an experienced Deputy Collector, heard these objections with great care. He rejected them, and I considered that his decision had set the matter at rest. I find however that 333 suits under section 105, Bengal Tenancy Act, were filed by the Estate against the raiyats in possession. The claims made were either that the lands were *kabil lagan* or that they were *bakasht thikadar*. I have examined the 174 cases of Mauza Dumri. The evidence produced for the plaintiff was, in view of the facts described above, amazing. It was to the effect (1) that the defendants had no connection whatsoever with the lands before attestation, (2) that they have paid no rents, (3) that as their names are not in the village jamabandis for these lands they had no tenancy in them, (4) that neither the thikadar nor the proprietor had ever permitted the defendants to cultivate the lands. After 7 adjournments 56 of the [illegible]

compromised, agreeing to pay certain rents as mentioned in the petitions. As these rents exceeded the recorded rents by more than two annas in the rupee, the Revenue Officer very properly refused to accept the compromises. The acquiescence of the tenants can readily be understood, as they must have been heartily tired of the proceedings. The suits all failed.

75. There were further causes of trouble in the Madhubani area which were not the subject of judicial decisions. These causes have now been removed, but they must be put on record in order to explain the tension of feeling that existed, and the difficulties of administration in that area. Towards the end of 1914 the tenants of the leased villages petitioned His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, and complained that they were being oppressed, that they were being compelled to pay a levy known as "*bisahi*" or "*bapahi*" at the rate of Rs. 20 per bigha and that false cases had been instituted against them in the criminal courts. The Factory's version of the affair was that the complaints and trouble had been caused by agitators, and that the advent of the survey and tutoring by survey subordinates had led the raiyats to make wrong claims and to be discontented generally. The thikadar took it on himself to defend the interests of the Estate, and this brought him into conflict with his tenants. The petitions were sent to me for enquiry and report, and all that the parties had to put forward was carefully considered. Now it may be at once admitted that the thikadar was literally acting in the immediate interests of the Estate in trying to preserve the *zirat* or *bakasht* land. It may also be conceded that the raiyats proved extremely untruthful, and obscured the real facts with such a load of falsehood and exaggeration that the truth was difficult to elicit. But the enquiry disclosed a system that was irregular and illegal, and, notwithstanding the time for which it had prevailed, needed radical change. The following were the real subjects of contention :—

Other troubles in Madhubani.

(*i*) *Pain kharcha* or *Bandh kharcha* was levied from all raiyats at the rate of Re. 1 per bigha. The total area of raiyati land in the thikadari is nearly 15,000 bighas according to the jamabandis, so that the tax must have produced a considerable income. The tax was not entirely without consideration as the thikadar had constructed and maintained the Piprasi *Bandh*, which protected the neighbouring villages from the floods of the river Gandak, and a drainage channel in mauzas Taulaha and Danaha. These works were registered as improvements under section 80, Bengal Tenancy Act, in 1905. The tenants, as might be expected, denied that they derived any benefit from these works, but they were undoubtedly beneficial. They did not, however, in the absence of an agreement, legalise the levy of Re. 1 per bigha from all the raiyats of the villages in lease to the factory, although they might have formed the basis of an enhancement of the rents of the persons benefitted to the extent of such benefit. On the other hand the thikadar, who constructed the improvements, was clearly entitled to part of the additional income which they produced.

(*ii*) *Chulhiawan* and *Kalhuawan* were annual taxes which the thikadar levied on chulhas (for roasting turmeric) and *kals* (oil presses and sugarcane presses), at the rate of 8 annas per *chulha* and Re. 1 per *kal*. The ground stated for the levy of these taxes is the fact that *kals* and *chulhas* stand on waste land which is not included in the raiyats' holdings. Waste land or *gairmazrua* is claimed to be reserved to the Bettiah Estate in its *thikadari* villages. All such land is recorded as *gairmazrua malik* and not *gairmazrua thikadar*.

The *thikadar* regarded these levies as part of the zamindari right leased to him, and he exercised the right in good faith. It is not however possible to regard these sums as the rent of the land occupied, as the incidence per bigha would be absurdly heavy. The payments can only be regarded as cesses

or taxes on the production of commodities, and as such they are outside the assets given to zamindars in the Permanent Settlement The *thikadari pattas* expressly forbid the levy of cesses or items which are prohibited by Government.

(*iii*) *Charai* or grazing fees were levied from raiyats for grazing their cattle on the waste lands of the villages The general custom of the district is that, except in especially reserved land (*rakhat*), raiyats graze their cattle without permission, and free of cost, on all waste land, and in fields when the crops have been harvested.

(*iv*) *Bapahi Putohi* is the name of an inheritance tax on raiyati holdings. It was levied on indirect inheritance (e g., by a nephew). The tax is illegal, as by the local custom the legal heir has a right to succession without payment.

(*v*) *Biai* is a tax on sales of grain to Banias. This is clearly within the 'Sairat' abolished at the Permanent Settlement, and the levy of such a cess was illegal. In respect of a *hât* or bazar the only levy which a landlord can legally make is house or ground rent

(*vi*) Further complaints were made about labour taken without sufficient remuneration for the cultivation of 'zirat' lands, but it is not necessary to treat the subject of labour in detail here.

Now that the above causes of friction have been removed, it is to be hoped that this zamindari will settle down in peace. The great objection to these irregular demands is that first payments are liable to be credited to them, and not to rent, and thus the raiyat may be treated as liable for a demand which he has already satisfied. The extra payments were rendered possil[illegible] 2¼ bigha [illegible] per acre, [illegible]

76. Just before the Settlement operations started there had been some trouble about *abwab* between the Dhangar villages north of Khairpokhra Railway station in Bagaha Thana and the Chautarwa Factory. These villages have always enjoyed a primitive system of rent assessment known as *halbandi*. Rent is assessed not on the area cultivated, but on the number of ploughs maintained This system is not uncommon in Chota Nagpur, whence these Uraon Dhangars originally came. They jealously guard the system, as it results in an easy subsistence and a light incidence of rent. The standard rate of rent in these villages is Rs. 7-8-0 per plough. The plough in practice works out at from 5 to 8 acres. Before the advent of the Revision Survey the Chautarwa Factory, which holds the villages in *thika* lease under the Bettiah Estate, surveyed the holdings and attempted to assess to produce rent (*bat*[illegible] certain lands which it decided to be held in excess This procedure [illegible] at the very root of the *halbandi* system, the essence of which is [illegible] that can expand or contract without affecting the rent payable. [illegible] up its own survey the factory servants during the Revision claim[illegible] lands in these villages as held on produce rent. These measures [illegible] out in the main by two Kayasths whom they disliked, disturbed [illegible] the Dhangars. The *batai* claims advanced on behalf of the [illegible] disallowed by the Khanapuri Officer, Pundit Birinchi Jha, and [illegible] Attestation Officer, Mr. Walze. Both officers found that there [illegible] that produce rent had ever been realized, no accounts w[illegible] the *halbandi* system rendered the existence of produc[illegible] improbable. The claims were revived under section 10[illegible] Act, on behalf of the Bettiah Estate, and again rejected[illegible] the Revenue Officers was not whether the thikadar [illegible] collect produce rents, but whether produce rents had [illegible] and realized. There were no accounts of such real[illegible] would have been accounts if *batai* and ever [illegible] question of these disputes, while there is no p[illegible]

or that the Factory Manager approved of false claims, it is clear that many claims made by the *amla* were false, and that on the evidence no court could have allowed any of them.

77. From these villages also petitions of complaint emanated, and the enquiries disclosed a system similar to that prevailing at Madhubani. It has been stated above that the rent rate in a Dhangar village is Rs. 7-8-0 per plough. The amount actually realized from the raiyats was Rs. 15 per plough or something more, but receipts were granted only for Rs. 7-8. The extra Rs. 7-8-0 consisted of *abwab*, and was not legally recoverable. The payments were not voluntary, and were not founded on any definite or valid agreement or contract. The thikadar endeavoured to justify them on the ground of equity, and contended that the extra sum is merely an irrigation tax paid in consideration of the upkeep by him of the *pain* system. It is true that there is a *pain* system in these villages. There is no account of the details or of the cost of its original construction. The Factory alleges that the system was constructed at its own cost, while the raiyats on the other hand state that the construction was at their cost, and by their labour. My own opinion is that the *pains* were certainly constructed under the supervision of the Factory, which organized the system. As to the question of cost, it is not possible, after such a lapse of time, to come to an exact finding, but it is certain that, even if the landlord bore the cost, this was more than repaid by the cesses collected in one year. During Attestation the thikadar claimed that there should be an entry in the irrigation record to the effect that the raiyats paid Re. 1 per bigha as irrigation tax. I examined the whole question, inspected all the *pains* and the collection books from 1313 to 1320 F. It appeared (1) that there was no definite agreement between the thikadar and his tenants for the payment of fixed sums or fixed rates in respect of irrigation, (2) that the rates in fact varied, (3) that what is described as an irrigation tax includes various *abwab*. It was not possible then to record an irrigation tax. In any case the entry claimed could not fit in with existing facts, as charges were on the plough, and not on the bigha. The conclusions arrived at can best be illustrated from the account books. Up to the year 1315 F., rent collections and other collections were entered in the same book. After 1315F. rent collections have been entered in one book, and other collections in a separate book. The following are specimen entries regarding the same village and same raiyat in two different years.

Pains Painkharcha and abwab.

MAUZA GANGAULIA, 1313 FASLI.

Raiyat's Name.	Jama.	Paniwat.	Bethmafi.	Gain.	Fagnahi.	Total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Jagrup Mahto ...	19 3 0	6 4 0	7 8	2 2 3	1 0 0	40 9 7
Totals for the whole village.	191 12 3	62 8 0	75 0	29 13 0	9 8 0	389 15 0

It will be observed that the items when added together do not correspond with the total entered. The balance is accounted for by arrears.

Below is a copy of the entry in the book for collections other than rent of the same raiyat and village in 1319 F.

Name of raiyat	*Pains.*	*Sair.*	Total
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Jagrup Mahto	19 0 0	2 2 3	21 2 3
Total for village	154 5 0	31 2 9	196 5 9

The total includes arrears and interest

In the rent collection book for 1319 F, Jagrup Mahto's rent is entered as Rs. 19 3 0 It will be noticed that the total paid by him (Rs 19 3-0 plus Rs 21-2 3 = Rs 40 5 3) is more than double his rent The contention is that the whole of the extra levies are irrigation taxes, and that the present irrigation tax in each case includes a sum formerly remitted for free labour rendered by the raiyats (*beth mafi*), but reimposed when free labour was discontinued This contention is not borne out by the books In the first place it is clear that the total sum realized includes *abwab* Such items as *Sair, Gaun, Chitla, Taguahi*, which occur in the earlier collection books cannot be any thing but *abwab*, and no subsequent amalgamation of these with other taxes under another name can alter their origin or history In the second place, to take as a sample the particular tenancy referred to above the original sum of Rs 6 4 (Paniwat) added to the original entry of *Beth Mafi* Rs 7 8 does not give the total of Rs 19 which is the sum entered under the head ' pains in the book of 1319 F

Here again the double demand of rent and *abwab* has led to difficulties about receipts as a raiyat who had paid his *abwab* may still be sued for rent The law is that if a person, owing several distinct debts, makes a payment in respect of one of these, the payment must be applied in accordance with the debtor s wishes It is practically impossible that the law should be observed in cases where a tenant owes his landlord sums in respect of two distinct demands, one legal and the other illegal for the former of which only a receipt is given The Dhangars complained to me most persistently that they had paid their rents for 1321 F, but that the payments had been taken as *abwab*, and they refused to pay again They had made the same complaints previously to the Collector and to the Khanapuri Officer It is impossible to give a well founded judicial finding on a complaint like this, as the position of a raiyat who pays a sum without getting a receipt is helpless The complaint illustrates the unsoundness of the whole system It is quite possible that raiyats sued for arrears of rent in the northern area of the Ramnagar and Bettiah Estates have already paid sums which they wished to be credited to their rent account It must be recorded that the Chautarwa *pains* are potentially beneficial, when properly maintained, but it seems that the demand of *pain kharch* [illegible] proportion to the rent [illegible] can derive a legitimate [illegible] co fining payments to [illegible] or by an enhancement of rents of the persons benefited in respect of the area benefited only

78 The raiyats of Mauza Bhawal petitioned His Honour the Lieutenant Governor towards the end of 1914, complaining against their landlord, the Naraipur Factory The complaints were similar to those made elsewhere, and related to *abwab*, fines labour without wages, demands of *salams* and general oppression As the subject-matter concerned the record of rights and is important [illegible] history of Bettiah I have thought fit to [illegible] ries made The village belongs to the [illegible] tgage by the Naraipur Factory Here [illegible] was couched in exaggerated language The facts were merely that *abwab* were levied, and that there was the usual difficulty about receipts The inevitable *pain kharcha* also emerged Receipts for 1321 F rents paid in February 1914 were delayed until late in 1322 F, April 1915, and meanwhile the raiyats were refusing to pay *pain kharcha* Early in the season, when the record of this village was being attested, the Factory claimed that an irrigation tax of Rs 2 8 0 per bigha should be recorded In connection with this claim I examined the village record and the mortgagee s account books which were produced in Court From the books themselves it appeared that in the column now headed "Painkharcha, etc" the heading up to 1315 F, was '*abwab*' The Head Clerk of the Factory, in a sworn deposition [illegible] admitted that Rs 2 8 0 per bigha w[illegible] dated sum including *Pain Kharcha, E*[illegible]

The petition against Naraipur Factory

It was quite impossible to disentangle the exact amount meant for irrigation, and it is not clear that any exact amount was so intended at all. The claim then had to be rejected. The expenses of repairs to *pains* amounted in four years to Rs. 38-13-0, while the collections under the head *pain kharcha* came to Rs. 3,000.

The following figures are interesting :—

			Rs.	a	p.
1315F.	Total rent demand	... ...	862	13	0
	Total *abwab* demand	... ...	634	13	9
1318F.	Total rent Jama	... ...	863	1	3
	Total *pain*, etc.	... ...	699	5	0

The complaint about forced labour was found to be untrue. The landlord's *zirat* land in this village is not cultivated direct, but it is let out to tenants at a rate of 20 maunds per bigha. Such a rent is known as *hunda*. Raiyats do not regard themselves as having any right in lands so held. That they should take lands at all at a rate so enormously in excess of the village rate is explained by their desire to avoid the 'begari' or labour they should have to render if the lands are not let out. The *hunda* system is regarded in places as modified *begari*.

Naraipur *pain kharcha*.

79. It will be noticed from the figures given above that the factory landlord realizes almost 100 per cent over and above the rent due. Such extra sums were found to be levied generally in the villages of this zamindari, but not always to the same extent. The Naraipur Factory holds villages in temporary tenure under both the Bettiah and the Ramnagar Estates. In a number of its villages it has constructed *pains* and registered them as improvements under section 80 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The claim to have *pain kharcha* recorded had to be rejected for three reasons: (1) as has been indicated above, many of the sums now claimed as an irrigation tax are really amalgamated *abwab*; (2) in villages north of the Tribeni canal, where irrigation is done through such *pains*, there is no evidence of a contract between the landlord and tenant for the payment of any definite sum that could be recorded as an irrigation tax; (3) the villages south of the canal are irrigated by canal water. In these villages there are channels constructed by the landlord through which the canal water is conducted. These channels were not registered in the Canal Office in accordance with the provisions of the Irrigation Act; and therefore the tax levied for the use of the channels is not legal. There can be no doubt that for the area not irrigated by Government canal water, the Naraipur *pains* are beneficial improvements, and although under present conditions, an irrigation tax does not seem to be legally recoverable, the recovery of a certain return for the expense and trouble of constructing and maintaining an irrigation system is justifiable. There is another fact to be stated which I would emphasize in this landlord's favour. He tried in most of his villages to collect his irrigation tax on the area irrigated each year. *Pain kharcha* is a considerable source of profit here as elsewhere. The following figures are taken from the accounts of ten of the Naraipur villages held in *thika* under the Bettiah Estate :—

(*a*) Area irrigated through the *pains* with Government Canal water	1,693 bighas.
(*b*) Area irrigated through the *pains* with other water ...	942 bighas.
Total *pain*-irrigated area	2,635 bighas.

	Rs.	
Income from (*a*) ...	1,692	per annum.
Income from (*b*) ...	1,884	„ „
Total income ...	3,577	

Average annual expenditure Rs. 400 (calculated from 1316 to 1321 F).

The margin of profit would thus be nearly Rs. 800 percent.

80 In 1914 a petition was sent to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa by the raiyats of Mauza Murli Bharahwa. The subject matter of the petition did not affect the actual record-of-rights, but it is necessary to put the facts on record as the petition was enquired into by the Settlement Officer, and was the first of a definitely connected chain of incidents that led up to the recent agitation and radical changes in Champaran.

The complaints against Belwa Factory.

The village is held in usufructuary mortgage with six other villages for 18 years by Mr. G. L. Anderson, in consideration of an advance of Rs 60,000 made to the late Ramnagar Raja. This particular form of usufructuary mortgage is known as *Sadaua Pataua*. It is similar to the *Bhagat Bandha* of Chota Nagpur. The condition is that both principal and interest shall be deemed repaid by the enjoyment of the village for the specified period. Mr. Ammon of Belwa Factory is the Manager for Mr. Anderson. The complaints were (1) that *abwab* of various kinds were levied, (2) that *painkharcha* at Rs. 3-8 per bigha had been realized, though the village was irrigated by the ... was brought to bear on tenants by the ... f bringing false criminal cases against ... was found that, although *abwab* to the extent of Rs 3 per bigha were realized, the tenants on the whole had been on cordial terms with the factory. It was found also that *abwab* were likely to cause general discontent, if the landlord continued to levy them, now the raiyats had to pay Canal rates The prime mover in this petition was one Raj Kumar Sukul, who was on bad terms with the factory. As he considered that no action had been taken, and as *abwab* continued, he resolved to follow up the case by public agitation. He attended and spoke at the Provincial Congress Meeting at Chapra in 1915 and at the All-India Congress Session in 1916. The result was Mr. Gandhi's mission, and the subsequent events that are now matters of public history When enquiries were made it was found that, except from Raj Kumar Sukul, there were no allegations of actual oppression, and that in his case the allegations were not proved. The Manager explained that *abwab* had been taken under ten different heads He endeavoured to excuse the levy by stating that *abwab* are payable to the superior landlord, the Ramnagar Raj. This however does not alter the ... tenure ... ipts for ...

81. Tappa Rajpur Soharia is held *Kham* (i e, in direct management) by the Bettiah Estate. It is largely inhabited by Tharus in whom the Raj takes a paternal interest. There are also some villages of Dhangars and Paharias. In this area, as in other places on the border of the foot hills, so many changes had occurred that the old record was of no use, and the new record is likely to prove equally ephemeral if the nomadic tendencies of the people are not arrested. The tappa was dealt with by Mr. C. E. Walze in camp I. Out of 6,209 holdings in the camp area 1,595 ...

Tappa Rajpur Soharia

known as 'Bisar' of the crop of all the raiyati fields Rents in general have not been enhanced in this area, as the competition is for raiyats rather than for land. Mr. Walze is pessimistic about the condition of the people, and anticipates further abandonments. He points to the indebtedness of the raiyats, the ravages done to their crops by wild animals, and the absence of education and communications. It is true that although the Estate has endeavoured to prevent transfers of land, this benevolent intention has been defeated by the Bagaha Mahajans, who advance money and grain, and recover at exhorbitant rates from the crops of the raiyats at harvest time. It is true also that this area is about the most backward generally in the district. On the other hand we have signs

of progress in the partial arrest of the nomadic habits of the Tharus, and in the extension of irrigation. They also enjoy the almost unique (in Champaran) advantage of having no middlemen to support. No *abwab* are levied. The raiyats merely pay their rents, and 'bankar' at the rate of 6 annas per bigha. The latter charge is in consideration of the forest produce which they enjoy for domestic and agricultural purposes.

The Dun Valley.

82. The Dun Valley, wedged in between the Himalayan foot hills, is still the most primitive part of the district. The proprietor is the Ramnagar Estate. The villages are held in temporary tenure by the Naraipur Factory. Here practically no trace of the last settlement fields or tenancies was found. It will be noticed that in spite of the fertility of the land, the malarious climate has so hadicapped agricultural development in the north of Champaran that special concessions are necessary to induce raiyats to settle there. These concessions take two forms: (*a*) a long *laggi* resulting in a large *bigha* and a consequently low assessment. It is a remarkable fact that the length of the *laggi* (and size of the bigha) varies inversely with the pressure of population and demand for land. We can trace the change by marked stages from the 6½ cubit *laggi* in thana Madhuban, on the Muzaffarpur border, to the 13½ cubit *laggi* (1 *bigha* about 4 acres) in tappa Rajpur Sohoria; (*b*) *bailbandi* and *halbandi* rents, that is rents assessed on the number of plough bullocks, or on the number of ploughs maintained by the cultivator. In tappa Dun both *bailbandi* and *halbandi* rents prevail.

One *hal* is considered equal to 4 *bails*. The prevailing rates are Re. 1-4-0, Rs. 2-11-0 and Rs. 3 per *bail*. The rates have increased since the last settlement. In the khatians of the raiyats in addition to the actual rent the rate per 'bail' or 'hal' is entered, with a note that the raiyat is entitled to cultivate as much land as he can with the bullock or plough. In a few villages bigha rents have been recently introduced, with the usual result of enhancement. In such cases it is seldom possible to apply the enhancement law as the holdings have constantly changed. Where it could be found that rents had increased beyond two annas in the rupee on an unchanged holding the enhancement was of course cut down. Here also *abwab* have been freely levied. It is tolerably certain that these irregular demands have contributed to the unsettled state of this tappa. The raiyats are mostly non-occupancy, and there are few, if any, indications of more stable conditions in the future.

Enhancements.

83. Illegal enhancements were not common in the Bettiah Subdivision. In the Ramgar Raj a number of illegal enhancements were effected by the amlgamation of *abwab* with rent and by the conversion of *halbandi* to bigha rents. In Mauzas Dewar, Rajpur and Mahajagir (Nos. 193, 183, 179 thana Shikarpur) bighas were substituted for 'hals' in the jamabandi in 1316-17 F. For the purposes of conversion 1 *hal* was considered equal to 2 bighas though in practice it was equal to 3 or 4 bighas. Thus a raiyat having 5 *hals* at Rs. 15 was shown as having 10 bighas at Rs. 15 though in reality he had about 17 bighas. After two years a measurement was made and the land found in excess of this arbitrary jamabandi was assessed to rent. The transaction was clearly an illegal enhancement. The enhancements were more than two annas in the rupee, and were disallowed except in the few cases where specific encroachments or additions to the tenancies were proved.

The case of Mauza Chauhatta.

84. Mauza Chauhatta (No. 217, Shikarpur thana) is held in direct management (*kham*) by the Ramnagar Raj. After its resumption some years ago the village was measured twice in 3 years, and on each occasion the rents were illegally enhanced. A curious story attaches to this village. It has been reported independently by the Khanapuri Officer and the Attestation Officer. The village was held in *thika* for several generations by a Tharu, Abilakh Mahto, and his ancestors. On the expiry of the last lease the unsuspecting Tharu paid a heavy *nazarana* for its renewal. The village was resumed, and the

nazrana was not returned Similar illegal enhancements based on measurements were found in Mauzas Balhal, Jamunia, and Sankar (thana Shikarpur, Nos 185, 195, 199) These villages also belong to Ramnagar Raj

Illegal enhancements in Bettiah Estate

85 In the Bettiah Estate two kinds of illegal enhancements were found One type was the mistaken assessment of alleged excess area In recent years 'partals' or measurements of holdings have been made when the leases of thikadari villages expired, and areas found in excess of the jamabandi entries were assessed to rent The assessment is justifiable only when the original jamabandi area was entered after measurement The other type was the revision by the Estate of settlements made without authority by its thikadars The law on this point has been discussed already Between Khanapuri

y raiyats of Mauzas

in favour of the

The increases were

e increases professed

irvey, or for lands

settled without authority by the ex thikadar Hazari Mal The *thika* expired in 1320 F and the villages were resumed in 1321 F In the Khanapuri year the Raj Amin partalled the village I examined the amin and his map The map was inaccurate and the amin had no idea as to how an old map should be corrected scientifically The enhancements were enormous in some cases A few cases will illustrate the danger of the procedure adopted

Raiyat's name	Area of holding in 1319 F	Rent in 1319	Revision Survey area	Revised Rent claimed
	B K Dh	Rs a p	B K Dh	Rs a p
Akbar Khan	5 15 2	25 8 0	5 8 11	60 0 6
Mahanth Singh	12 10 1	89 3 0	12 11 14	106 [illegible] 9
Hari Haran [illegible]	9 0 6	47 8 0	9 5 9	87 1 9

The Kotwa cases

86 Similar proceedings in mauza Kotwa (thana Bagaha, No 241) had a very undesirable sequel Here again an attempt was made to anticipate and defeat the settlement proceedings The raiyats were called to Bettiah between Khanapuri and Attestation and executed registered *ekrarnamas* agreeing to increased rents The *ekrarnamas* were on printed forms and executed in the favour of the Estate Survey Superintendent The general ground stated for the increase was that the holdings had been illegally settled by the thikadar (Rampati Singh) without the Raj's consent, and that it was illegal to keep them unless a rent were fixed The raiyats apparently had taken settlement from the thikadar in good faith and had in fact paid *salami* and were in possession for several years The increases had then to be treated as enhancements and were disallowed in most cases There are two additional conditions in these *ekrarnamas* that deserve mention One deprives the raiyat of all rights in timber, although he may have already acquired rights under the general custom The other condition provides for the summary ejectment of the raiyat on breach of any of the terms of the agreement This is clearly illegal The raiyats complained long before attestation that pressure was being put on them by the thikadar to pay the enhanced rents After attestation the raiyats tendered by money order the rents attested by the Settlement Department The thikadar wished to accept them but the Estate Management ordered him to refuse the rents The raiyats then petitioned the Collector Beyond the mere question of legality there can be very little doubt that the agreements were not voluntary The disregarding of judicial decisions, and the practical forcing of the thikadar into illegal demand do not deserve approval I am not in a position to state whether the disallowed rents were finally exacted from the raiyats

of progress in the partial arrest of the nomadic habits of the Tharus, and in the extension of irrigation. They also enjoy the almost unique (in Champaran) advantage of having no middlemen to support. No *abwab* are levied. The raiyats merely pay their rents, and 'bankar' at the rate of 6 annas per bigha. The latter charge is in consideration of the forest produce which they enjoy for domestic and agricultural purposes.

The Dun Valley.

82. The Dun Valley, wedged in between the Himalayan foot hills, is still the most primitive part of the district. The proprietor is the Ramnagar Estate. The villages are held in temporary tenure by the Naraipur Factory. Here practically no trace of the last settlement fields or tenancies was found. It will be noticed that in spite of the fertility of the land, the malarious climate has so hadicapped agricultural development in the north of Champaran that special concessions are necessary to induce raiyats to settle there. These concessions take two forms: (*a*) a long *laggi* resulting in a large *bigha* and a consequently low assessment. It is a remarkable fact that the length of the *laggi* (and size of the bigha) varies inversely with the pressure of population and demand for land. We can trace the change by marked stages from the 6½ cubit *laggi* in thana Madhuban, on the Muzaffarpur border, to the 13½ cubit *laggi* (1 *bigha* about 4 acres) in tappa Rajpur Sohoria; (*b*) *bailbandi* and *halbandi* rents, that is rents assessed on the number of plough bullocks, or on the number of ploughs maintained by the cultivator. In tappa Dun both *bailbandi* and *halbandi* rents prevail.

One *hal* is considered equal to 4 *bails*. The prevailing rates are Re. 1-4-0, Rs. 2-11-0 and Rs. 3 per *bail*. The rates have increased since the last settlement. In the khatians of the raiyats in addition to the actual rent the rate per 'bail' or 'hal' is entered, with a note that the raiyat is entitled to cultivate as much land as he can with the bullock or plough. In a few villages bigha rents have been recently introduced, with the usual result of enhancement. In such cases it is seldom possible to apply the enhancement law as the holdings have constantly changed. Where it could be found that rents had increased beyond two annas in the rupee on an unchanged holding the enhancement was of course cut down. Here also *abwab* have been freely levied. It is tolerably certain that these irregular demands have contributed to the unsettled state of this tappa. The raiyats are mostly non-occupancy, and there are few, if any, indications of more stable conditions in the future.

Enhancements

83. Illegal enhancements were not common in the Bettiah Subdivision. In the Ramgar Raj a number of illegal enhancements were effected by the amlgamation of *abwab* with rent and by the conversion of *halbandi* to bigha rents. In Mauzas Dewar, Rajpur and Mahajagir (Nos. 193, 183, 179 *thana* Shikarpur) bighas were substituted for 'hals' in the jamabandi in 1316-17 F. For the purposes of conversion 1 *hal* was considered equal to 2 bighas though in practice it was equal to 3 or 4 bighas. Thus a raiyat having 5 *hals* at Rs. 15 was shown as having 10 bighas at Rs. 15 though in reality he had about 17 bighas. After two years a measurement was made and the land found in excess of this arbitrary jamabandi was assessed to rent. The transaction was clearly an illegal enhancement. The enhancements were more than two annas in the rupee, and were disallowed except in the few cases where specific encroachments or additions to the tenancies were proved.

The case of Mauza Chauhatta.

84. Mauza Chauhatta (No. 217, Shikarpur *thana*) is held in direct management (*kham*) by the Ramnagar Raj. After its resumption some years ago the village was measured twice in 3 years, and on each occasion the rents were illegally enhanced. A curious story attaches to this village. It has been reported independently by the Khanapuri Officer and the Attestation Officer. The village was held in *thika* for several generations by a Tharu, Abilakh Mahto, and his ancestors. On the expiry of the last lease the unsuspecting Tharu paid a heavy *nazarana* for its renewal. The village was resumed, and the

nazrana was not returned Similar illegal enhancements based on measurements were found in Mauzas Balhal, Jamunia, and Sankar (thana Shikarpur, Nos 185, 195, 199) These villages also belong to Ramnagar Raj

Illegal enhancements in Bettiah Estate

85 In the Bettiah Estate two kinds of illegal enhancements were found One type was the mistaken assessment of alleged excess area In recent years ' partals' or measurements of holdings have been made when the leases of thikadari villages expired, and areas found in excess of the jamabandi entries were assessed to rent The assessment is justifiable only when the original jamabandi area was entered after measurement The other type was the revision by the Estate of settlements made without authority by its thikadars The law on this point has been discussed already Between Khanapuri v raiyats of Mauzas in favour of the The increases were in most cases illegal enhancements and were disallowed The increases professed to be either for excess lands discovered by the Revision survey, or for lands settled without authority by the ex thikadar Hazari Mal The *thika* expired in 1320 F and the villages were resumed in 1321 F In the Khanapuri year the Raj Amin partalled the village I examined the amin and his map The map was inaccurate and the amin had no idea as to how an old map should be corrected scientifically The enhancements were enormous in some cases A few cases will illustrate the danger of the procedure adopted

Raiyat's name	Area of holding in 1319 F	Rent in 1319	Revision Survey area	Revised Rent demanded
	B K Dh	Rs a p	B K Dh	Rs a p
Akbar Khan	5 15 2	25 8 0	5 8 11	60 0 6
Mahanth Singh	12 10 1	89 3 0	12 11 14	126 8 9
Hari haran Misra	9 0 6	47 8 0	9 5 9	87 1 9

The Kotwa cases

86 Similar proceedings in mauza Kotwa (thana Bagaha No 241) had a very undesirable sequel Here again an attempt was made to anticipate and defeat the settlement proceedings The raiyats were called to Bettiah between Khanapuri and Attestation and executed registered *ekrarnamas* agreeing to increased rents The *ekrarnamas* were on printed forms and executed in the favour of the Estate Survey Superintendent The general ground stated for the increase was that adar (Rampati Singh) without hem unless a rent were fixed the thikadar in good faith an for several years The increases had then to be treated as enhancements and were disallowed in most cases There are two additional conditions in these *ekrarnamas* that deserve mention One deprives the raiyat of all rights in timber, although he may have already acquired rights under the general custom The other condition provides for the summary ejectment of the raiyat on breach of any of the terms of the agreement This is clearly illegal The raiyats complained long before attestation that pressure was being put on them by the thikadar to pay the enhanced rents After attestation the raiyats tendered by money order the rents attested by the Settlement Department The thikadar wished to accept them but the Estate Management ordered him to refuse the rents The raiyats then petitioned the Collector Beyond the mere question of legality there can be very little doubt that the agreements were not voluntary The disregarding of judicial decisions, and the practical forcing of the thikadar into illegal demand do not deserve approval I am not in a position to state whether the disallowed rents were finally exacted from the raiyats

87. Some disputes in Patkhaulia (thana Bettiah, No. 291) also had a most unfortunate sequel. This village is held in *thika* or temporary lease by one Harnandan Dube under the Bettiah Estate. During Khanapuri the Raj representatives claimed as "*bakasht*" the *batai* lands of six settled raiyats who had taken settlement of those lands from the thikadar. The Khanapuri Officer very properly decided in favour of the raiyats as the Raj claim was clearly against existing facts. Between Khanapuri and Attestation five of these raiyats were summoned to Bettiah and were asked to take settlement of the lands at high cash rents (Rs. 15 per bigha). One raiyat had surrendered his *batai* holding soon after Khanapuri. The other five appeared in Raj Office on 8th June 1914. They did not execute kabuliyats for cash rents on that day, but they executed *ekrarnamas* on plain papers promising to attend on 22nd June 1914, for the execution of agreements, and agreeing to forfeit Rs. 50 each if they did not appear. These *ekrarnamas* appear to have been taken without authority by some *amla* whose identity has not been traced.

The Patkhaulia Cases.

On 22nd June the five raiyats appeared again and four of them filed surrenders of the land in question. The fifth did not surrender but again gave a recognizance for Rs. 25 to appear on 7th July. Ultimately the fifth raiyat took settlement not at the rate of Rs. 15 as originally proposed but at the rate of Rs. 26 per bigha. The other four executed registered deeds of surrender on 3rd July 1914. The Attestation Officer held that the surrenders and the agreement were not voluntary and maintained the khanapuri entries.

As the facts were too serious to be passed over I brought the case to the notice of the Collector. The estate strenuously defended its action, but the Board expressed a very decided disapproval.

88. In 1903 the Bettia Estate purchased a holding in mauza Bettiahdih at an auction sale for arrears of rent. The thikadar of the village, without authority, settled the land of this holding with certain raiyats who paid as *salami* shares of the decretal amount proportionate to the areas taken by them. In 1321F. (1914) when the village was resumed from the thikadar, and while the new tenants were still in possession, the Estate settled the holding with another man, Ramgulam Lal.

The Bettiahdih dispute.

This settlement was made on 4th May 1914. On the strength of this settlement the Raj representative claimed at khanapuri that Ramgulam Lal's name should be recorded, but the Khanapuri Officer, finding the thikadar's tenants in possession, very properly refused to give effect to the arbitrary settlement made with Ramgulam Lal. Disregarding this decision the Estate called in the recorded tenants and gave them the option of either surrendering the land or of being sued for ejectment. The tenants surrendered the lands in July and August 1914. The Attestation Officer, although he regarded the surrenders as involuntary, recorded Ramgulam Lal for the holding, as the thikadar's tenants had actually been dispossessed. As it seemed that an injustice had been done to the dispossessed tenants, I brought the facts to the notice of the Collector. The Estate again strenuously defended its action and described the surrenders, tendered under the threat of litigation, as "an amicable settlement". I considered this description to be a misnomer and the Collector took the same view.

89. Mauza Bankatwa Tewari (thana Bagaha, No. 315) illustrates the difficulties attending the resumption of tenures. The village was at first a '*birit*' or rent-free tenure of some Brahmans. It was subsequently assessed to rent by the proprietor, the Bettiah Estate, as it appeared to be held rent-free without title. Such assessed *birits*, whether they are tenures or holdings, are locally known as '*birit bandobasti*'. The village was leased in *thika* to the biritdars from 1292F. to 1316F. In the last settlement the tenure was recorded as *Birit bandobasti thika*. In 1318F the Raj resumed the village, which has remained under direct management since then. The trees and rents were all in dispute. No papers whatever were available regarding the *thika* period, and tenancies had altered so much that the last settlement record did not help.

Mauza Bankatwa Tewari.

Now the *birt bandobastidars* used to hold certain *bakasht* lands which were resettled with them as raiyati in 1318F The Raj claimed the full rights in the trees on these lands The *birtdars* were somewhat hardly treated, but the Estate's claims had to be allowed As regards rents the existing rents had to be accepted, save in the very few cases where their legality could be shaken by the old record

Shikmi Raiyats

90 While under-raiyats were common, they did not evince any desire to be recorded, and were found in many cases to have given up their tenancies between khanapuri and attestation By local custom under raiyats do not acquire occupancy rights There were however a few cases in which such rights were recorded for *shikmi* raiyats (*shikmi dakhilkar*) In mauza Lobarpatti (thana Bettiah, No 190) there are six *shikmi dakhilkar* raiyats They were so recorded as the *asal* or real raiyat in each instance had taken *salami* and settled the land with the shikimi raiyat for ever In 6 villages of camp V (mauzas Jamunia No 254, Dabaria No 169, Nautan Dube No 152, Bagahi No 149, Bairia No 150, and Laukaria No 112, thana Bettiah) 125 shikimi raiyats were recorded with occupancy rights In all these cases, except in Bairia, the raiyats are mahajans, or non-resident and non agricultural tenants, who have acquired raiyati holdings and given them out to under-raiyats These under raiyats are treated as occupancy raiyats in every way They build their ... of the village do ... mukararidar (the ... certain lands which ... permanent By consent of the parties the tenants thus holding raiyati lands of the Factory were recorded as *shikmi dakhilkar* The law in section 48, Bengal Tenancy Act, restricting the rent demandable from under raiyats has always seemed to me impractical. It provides that the ... money rent shall not be entitled to re- ... himself by more than 50 or 25 per ... based on a registered lease or not) ... usually sublet in parts, and in such ... riction as to rent, unless the part be ... the prescribed percentage the raiyati rent of the whole

Makan bari

91 Some difficulty was experienced in dealing with settlements of landless labourers and non agricultural residents When a raiyat has a holding in a village his house is always, though rent-free, recorded as part of the holding When a landless labourer has a house, and nothing else, this is recorded, with a note of his possession, in the waste land or *gairmazrua khatian* of the malik When, however, as often happens, a labourer or a bania has a small unassessed plot cultivated adjoining his house, it is not possible to record this with the waste land At the same time the occupier has no jamabandi or holding, pays no rent, and is in fact not a tenant In such cases the house and plot have been entered in the labourer's name in a separate khatian without rent or status, under the descriptive name '*makan bari*' The Bettiah Estate subsequently applied for the assessment of the cultivated plot in such cases Some revenue officers were of opinion that the occupant not having any status we were not entitled to settle a fair rent This does not appear to be common sense, and I differed from the view in revision cases under section 108 The cultivation in such cases is really a trespass, and the landlord is entitled either to treat the occupant as a trespasser and eject him, or accept him as a tenant liable to rent It cannot be urged that the occupant is entitled to hold cultivated land rent free, while on the other hand Revenue Officers in proceedings under chapter X are clearly authorized to settle rents on land held rent free, but liable to rent.

Bandh Behri

92 The Board of Revenue had held in 1895 that embankment cess or Bandh Behri is legally recoverable in the same way as rent only from tenures, which, as defined in section 3 of Act II of 1882, include all interests in land

held permanently at a fixed rental. Though this decision has not been superseded by any judicial pronouncement, it was found that the embankment cess continued to be levied over considerable areas both in the Bettiah and in the sadr Subdivisions. The cess was disallowed, and was not recorded except in the case of fixed rent or fixed rate raiyats.

The Sharahbeshi Question.

93. The great problem of the Champaran Settlement was the question of the legality of the arrangements made in supersession of indigo-cultivating contracts. One of these arrangements, and the only one with which we are judicially concerned, was the enhancement of rents effected by indigo planters in substitution of the obligation of the raiyats in their mukarrari tenures to grow indigo on $\frac{3}{20}$ths of the area of their holdings. The enhancement exceeded 2 annas in the rupee, and in a great majority of cases professed to have been effected in accordance with the provisions of section 29, proviso (iii) of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In a great majority of cases also the enhancements were effected by registered agreements. The decision of the legality of these rents involved an investigation of the whole history of indigo cultivation. It was found—

(1) that in tenancies dating from before the Bengal Tenancy Act the obligation to grow indigo had been superimposed on the conditions of the tenancy by agreement before 1885 ;

(2) that in tenancies originating after the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act the obligation to grow indigo was an original condition, and continued up to the date of the enhancement ;

(3) that, in a certain proportion of cases at least the obligation was embodied in kabuliyats, which fixed the rent and the other conditions of the tenancy, and referred to a separate *satta* for the details concerning the actual cultivation of the indigo crop ;

(4) that the enhancements in general were voluntarily agreed to. Those raiyats who did not accept the proposed enhancement continued the cultivation of indigo ;

(5) that the rents of indigo tenants had not been enhanced for the 30—40 years before the agreement ; and

(6) that the raiyats in most cases held at specially low rates before the enhancement.

Prima facie then the enhancements fulfilled the conditions of the proviso to section 29, and in fact were allowed in the majority of cases.

Difficulties in interpretation of section 29, proviso (iii), in Bengal Tenancy Act.

94. Although, so far as Champaran is concerned, these cases have now only an academic interest, it is necessary, in view of the important principle involved, and in order that the record may be understood, to treat the question in some detail. The proviso to section 29 purports to remove the two anna limit in all cases in which a raiyat has held his land at a specially low rate of rent in consideration of cultivating a particular crop for the convenience of his landlord, and has been released from the obligation of cultivating that crop, the release being conditional on enhancement of rent. In theory there is nothing unfair in this proposition, but in fact it strikes at the root of the Tenancy Law. In the discussions proceeding in the Bengal Tenancy Act some criticisms were directed against this provision by Mr. Reynolds and Sir Ameer Ali, who prophesied that it would be difficult to interpret and to apply. It must be conceded that experience has more than justified their observations. A specially low rate of rent is practically incapable of judicial definition. An Advocate of repute argued before me that when a raiyat is under an obligation to grow a particular crop for his landlord his rent might fairly be presumed to be specially low. The suggestion does not seem to need discussion.

A plausible definition of " specially low " is " lower than the rent would have been if there had been no obligation". This interpretation, however, car

give results that cannot be reconciled with common sense or equity. For example, a landlord settles land with a settled raiyat of the village as follows:—

Area	...	...	...	1 acre.
Rent	...	...	...	Rs. 9-15-6.

In the kabuliyat it is specified (1) that the raiyat shall grow indigo on $\frac{3}{20}$ths acre for the landlord and (2) that on this account the rent is 6 pies lower than it would have been otherwise, that is Rs. 9-15-6 instead of Rs. 10. It cannot reasonably be urged that such an agreement should put the landlord outside the jurisdiction of the enhancement law. It is clear that some upper limit must be adopted for specially low rates. As to what this upper limit should be, and how it should be determined, neither the law nor judicial precedent have given any indication. Herein lay the first difficulty with which the Revenue Officers were confron...
adopted, and its justice cannot reasonably be ...
of the rents before enhancement with ren...
indigo obligation should disclose a difference that bore some relation to the proportion of land occupied by the special crop. Where there were no neighbouring lands of similar quality without the indigo obligation—and this case was frequent—allowance was made for the fact that the rents had not been enhanced for 30 years, and to fix an upper limit a deduction was made from the average pitch of rent which the village would have shown with normal and legal enhancements, the deduction being $\frac{3}{20}$ths, that is, in proportion to the area occupied by the crop. Two examples will illustrate the principle. A raiyat of village X held before the enhancement 3 bighas at a rent of Rs. 6, rate Rs. 2 per bigha. He cultivated indigo on $\frac{3}{20}$ths of his holding, that is, 9 kathas. On his release from cultivation his rent was enhanced by registered contract to Rs. 15. B, C and D, raiyats of the same village, took settlement of sin...
the rate of Rs. 4 per bigha. If Rs. ...
the indigo obligation, then Rs. 4 ...
be a specially low rate of rent ...
Rs. 2 being within this upper lin...
amounts to 250 per cent, must be allowed. If the pre-enhancement rate exceeded Rs. 3⅖ per bigha, the enhancement would be disallowed *in toto*.

E, a raiyat of village Y, held three bighas at Rs. 9. He cultivated indigo on 9 kathas, that is $\frac{3}{20}$ths of his holding for the convenience of his landlord. On being released from the obligation to grow indigo his rent is enhanced to Rs. 15. There were no raiyats without the indigo obligation holding similar lands in the neighbourhood, and so a comparison, as in the previous example, is not possible. It appears, however—

(1) that the average rent rate of the village has been Rs. 2-12 per bigha for the last 30 years, and that there have been no enhancements ever since indigo cultivation began;

(2) that on the ordinary legal grounds the landlords could have enhanced rents by six annas in the rupee during that period. Such an enhancement would bring the average village rate up to Rs. 3-12-6. A deduction of $\frac{3}{20}$ths from Rs. 3-12-6 gives Rs. 3-4-0 which might fairly be adopted as the upper limit of a specially low rate for the village.

As the pre-enhancement rate of E's rent was below this limit, the enhancement would be allowed. These relative tests were always subject to the absolute test of the relation of rent to gross produce. The average gross produce per bigha was ascertained by enquiry for each village, and in general any rent rate that did not exceed ⅕th of the gross produce was considered possible as an upper limit. Rents were in no case presumed to be specially low merely because the raiyats happened to be under the obligation of growing a particular crop for their landlords.

... ligation. Need this
... be a matter of civil
... This distinction is

so little understood, even by persons who ought to be acquainted with it, that I will illustrate it by an example. X is a landlord and Y is an occupancy raiyat holding under him. X settles a holding with Y. The *conditions* are that the raiyat shall pay a certain rent and also cultivate a certain crop on a portion of his holding for the landlord. In this case the obligation with reference to the crop would be an incident of the tenancy itself. Again Y agrees by contract to supply annually to M the produce of a certain area of indigo cultivation. M is not Y's landlord, though he may be a landlord. In this case Y would be under a contractual obligation, but the contract would be quite independent of the relation of landlord and tenant. *It was held that* the obligation must be an incident of tenancy, and that such an incident can attach to the tenancy of an occupancy raiyat. Section 29, proviso (iii), clearly indicates that there can be, while section 23 seems just as clearly to indicate that there cannot be, such an obligation attaching to an occupancy holding. The history of section 23, however, shows that it was primarily intended to apply to the building of dwelling houses, the digging of wells, drains and channels and other uses of land incidental to agriculture. Whether it applies to the growing of crops must remain a matter of some doubt. The arguments on both sides are—

(*i*) during the preliminary stages of the Tenancy Bill it was proposed to insert a definite provision allowing a raiyat to grow any crops he chose. This provision was not incorporated in the final draft of the Bill. The omission is not explained, and no corresponding addition was made to the clause which eventually developed into section 23 ;

(*ii*) Section 29, proviso (iii), seems to indicate that such an obligation can attach to the tenancy of an occupancy raiyat. On the other side we have two considerations ;

(*iii*) Section 29, proviso (iii), was inserted as a compromise at a late stage, and was drafted in an admittedly vague and haphazard manner, without full consideration of its effect ;

(*iv*) if at the inception of his tenancy a raiyat can contract such an obligation at all, there is no logical reason why he should not contract to grow a particular crop in his whole holding for the convenience and profit of his landlord, that is, there is nothing to prevent his contracting himself into serfdom.

This is against the spirit of the Tenancy Law. By taking advantage of this proviso to section 29, by specifying the growing of any crop when lands are settled, and by a carefully worded kabuliyat, landlords can defeat the restricting provisions of section 29.

Another defect is that the proviso sets no limit to the amount of enhancement. It allows landlords and tenants to contract for rents which no Court could settle under the existing law. As the situation now stands the law is doubtful, vague, difficult to administer, and capable of unlimited exploitation and it is to be hoped that in the coming amendment of the Act particular attention will be paid to this section. So far I have considered only the law itself. As regards the working of it by the parties concerned, it must be admitted that the planters endeavoured in general to settle fair terms with the cultivators, and to carry out the transaction in a just and honourable manner. I shall deal later with the few cases in which the agreements were irregular, or else not voluntarily entered into. A very determined attempt was made by the raiyats to repudiate the enhancement agreements at attestation. The ground taken was that the agreements were obtained by force, and that in any case they were illegal. The tenantry in this manifested remarkable cohesion and persistence, and strongly resented the unfavourable decisions of the Revenue Officers. This continuous unpleasantness made the work very onerous, and might have resulted in serious breaches of the peace. The officers, however, behaved with great patience and tact, and nothing untoward happened.

Use of Section 109(c), Bengal Tenancy Act

95. Section 109 (c) of the Bengal Tenancy Act enables specially empowered Revenue Officers to record, and settle as fair rents that are technically illegal, and is very useful in cases where the parties are prepared to abide by the present rents and thus avoid subsequent suits for enhancement. Rents thus accepted and settled by a Revenue Officer cannot be enhanced for 15 [illegible] such cases. Care was taken to ensure that the compromised rents were fair and equitable, and no rates over Rs 5 per acre were settled. The landlords readily agreed to a reduction whenever I suggested it, and difficulties were thus avoided. There were more than 6,000 such compromises relating to the indigo rents. The following are the figures of the enhancements settled :—

Year	Pre *Sharah beshi* rental	Post *Sharah beshi*	Percentage of enhancement
1915-16 ...	36,938	60,095	62
1916-17 ...	22,468	28,425	27
Total ...	59,406	88,521	49

Certain enhancements disallowed

96. The enhancements were disallowed in three main classes of cases :—

(1) where the previous rates were not especially low. These cases for the most part were dealt with subsequently under section 109 (c)

(2) where there had existed no legal obligation to grow indigo. These [illegible] tes of [illegible] nent, [illegible] had [illegible] nents [illegible] the record ; and

(3) where the agreements were not voluntary. These cases were not numerous, but the circumstances require mention Certain raiyats executed enhancement agreements but subsequently refused to appear before the Sub-Registrar to have them registered. They were summoned and, when summons proved [illegible] The [illegible] strar [illegible] its to [illegible] sory [illegible] the [illegible] ance [illegible] such enhancements is most unfortunate. Registration is an essential element of enhancement by contract, and there can be no contract without agreement. In cases of this description the first opportunity which a raiyat has of expressing his consent or dissent before an independent party is his appearance before the Sub-Registrar, and the compulsion of a tenant to register an agreement which he repudiates before that officer seems to be an altogether unjustifiable proceeding. Landlords who

showed the enhanced rents and the Factory collected its share of the rents thus shown, the estate preserved and collected its share of the original rents. The raiyats and the proprietors agreed to have the whole enhanced rents settled under section 109(*c*), and this course solved the problem.

It may be mentioned here that from the beginning to the end of the operations the Motihari Factory raiyats made no objection to the *sharah beshi*, and steadfastly stood by their agreements. I agree with the Assistant Settlement Officers in attributing this, first to the fact that the agreements were fully considered and voluntary, and second to the personal influence of Mr. Irwin with all his tenants. I have dealt in a previous chapter with the subsequent history of the indigo question.

Tree disputes.

100. The custom with regard to rights in trees was somewhat different from that already described for the Bettiah Subdivision. However, the same custom as in Bettiah prevails throughout the villages of the Bettiah Estate and its permanent and temporary lease-holders. It was found that in the villages of the Hathwa, Sheohar and Tikari Estates the raiyats enjoyed full rights in their *antrope* trees without interference. In the Madhuban Estate the question was bitterly contested. The raiyats claimed full rights in *antrope* trees on their holdings, while the zamindar claimed half the timber on the analogy of the Bettiah Estate. Decisions varied from village to village, as the practice was found to vary, and the landlord's evidence was much too scanty to establish his general claim. With regard to trees planted by raiyats either on waste lands or on produce rented holdings, the general custom is the same as in the Bettiah Subdivision, that is, either both fruit and timber belonged half and half to landlord and raiyat, or the fruit goes entirely to the raiyat while timber goes entirely to the landlord. With regard to bamboos, which are properly speaking a crop rather than trees, only possession has been recorded throughout the district, the question of rights not being entered into. The Bettiah Estate was not satisfied either with the procedure adopted, or with the decisions given, and in September 1915 the Manager addressed the Collector suggesting that the Settlement Department had no power under the law to make entries in regard to bamboos in *gair mazrua* or waste land, and complaining that raiyats were being recorded as having either full rights or possession in such bamboos. The Collector sent the Manager's letter to the Settlement Officer for report, and a report was duly submitted to the effect that rights as distinct from possession in bamboos had not been recorded and that if the word *haq* had been used in any case it was used by mistake, and all such entries were being corrected. I heard the Estate Pleader on the whole subject, and considered both the legal position generally, and the entries made in three particular villages which I allowed him to choose. As to the legal position, it is clear that if entries regarding trees cannot be made, no other entries can be made for *gair mazrua* land. It was argued that under section 102 such land not being the subject of a tenancy could not be included in the record-of-rights. On the other hand, however, it does not seem that the Legislature intended to exclude such land entirely from the record. In all settlements a record of such land has actually been made, and indeed the record of any village would be incomplete without such land, which is a part of the area or estate for which each proprietor is recorded under clause (*ad*) of section 102, and which is often or nearly always the subject of easements connected with the tenancies of the village. I decided, therefore, that we should continue to make a record in respect of such land. An analysis of the record for three villages chosen by estate pleader (mauza Bahuarwa, No. 370, thana Shikarpur, mauza Mudila, No. 220, thana Bagaha, mauza Maulanagar No. 483, thana Shikarpur), revealed the following figures :—

Total number of trees in *gair mazrua*	133
Recorded *kul haq* malik	109
Recorded *kul haq* raiyat	nil
Recorded as *lakri kul haq* malik *phal kul haq* raiyan ...	1
Recorded *nisf* raiyat, *nisf* malik	3
Recorded *phal kul haq* raiyat *lakri kul haq* malik ...	5 (Homestead)
Recorded *phal kul haq* raiyat *lakri nisf* raiyat *nisf* malik ... (On a road adjoining the raiyat's field.)	15

Total number of bamboo clumps in *gair mazrua*	...	118
Recorded *ba kabza* malik	... ...	49
Recorded *ba kabza* raiyat	... ...	35
Recorded *nisf* malik *nisf* raiyat	... ...	34

It is impossible to argue from these figures, which presumably represent a pessimistic case, either that the Estate has lost property by the record, or that the entries themselves are incorrect, and no effort was made to pursue the matter.

Laggi dispute

101. It was decided to enter in the record-of-rights the areas of fields and holdings in terms of the local bighas as well as in acres. The local bigha is founded on a bamboo or *laggi* which varies in length from place to place.

1 *laggi* × 1 *laggi*	...	=	1 dhur.
20 dhurs	...	=	1 katha.
20 kathas	...	=	1 bigha.

Each *laggi* is composed of a number of cubits locally known as *haths*. The number varies in the Sadr Subdivision from 10 *haths* in the north of the Bettiah Estate to $6\frac{3}{4}$ *haths* in the south of the Madhuban Estate, and the size of the bigha in terms [illegible] ingly. All entries in the [illegible] terms of bighas. It is essent[illegible] rights should be converted [illegible] prevails in the village. If by a mistake, or owing to misrepresentation, the Assistant Settlement Officer adopts a *laggi* shorter than the prevalent one, the consequence will be the appearance in the record of areas apparently in excess of the *jamabandi* areas of the holdings. This leads to misunderstanding, and to mistaken claims for the assessment of excess area. If, on the other h[illegible] than the prevalent one, the record will show [illegible] an those for which rent is paid. Raiyats wil[illegible] lands have been missed out, and may be induced to put in futile claims for reduction of rent, or applications for remeasurement. In part of the Madhuban Estate and of the area held in permanent lease by the Turka[illegible] ed that the prevailing *laggi* was [illegible] general we followed the *laggi* c[illegible] even though at some previous time a longer *laggi* may have prevailed There has been much misunderstanding of this subject by the raiyats. It would have been no advantage to them to revert now to an obsolete *laggi*, and on the other hand it is clear that landlords cannot, and will not, claim assessment of excess area on the basis of a comparison between the present and the former *jamabandis*, as the present *jamabandis* are presumed to show the actual areas for which rents are paid. In any case the landlords in general, as subsequent events proved, were not in a position to prove that *jamabandi* entries were founded on actual measurement, and therefore claims to excess area, except where specific encroachment could be proved, were bound to fail The raiyats, however, had at the back of their minds a very shrewd reason for their insistence on a longer [illegible] that where longer *laggis* prevail the incidence [illegible] shortening of the *laggi*, by reducing units of [illegible] raising of rates.

Homestead lands.

102. The homestead of a raiyat c[illegible] a [illegible] lar [illegible] described in the record-of-rights as *makan* [illegible] patch of land, locally known as *kola*, is des[illegible] se may be. The ancient custom was that all homesteads of raiyats within the village site were free of rent. In the old record-of-rights homesteads within the village site were included in the holdings of raiyats but described as *belagan*, or rent free. On the other hand homesteads built, not in the village site, but in a raiyat's holding, were included

in the holding as part of the rent paying area. In the present operations it was found on the one hand that the factory tenure-holders had generally assessed the cultivated portion of all homesteads in the village sites to rents known as *zabdi*, while the Bettiah Estate in its *kham* village and in certain *thikadari* villages claimed such areas as being liable to assessment. The Estate also claim that homestead lands are by immemorial custom of the Raj held by the raiyats as separate and distinct from agricultural holdings, and that as the entry of these homesteads along with agricultural lands in tenants khatians would create a presumption that they were part of the occupancy holdings, they should be recorded in separate khatians, or in the proprietors' khatians of waste land, the possession of the tenant being noted. It was difficult to deal with these claims and not possible to lay down any rigid rule, as the old custom was undoubtedly proved, and in recent years it has been undergoing a process of change. Wherever rents were paid for homestead lands the rents were recorded. Where rents were not paid, but the cultivated area was claimed as liable to rent, the claim was decided after consideration of the prevailing custom and the area of the land in question. It is clear on the one hand that the mere assertion of such a claim does not establish it in the face of the old custom, and on the other hand it is equally clear that a custom would not be valid or reasonable which allowed a raiyat to cultivate an unlimited area adjoining his house free of rent. The claims were decided on the merits of each case, and the majority of cultivated *kolas* exceeding 5 decimals in area were recorded as liable to rent.

Madhuban Rent Disputes.

103. There were persistent rumours during the attestation that after the last settlement the agents of the Madhuban Zamindar had dishonest alterations made in the Collectorate copy (that is the original), of the record-of-rights. Investigations proved that the allegations were true, and that in this connection the Collectorate Record-keeper had been dismissed in 1902. The disputes put before the Attestation Officer were with regard to certain fields which the Zamindar's Agents claimed to be produce rented, while the raiyats claimed them as part of a cash rent holding. The landlord's copies of the old record supported his claim, while the raiyats' copies supported theirs. In all such cases of discrepancies the Collectorate copy is referred to, and, being the original, is generally regarded as correct. In the cases now in question the Collectorate copy supported the landlord's claim, but a careful scrutiny of the records revealed the fact that in the Collectorate copy, opposite the plots disputed, forged entries of *batai* had been inserted in similar ink and writing. It may be here explained that in the old record produce and cash rented plots were included in the same khatian, the former being distinguished from the latter merely by an entry *batai* opposite them. After the attestation of the old record, an abstract or *terij* of the khatians was prepared. This abstract showed for each separate holding or khatian the total cash rented area, the cash rent, and the produce rented area. It was found that in every disputed case a clumsy alteration had been made in the *terij*. The exact area of the disputed plot had been cut out of the cash rented total and inserted in the produce rented total area. The writing and ink were clearly distinct. The cutting and the insertions were uninitialled, and the fraud was obvious in the circumstances. Beyond the oral testimony of the tenants, and beyond the contemporary proceedings which resulted in the dismissal of the Record-keeper, there was further clear proof that the alterations were fraudulent. After the last settlement the zamindar applied for an enhancement of rent under section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. His cases were failing, as he could not prove excess areas. He withdrew the cases. The applications were for the enhancement of cash rents only, and they included, as being cash rented, plots now claimed as produce rented. It is significant further that in almost every such case the plot tampered with is the largest plot in the tenancy. It is not necessary to quote here typical instances, as the whole circumstances were fully reported at the time to the Collector, and the zamindar was called upon for an explanation. He disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction and there is no reason to suppose that he personally approved of the fraud, as his servants are to the present day uncontrolled, and have an unenviable reputation for the production of unreliable papers.

The previous Hardia Settlement

104 The Hardia factory in thana Adapur holds 23 mauzas in thika lease under the Bettiah Estate The current leases extend to the year 1927 The concern was originally engaged in indigo manufacture and obtained indigo from the raiyats on the tinkathia system Indigo was given up apparently from the unsuitability of the soil, before 1890 and an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain paddy on the same conditions The raiyats resisted, and would not agree Before the original settlement of the district the landlord applied under section 101 (2), Bengal Tenancy Act, that a survey and record of rights of 5 villages (mauzas Harnahi, Bhawanipur, Raksaul Gamharia and Belahia thana Adapur, Nos 27 62 7, 24) should be made, and the operations were carried out between 1891 and 1894 at first by a special staff under Munshi Nandji and later as part of the district ope ... was the uncertainty that exi ted as ... it and as to the accuracy of the bou ... registers

Mr Colvin submitted the final report on these operations with his letter No 425 C, dated the 15th August 1894 to the address of the Director of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture Bengal As the report has never been published it is now reproduced in Appendix XIII

Fair rents were settled, the grounds of increase being excess area and the 'prevailing rate' The latter ground was applied in only one village Gamharia by Babu Promotha Nath Dutt Assistant Settlement Officer, Munshi Nandji having taken the view, which the Special Judge upheld, that there was no prevailing rate in these villages

The Hardia area enhancements and Kabuliyats

105 While in the current *thikadari pattas* of the Bettiah Estate the right of settling all lands with tenants is reserved to the proprietor this condition has not generally been observed in practice, and in fact the *thikadars* do not seem to have noticed the condition and have continued *bona fide* to settle lands in accordance with their former practice The result has been in certain cases that tenancies have been settled on conditions which the estate could not possibly approve, for instance the Ha ... to raiyats *pattas* settling lands The rents are ... has been taking considerable *salamis* for the ... the *patta* This also is in accordance with what has been the general practice but the following additional conditions inserted in the *pattas* are peculiar

(1) That the raiyats shall execute a *Satta* to grow indigo, sugarcane or jute, on three katthas of every bigha or else pay *harja*, the latter being at the rate of Rs 3 per bigha

(2) That the raiyat shall be liable to ejectment if he institutes any proceedings against the *Satta* ... consideration of the Satta In ... grown for nearly 30 years ... collection of *Harja* which being an *abwab* is not legally leviable The condition about ejectment is clearly illegal Neither condition has been entered in the present record of rights Further trouble was experienced in this area in dealing with certain illegal enhancements At the last settlement the proprietor claimed an enhancement on certain tenancies under the old section 104 of the Bengal Tenancy Act The Estate failed to prove that the previous *jamabandis* were founded on measurement, and that the raiyats held excess areas Hence the claim failed, and the then existing rents were settled as fair and equitable An appeal was lodged before the Special Judge, who dismissed it Immediately after the failure of the appeal the estate took *kabuliyats* from a number of tenants in question for enhanced rents This was in the year 1909 The rents thus enhanced being clearly illegal have now been disallowed A typical case was mauza Kanana (No 21, thana Adapur)

106. During the last settlement the village units of the Revenue Survey were followed with the result that certain *mauzas* were inconveniently large for the purpose of record and survey; while others were unnecessarily and inconveniently small. In August 1914 the Director of Land Records and Surveys raised the question whether we should subdivide the former, and amalgamate the latter with neighbouring villages, so as to improve the units generally. An attempt was made to carry out this suggestion in the following field season, but it was found—

Amalgamation and subdivision of Revenue Survey Villages.

(1) That the parties concerned invariably objected. The hearing of these objections took up time.

(2) The administration and the people had accepted and adopted the existing units. Any changes now made would involve either the adoption of a completely new thana serial or else a patching up of the existing serial that would render the jurisdiction list less clear and intelligible.

(3) The adoption of a new serial would create confusion in the identification of villages, as there would be two discrepant thana lists and a cross reference would be necessary.

(4) Finally the adoption of a new serial would involve change in all the records already prepared, and in all the maps. It was agreed then that the proposed amalgamation and subdivision were not practicable in the circumstances.

107. The boundary between Champaran and Nepal is demarcated by stone pillars along the north of the district and along a portion of the east. For the remaining 16 miles on the east the *Uria* river constitutes the boundary, the agreement being that the mid stream shall be the boundary, so long as the river does not change its course and so long as the changes are gradual. In cases of violent changes the former bed of the river remains the boundary. There is some doubt whether the changes have been sudden or gradual in certain cases. In the present operations we showed on the maps both the old boundary of the village according to the last settlement and the actual course of the river as we found it, an independent survey being made to verify the latter. No attempt was made to enter into disputes. Areas however that had accreted to Champaran by the action of the river were not disputed and were included in the Record, while similarly, areas formerly in Champaran but now cut off by the river and in possession of Nepal were not recorded though they appear in the map unnumbered. The river changes its course from year to year, and no advantage can be derived from investigating the changes further.

Nepal-Champaran boundary.

108. Mauza Barasankar in thana Dhaka furnishes a typical example of the difficulties in preparing record-of-rights for villages held by joint proprietors. In this case there are three proprietors. Collections of rent are made jointly. Each proprietor keeps his own *jamabandi*. The areas in 2 of the 3 *jamabandis* are based on a *laggi* of 7½ *haths* of 18 inches each. while in the 3rd *jamabandi* the areas are based on a *laggi* of 6¾ haths of 19 inches each. It is quite impossible to give effect to both standards in the Record, and the shorter *laggi* which at the last settlement was decided to be the prevailing one was adopted for the whole village. In many cases a transferee of a *raiyati* holding was found to have been recognized and entered in the *Jamabandi* by one proprietor, while the original raiyat or transferor remained in the papers of the others. Whether the transfer is valid under the circumstances must remain a matter of doubt. But for the purposes of the record the transferee was entered as the raiyat. In such estates partition is desirable, even though the resulting *Mauzis* may be of small area.

Difficulties of joint proprietorship.

109 The river Gandak forms the western boundary of the Champaran District for nearly 100 miles, and varies its course from year to year across a width of some three to four miles. The villages in this area are very much subject to the ravages of inundation, and the physical configuration of the tract varies from year to year. During the last settlement a complete survey and record was made of the whole area. In the present operations it was decided to survey and record *all the land in cultivation, preserving the same village boundaries.* A completely new traverse had to be done and the fitting on of the new survey to the old sheets was a matter of great difficulty. The record ... and attestation, as many ... and a note of the ... raiyats concerned ... the whole ... as included in one attestation camp, and from the experience of this area it is sufficiently clear that the preparation of a record of rights in *Diaras* is of no practical utility. In the first place over the genuine *Diara* area there was not the faintest vestage of any boundary mark laid down, or any single field or village surveyed, during the original operations, and again even in the present operations in the course of one rainy season about ⅓th of the cultivated area disappeared. The result is that the *khatians* only represent the circumstances of one season, and are not really a record in the proper sense, and cannot possibly be used as the basis of a fair rent settlement. As might be expected in this area, raiyats without rights of occupancy are very common. In the Bettiah *Diara* camp alone holdings were distributed as follows:—

The Diara Record

Settled raiyats	5,824
Occupancy raiyats	2
Non occupancy raiyats	3,981
Diara non occupancy raiyats	3,165

... the temporary *far exceeds the permanent element* ... trouble as might be expected, as land ... competition for it, and the rather vague ... ators and small tenure holders did not ... does not appear that the Gandak *Diara* ... portion at present is a sandy waste, and ... places, brings a fairly rich deposit of ... the crop of weeds is so strong and persistent that the land scarcely repays the great trouble of cultivating it. Although in the record we have classed the raiyats of this area in accordance with the legal distinctions, in practice all the tenants are treated alike, and there is no tendency whatsoever to curtail or deny a right of occupancy. In the Gobindganj portion of the Diara, for example in mauza Dumaria (No 202, ... with certain raiyati tenancies that may be bes... have no fixity of area, and rents vary from ... every year at the rate of Rs 2 per bigha on th... by the individual raiyat.

110 District Board roads gave very little trouble. Amins were instructed to show on the maps any encroachments that had been made on the road lands and these encroachments have all been included in the khatian of the District Board, the possession of the encroaching party being merely noted. The Board will thus be in a position to take against the trespassers such steps as may be considered desirable. It was not found in general that encroachments had been considerable, and on the whole the Board does not appear to have lost any considerable area from its road lands. A register for each road, showing the plots in each village belonging to it, and the number of trees, was prepared and made over to the Board.

District Board Roads

111 The realization of local cess beyond the legal amount was rare, and in such cases the legal amount only was recorded in the *khatians*. Some difficulty, however, was experienced in dealing with the small rent free tenur...

Local Cess

in aiming at securing that in the decisions which we take and the policy we advocate the interests as we see them of India and of her citizens shall be the paramount and decisive consideration.

30. PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Dec. 28, 1936 *Extract from reply to an Address of Welcome from the Bengal Land holders Association on December 28 1936 at Calcutta* —

It is as I should have expected that a body representing landholders should display the keen interest in the improvement of cattle and of agriculture which is manifested by your address. These subjects are subjects of real importance and perennial and I feel sure that I can with confidence look to you to lend me your fullest support in the steps which are being made at the present time to improve the conditions of the cultivator and to raise the standard of living in villages and in the rural parts of India. Landed proprietors such as those who make up your body can if they exercise their legitimate influence, perform a service to the nation in this matter the value of which I cannot exaggerate and it is an encouragement to me to think that your interest in a problem of such moment and of such immediate importance should be so great

I note what you say in regard to the Permanent Settlement. But I would remark on this that the constitutional position has been made perfectly clear in the Instruments of Instructions to the Governor General and to Governors of which the latter has been approved by Parliament I do however know the importance that has been attached to this matter in the past and can only say that there need be no fear of a Governor-General dealing perfunctorily with any question that might come before him in that connection. Beyond this as I hope you will realise no further assurance is possible.

31. POWERS TRANSFERRED TO BURMANS

Jan. 8, 1937 *Extract from reply to an Address of Welcome from the Rangoon Municipal Corporation on January 8 1937 at Rangoon* —

I sincerely thank you and the Councillors of the Municipal Corporation of Rangoon on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself for the cordial welcome which you have been so kind as to extend to us I am very glad to be in Burma again and to renew old memories of it. For not only did I spend some time in your fascinating country during my chairmanship of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, but I visited it as a young man some twenty-eight years ago and I think I can claim to be the first Viceroy who has navigated the Tenasserim river and enjoyed the easterly breezes that blow from the Gulf of Siam across the narrow Isthmus of Kra. It is a great pleasure to me to be here today all the more so because in view of the operation of the Government of Burma Act it is the last occasion on which it will fall to a Viceroy to visit Burma as a unit of the Indian Empire.

Burma is, as you remark, at the outset of great and significant changes I am glad to think that I have been so closely associated with the discussions which led up to the decisions which those changes represent, and that I should have had the opportunity during those discussions of renewing and extending my earlier contacts with representatives, men and women alike, of political life in Burma You rightly remark that one of the most significant features, from Burma's point of view, of the coming change is the severance of the political and administrative connection between her and India On that matter I wholly share your view that the ties of common interest which bind the two countries together are of the closest, and that the commercial and economic relations between the two countries are and will continue to be of real importance These relations, in so far as they are based on the common advantage of both parties, are unlikely to be affected prejudicially by political or administrative changes, and I trust sincerely that under the new dispensation a close and friendly connection will continue to be maintained between countries so intimately associated over so long a period

But, important as is the decision to separate Burma from India, that decision must not be allowed to obscure the vital significance of the constitutional changes which are embodied in the Government of Burma Act of 1935 The effect of the provisions of that Act is radically to change the constitutional position, and to transfer to the elected representatives of Burma great powers and great responsibilities On the shoulders of those representatives, on the use made by the electorate of the wide and generous franchise embodied in the Act, on the co-operation of all races and all communities for the common good of Burma, depend essentially the future development and the future prosperity of this great and historic country I am confident that that unity and co-operation will be forthcoming—for these are of the utmost importance , that those responsibilities will be discharged with zeal and with distinction , and that the great potentialities for good or ill which accompany the wide franchise and the extensive legislative powers which result from the constitutional changes which take effect in April will continually be present alike to the electorate and to the elected representatives of Burma I shall myself no longer stand in any official relation to Burma once those changes have taken place But you may rest assured that I shall watch with close interest the fortunes of a country to which I have always been so much attached, and which I have been so fortunate as to see at so many different stages of its constitutional development "

32. SCOUT JAMBOREE

Feb. 3, 1937 *Speech at the opening of the All-India Boy Scout Jamboree at Delhi on February* 3 1937 —

Chief Scout and Brother Scouts —I am commanded by His Majesty the King Emperor to deliver to you the following gracious message which is signed by his own hand —

My personal connection with the Boy Scout Movement in England enables me to appreciate fully the keenness of both Scouters and Scouts under the leadership of the Chief Commissioner Nawab Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan in having brought the Movement to its ever increasing high standing in numbers and efficiency throughout India.

I would congratulate you all especially on the valuable public services rendered by Scouts on various occasions

I wish every success to the All India Jamboree at Delhi and hope that it may have far reaching effects both in giving fresh inspiration to you who take part in it and in commending the Scout Movement to parents and public as a training school in all the qualities of body mind and spirit which tend to make good citizens for India.

GEORGE R. I

I am glad to be with you today and as Chief Scout for India to see a Jamboree at which every Province and every State affiliated to the Boy Scout Movement is represented. I am particularly happy to have this opportunity to welcome on behalf of all of you and of India, the Chief Scout himself I know well what good work the Boy Scout Movement has done and at Kurukshetra and in the Quetta earthquake—to take two outstanding examples only—you rendered to your country service of the greatest possible value. In every Province I have visited I have been glad to see representative contingents of Boy Scouts and to find them smart, well-disciplined orderly and keen.

His Majesty the King Emperor in the gracious message which I have just read to you emphasises the importance of the Movement as a training school in all the qualities of body mind and spirit which tend to make good citizens for India. Those of us who have been fortunate enough to see the working of the Movement and the results it has achieved in this country realise fully how well-earned has been the praise which His Majesty has bestowed on the Movement.

Let us see to it that we continue to grow in numbers and in efficiency true to our motto and faithful to our Scout promise.

33. THE PRINCES AND FEDERATION

"I can frankly tell Your Highnesses", says Lord Linlithgow referring to the discussions between his representatives and representatives of States on the Princes' problems relating to Federation, "that one outcome of those discussions has been to present in a new light to my own mind more than one aspect of this many-sided problem". Extract from speech at the opening of the 14th Session of the Chamber of Princes on February 24, 1937 — **Feb. 24 1937**

"To turn now for a moment to the international field, I would refer with warm appreciation—and I feel sure that in doing so I shall be voicing the sentiments of all of Your Highnesses—to the work of Sir Seray Mal Bapna in 1935 and of Sir V T Krishnamachari in 1936 as Members of the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations. Their reports are to be laid before Your Highnesses in the course of this Session and will, I know, be studied with the keenest interest.

My distinguished predecessor Lord Willingdon informed Your Highnesses in 1935 of the advance that had up to that time been made in the policy of bringing all the Indian States into direct relations with the Government of India That process has recently been completed, a fact which I trust Your Highnesses will regard as a cause for satisfaction; though I would not wish to appear in any way to minimise the reality of the debt of gratitude towards those Provincial Governments with whom they have for so long been in such close relationship, which I know those Rulers naturally feel But the change is one that is demanded alike by logic and the force of circumstances, altered as they are by the advent of new constitutional conditions in India

Your Highnesses are aware of the steps taken by me since I assumed charge of my present office, designed to assist individual Rulers in reaching, at an early date, a decision in regard to their attitude towards the Federation of India I am encouraged by the communications that I have received from many quarters to believe that the discussions that have taken place with my representatives have been of assistance and have served to clarify a number of points. I can frankly tell your Highnesses that one outcome of those discussions has been to present in a new light to my own mind more than one aspect of this many-sided problem The substance of those discussions has now been collated and is being subjected to close examination My strong hope is that means may be found in the not too distant future, to reach conclusions satisfactory to all concerned Your Highnesses are, I know, as fully alive as I am to the importance, at the stage which we have now reached, of a very early decision as to your attitude towards the Federal Scheme You can rely on me to continue as in the past to do all in my power to help you in reaching that decision by placing at the disposal of the Princely Order all such assistance as I properly can"

34. END OF UNITARY SYSTEM

Mar 15, 1937 *Extract from His Excellency Lord Linlithgow's speech at a dinner by the Hon'ble Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy President Council of State (Central) on March 15 1937* —

" You have reminded us that India stands at this moment upon the threshold of profound constitutional change. The great provincial electorates have made their choice, and upon the first day of next month provincial autonomy becomes an accomplished fact. From that moment the unitary system of government which has for so long a period of time obtained in this country comes to an end and the eleven Provinces of British India adventure forth upon their several ways. It is indeed a moment of the highest political significance and one in which it behoves all public men most anxiously to measure their words. Ladies and gentlemen it is at a time such as this that the representative of the Crown be he the Governor General or the Governor of a Province, must needs remind himself that it is his bounden duty to stand above party interests and party differences and to keep steadily before his mind his obligations not only to those whose cause has triumphed but also those who have tasted the bitterness of defeat. Let me assure you that in anything I may say this evening that double duty is very present to my mind. And again I am bound at this time to remember the fundamental nature of the change that is about to take place as between the Centre and the Provinces. Indeed, it is of the essence of the system of Government upon which we are embarking that it provides for each province free play within the limits of domestic policy to develop in the manner best suited to the circumstances political and economic of those who dwell within its bounds. It is most necessary that those of us who approach this question from the viewpoint of the Central Government, whatever the sphere of our responsibility should keep steadily before us the proper limits of our action towards the Provinces and that we should respect scrupulously those limits from the moment that provincial autonomy becomes effective.

It is of course inevitable that the advent of constitutional changes so profound should be accompanied by the appearance in the political life of the country of some degree of stress and difficulty Indeed it would be unreasonable to expect that the process of adjustment to the new conditions upon which the country is about to enter will be immediately completed. But I am quite confident that that adjustment will be made and I believe that it will come much sooner and with a good deal less difficulty than many appear to expect The opportunities for useful and honourable service to the community which now lie before Governments and legislatures in the provincial sphere are indeed very great. I have faith in the zeal and public spirit of those into whose hands the electorates have entrusted those opportunities. It will be both the duty and the privilege of the Governors of Provinces and of the Governor General in his proper sphere to collaborate with the several provincial

ministries in their most responsible tasks in a spirit of sympathy, helpfulness and co-operation That indeed is the spirit in which this constitution, constructed after great and prolonged labours by the joint endeavours of the representatives of both races, is offered to the Indian people. If all concerned will approach in faith and courage the great charge which is laid upon them, determined to do their utmost faithfully to serve the highest interest of the people, then I am very confident that those apprehensions and doubts, sincerely held I know, which now trouble many minds, will disappear like the mists of morning before the rising sun.

You have mentioned, Sir Maneckji, my close personal interest in all that touches the welfare of the rural population. Let me say in all sincerity that I believe most firmly that one of the beneficent consequences destined to flow from the new constitution is a quickening of public interest in all questions that concern the countryside and, particularly, in the vigorous prosecution of practical steps designed to ameliorate the lot of the peasant It is my constant and earnest hope that in every Province of India fresh life and vigour may be infused into this great endeavour, and that the work which has been, I think, well begun, may go forward with increasing momentum and effect towards the goal which we all have in view.

I am most grateful to our host for the kind words that he used about my wife She is most anxious, I know, to do all that lies in her power to bring help and comfort to the women and children of India and to give aid to those borne down by sickness. She tells me that she has been deeply impressed and immensely heartened by the enthusiasm and the zeal of those with whom her interest in these matters has brought her into contact With some experience of the treatment in Great Britain of that dread disease, tuberculosis, it is her hope and mine that we may live to see in India the adoption and vigorous prosecution of measures adequate to the increasing seriousness of the position of tuberculosis in this country"

35. OVERSEAS HOUSE, LONDON

Message broadcast on the occasion of the opening by His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, of Overseas House, London, on April 14, 1937 — **April 14, 1937**

"I warmly welcome the opening of the new building of the Overseas League The League performs a function of the greatest value in bringing together members of every country in the Empire in those social and personal relations the importance of which in fostering good understanding and good fellowship is so great Its work, and the friendly assistance it has at all times given to Indian students, are well known in India, and I am glad to think that the number of Indians, from every part of the sub-continent, included in its membership should be so large The League has set before itself a great and significant ideal It is my earnest hope that in its new headquarters, which have today the honour of being opened by His

Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester the League will flourish and prosper and that the help and assistance which it has in the past so freely given to visitors to London from overseas will in this new building be at their disposal in an even greater degree than has been practicable in the past.

36. CORONATION OF KING GEORGE VI

May 12, 1937 *Message broadcast on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty King George VI on May 12 1937 —*

India acclaims the King Emperor and the Queen Empress crowned today and proudly affirms her devoted and unswerving allegiance to the Throne and Person of the Sovereign From every quarter of her wide territories the prayers of the people go up that strength and guidance may be vouchsafed to Those whose lives are henceforth dedicated to the service of Their subjects.

In no part of the world is the virtue of Kingship in its profound spiritual significance, and with its deep and moving appeal to the heart of man, more widely or more sincerely appreciated than in this ancient land of India.

On this auspicious day sustained by the glorious memories of trials and triumphs shared together and with high confidence in the years to come the Princes and People of India join with every part of the British Empire in pledging once again their loyal fealty to the Imperial Crown.

37 INDIAN LIVESTOCK INDUSTRY

May 25, 1937 *Though the problems of livestock industry in India now lay within the provincial sphere of administration Lord Linlithgow pointed out the opportunities open to the Central Government to advance the cause through out India Speech in opening the Cattle Conference in Simla on May 25 1937 —*

Gentlemen —Let me first of all assure you how happy I am to welcome you all to this Conference and to the Headquarters of my Government

The purpose of this gathering is that we may take counsel together upon the question of what may best be done in order to promote an early improvement and development of the livestock industry throughout India—in other words to consider what practical steps can be taken to secure the better breeding and feeding of Indian cattle.

The subjects with which this Conference is concerned have for many years lain within the Provincial sphere of administration The opportunities for service open to the Central Government are now in the main limited to the fields of specialised instruction research and the control and prevention of animal diseases It is also the duty of the Centre to promote the exchange of information between Province

and Province and to provide, from time to time, opportunity for the discussion of which the present occasion is, I venture to think, a happy example. And let me hasten to add that not the least valuable outcome of such a gathering as this is that it affords guidance to the Central Government as to the manner in which it can best serve the requirements of the whole country Acting upon the advice of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India, our equipment for this work has recently been extended by the strengthening of the central institution for animal research, while—as Sir Jagdish Prasad has told you—our proposals for a central institution for higher veterinary instruction are now assuming definite shape

Gentlemen, it is not necessary that I should remind an audience such as this that the ox is the foundation of India's agriculture Indeed, I am aware of no other single contribution which it lies within our power to make towards the enhancement of the agricultural wealth of this country which, in its potential value, is in any degree comparable with the general improvement of livestock It has been calculated that the total annual cash value of livestock in India, if we include the annual value of cattle labour, dairy produce, manure and other products, is of the order of 1,300 crores of rupees That no doubt is an approximate figure, but it serves at least to indicate the immense values at issue, and the scope afforded in this direction for the enhancement of the country's wealth

And here let me say that, while cattle must be the chief concern of this meeting, many of the proposals which may result from your deliberations will be applicable to other branches of the industry such as sheep and goat breeding, both, in my opinion, deserving of and certain to repay, in full measure, the early attention of the departments concerned , while wool production, the hides and skin industry, and, in some Provinces, horse breeding may well derive benefit as a consequence of your labours

It is impossible to overstate the importance to the agriculturists of India of an adequate supply of good working bullocks For the bullock provides practically the sole source of power available to the cultivator, whether for cultivation, for transport, or for the lifting of irrigation water Nor need I emphasize the value of cattle manure or the importance of the place which cattle dung used as fuel still holds in the domestic economy of a large proportion of the rural population, much as we may regret that fact.

The great importance of milk production, whether produced by the cow or the buffalo, from the point of view of the country at large as well as from that of the cultivator himself, is now widely recognized The facts as regards the average consumption of milk and milk-products per head of the population, so far as these are at present available, go to show that, while there is great variation in this matter as between region and region and between household and household even in the same village, there is no doubt that the average consumption of dairy produce is too low, more particularly

when it is remembered that we are dealing with a country in which the diet of human beings is so largely vegetarian and in which there is therefore a special need for such protective animal foods as milk ghee and curds. In this matter of developing the production and distribution of milk and milk products we look forward to the report of Dr N C. Wright Director of the Hannah Dairy Research Institute who recently spent five months in India examining our problems

For the development on sound lines of animal husbandry as a whole and the cattle industry in particular a scientific foundation is required, and the Central Government have recently given special consideration to the requirements of the country in this respect Additions have been made to the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute and well-equipped sections for animal nutrition and poultry research have been provided at the Izatnagar branch of the Institute When the section on animal genetics has been added the Institute will compare favourably with similar institutes in other parts of the world. The function of a central institute of this kind is to promote cattle improvement and the control of disease in the Provinces But it will at once be obvious that unless suitable organizations exist in the Provinces which are capable of co-operating fully with the experts maintained at central institutions much of the labour at the Centre may be wasted and the ryot will fail to obtain the full measure of help which he needs. As I have already said this is a Provincial question and each Province has its own special requirements and limitations but it seems desirable that we should take counsel together in this all important matter for it is abundantly clear that if anything adequate is to be done for the improvement of cattle in India more technical staff of every grade is needed and above all continuity in breeding policy

I am indeed glad to tell you that the response to my appeal for breeding bulls and for funds with which to purchase and maintain them has been highly gratifying The position at present is that in addition to a number of collective donations as many as 1 073 individuals have responded to my appeal with donations of either animals or money No fewer than 1 322 bulls have been presented or promised while the cash subscriptions which have been offered amount in all to no less a sum than Rs. 1,65 000 In addition a sum of Rs. 1 000 has been received for the rescue of valuable animals from city byres. This response has been a very great encouragement to me for I am convinced that better sires must be the foundation of our policy of breed improvement But let me remind you that better bulls can only be the first step. It is essential if real and lasting benefits are to accrue that the bulls should be adequately maintained The question of opening a Cattle Improvement Fund in each Province is therefore a matter in which I take the keenest interest. The purpose of these organizations would be the provision of adequate financial resources the creation of an organization devoted to the proper care and maintenance of all approved stud bulls and ultimately I hope the provision of further suitable animals.

The art of breed improvement must inevitably be founded upon the accurate recording of pedigrees The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, with the co-operation of the appropriate Provincial Departments, has undertaken the establishment of pedigree herd books for the principal milch cow breeds of India and as a first step has set up a small committee for the definition of breed characteristics. This is a type of work which I greatly hope may be much more fully developed provincially, not only by the establishment of provincial pedigree herd books for the most important draught breeds, but also by a more extensive system of registration of all the stock produced from 'Gift' and other good sires The fact must be faced that, laborious as such registration may be, it is essential if the continuous improvement of Indian cattle is to be secured Without registration of progeny, and of their performances, even a very extensive system of distribution of stud bulls may easily fail to make any lasting impression on the cattle of the country Method well devised and faithfully pursued through a long series of years is essential to the achievement of complete success

Let me at this stage assure you that I have at all times in mind the excellent work on cattle breeding that has already been carried out, mainly by provincial departments—work which in many districts has already yielded a rich return in the shape of a general improvement in the local breeds

Unless cows, calves and bullocks are to be fed better than is at present the case, efforts to improve breeding will obviously be of little avail, and I am glad to note that two of the four items on the agenda of this Conference deal with this aspect of cattle improvement The provision of better grazing and the greater production of suitable fodder crops are two separate but closely related aspects of this great problem The former was discussed at length by the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry at Madras last December, their task being greatly lightened by the labours of a most important preliminary conference of Forest Officers which has done much to clarify the position as regards forest grazing and the utilization of waste land The Board have made some important recommendations both as to the better utilization of existing grazing areas and the possibility of converting land at present waste into useful pastures In this connection it is my personal opinion that further research and experimental work on the grasses of India, and the possibility of acclimatizing useful exotic fodder grasses, are matters deserving of early attention India is not a pastoral country as judged by the usual standards of temperate climates Nevertheless the improvement of the grazing lands, and an increase in their extent, might do much to raise the general standard of the working cattle of the country In most areas however the grazing must be supplemented by other foods and for the actual feeding of a very large percentage of our animals we must depend on the straws of cereal crops and on fodder crops The time has come when there must be deliberate crop-planning for increased fodder crop production Without anticipating the discussion on this subject, it may be said that, if the additional resources placed at the cultivators' disposal by

improved varieties of staple crops and by improved irrigation facilities are wisely used there is scope for a much larger production of fodder crops especially leguminous crops in a manner which would mean a gradual and steady rise in the efficiency of the cultivator and his cattle The proposal of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry that each Province should set up a grazing and fodder committee linked up with a central sub-committee under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research will be submitted for your consideration as a practical way of making a start and at the same time of arranging for an interchange of information and experience. I cannot overstate my sense of the vital importance to India of this question of animal nutrition for I believe it to be true to say that an essential step towards the better nourishment of man must be to improve the food supply of his animals.

Let me end as I began by affirming my profound conviction that we can make no greater contribution towards the welfare of the cultivator than by promoting the improvement of the cattle throughout India. Let me also assure you that success in this endeavour is within our reach and competence —technically administratively and financially if we can but come to a right policy and if we persist in our endeavours. Public opinion and the enthusiasm of the agriculturists are with us in no uncertain measure. Let us devote ourselves to this great purpose with high courage and unswerving devotion I am confident that you, by your labours in this Conference will make a most material contribution towards the advancement of Animal Husbandry in India.

38. THE END OF A STAGE

June 22, 1937

Lord Linlithgow points to the completion of the preliminary phase of what he set himself to achieve during his Viceroyalty for the promotion of national welfare He outlines the basic structure now complete the propulsive power behind this many-sided organization must be the force of public opinion which he does not doubt is destined to grow in power and extent

Extract from the speech at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Health on June 22 1937 —

I have been concerned recently to make myself familiar with the conditions of urban housing and sanitation. The standard reference on this question is as you are well aware the Report of the Whitley Commission on Labour The chapters in that Report which deal with the question of housing in relation to industrial labour make extremely gloomy reading That Commission reported more than six years ago Being desirous of discovering what action may have followed the recommendations of the Whitley *Report* I turned to the annual reports of the Public Health Commissioner and was a little surprised to find since the Report of 1930 no single mention of this most important matter A very heavy responsibility lies upon Governments in this matter and particularly upon Local Bodies. I

greatly hope that the silence of the Public Health Commissioner in his Reports may not mean that throughout these six years there has in fact been no progress to report. I hope too that in future the Reports of the Public Health Commissioner and of Provincial Directors of Public Health will provide the public with adequate information on this question. It is high time that a sharper civic conscience should be engendered in matters of this kind, and that a determined move should be made to discharge what is recognised by all who have examined the position to be a debt long overdue.

When I returned to India more than a year ago, I set myself to establish in the public mind the essential relationship between each of three orders of life: the life of the Plant, the life of the Animal, and the life of the Man—or in other words the direct connection between agricultural progress, improved Animal Husbandry and human welfare nutritional and economic. During the same period I have urged on every available occasion the completion of that chain of research and propaganda bodies whose existence would connote the recognition by Governments everywhere of the vital, the overwhelming importance to India of the trinity to which I have referred. How much still remains to be done, we are all but too well aware; but at least we may claim that this meeting today marks the completion of the preliminary phase, which is the setting up of the essential organizations and the establishment between them of due liaison at the appropriate points. How does the picture now appear? We have agricultural, irrigation and veterinary research and propaganda whether at the Centre or in the Provinces in good shape, and a growing impulse towards the establishment in all Provinces of organization towards improved animal husbandry. We are facing up to the difficult problems of animal nutrition. We have a well-designed system of liaison between all these branches of science. We have at Coonoor an active research organization in Human Nutrition. During the past year we have seen established a Nutrition Advisory Committee, with the Public Health Commissioner as Chairman and Dr. Aykroyd of Coonoor as its Secretary, and we have planned to create a link between agricultural research and research in human nutrition by the provision of a trained nutritionist at the new Agricultural School at Delhi. In the same period and through the agency of the Nutrition Advisory Committee, there has been initiated at Coonoor the first three-months' course in human nutrition designed to equip officers selected by the Central and Local Governments with a view to ensuring that each Government might have at its disposal in its Public Health Department at least one officer with that special knowledge. Officers from seven Provinces and one Indian State attended the course. I greatly hope that Provinces not represented at the first course may find it possible to nominate each an officer to attend the next course which will be held in the near future.

From this brief description of the existing position you will see that the basic structure is now complete. The propulsive power behind this many-sided organization must be the force of public opinion. That this force, expressed through the medium of democratic

institutions is destined to grow in power and extent I have no doubt and I make bold to affirm my conviction that in the years to come it will be found that the contribution made by this comprehensive endeavour towards improving the lot of the people both rich and poor will amply justify the means and labour expended upon it.

Let me say a word in conclusion with regard to the internal arrangements and organization of this Board. In the first place it is well to make clear that there can be no question of your activities encroaching in any way whatever upon the jurisdiction of the Provinces in matters which have long lain within their unfettered control. Subject to that consideration which must be paramount, it is—I think—true to say that on all hands there exists a growing conviction as to the immense value to every part of the country of a body such as this which affords opportunities of mutual consultation and the interchange of views and experience between Province and Province and—I like to think—between Provinces and States which insures that the Government of India shall be in sympathetic touch with the Provinces and which in its capacity as an advisory body in organic union with the Central Government will be capable of bringing to a common denomination the varied opinions of Governments throughout the sub-continent in matters pertaining to Public Health as to which the Central Government may find itself concerned in the field of international consultation. Indeed, I think it is an occasion for mutual congratulation that every Province in British India has seen fit to nominate its representative to this Board. Again I do not doubt that when its library and statistical branch is completely organized, the Board will be found to render invaluable service as a centre to which its constituents may turn for information of every sort while the ever-growing mass of technical literature in many languages upon Public Health questions will by its services be made readily available to those who desire to make use of it.



AT THE LADY LINLITHGOW SANATORIUM, KASAULI

PART II

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

1. A CONSTITUTIONAL EXPOSITION

This message dispelled Congress doubts and resulted in the assumption of power by the party in the six provinces in which, in the general elections, it had been returned in a majority to the popular house

The Provincial part of the Constitution Act of 1935, *came into operation on April* 1, 1937

In its election manifesto, the Congress party had proclaimed that its purpose was to "combat" the Act and "to end it". After its electoral triumph in the six provinces, the Congress Working Committee demanded in a resolution in March, 1937, *as a condition of acceptance of office by Congressmen, that the Governors should not use their special powers of interference or set aside the advice of their Ministers in regard to the latter's constitutional activities*

As a result of Lord Linlithgow's message, the Congress Working Committee decided that the circumstances and events warranted the belief that it would not be easy for the Governors to use their special powers, and the Congress Parliamentary Parties formed Ministries

Lord Linlithgow preceded his message on the constitutional position by " a word to each one of you personally " in a broadcast.

(i) A WORD PERSONALLY

Text of Lord Linlithgow's broadcast message on the "Indian Constitutional Position" *on June* 21, 1937 .— **June 21, 1937**

"I am issuing tomorrow a message to India. Tonight, I wish to say a word to each one of you personally with regard to that message, and to commend it to your sympathy and your consideration

The constitutional position, and the doubts and uncertainties that exist in relation to that position in many parts of India and in different political parties, are familiar to you all Having watched with anxious, friendly, and open-minded attention, the course of public discussion upon these most important questions, and having observed the movements of public opinion as reflected in the utterances of public men and in the comments of the press, I am strongly of opinion that the difficulties still remaining are due in great degree to misapprehensions, and that these difficulties are therefore

susceptible given goodwill on all hands of being resolved and finally removed by a thorough and patient analysis of their nature.

In my message I have sought to supply a comprehensive and authoritative exposition of the issues most immediately in debate and my hope is that I may thereby have assisted you in arriving at a right conclusion upon a matter of the gravest moment to each one of you as well as to the future of your country

In forming your opinion on these questions I counsel you to take into review not only the technical and theoretical points at issue but also the broad and general relationship of the whole body of reform incorporated in the new Constitution both to the underlying circumstances at this time existing in India, and to the course of political evolution in this country over the past eighteen years. In directing your attention to these considerations I am concerned to secure that in exercising your judgment you may give due weight to the extreme inexpediency of interrupting—even temporarily—at this critical juncture the rhythm and momentum of continuous and progressive political reform unless upon proven and substantial grounds of overwhelming significance.

Ten years ago when—with the Agricultural Commission—I travelled the length and breadth of this great country I was animated by an intense desire to help the rural population and to do what I might towards making the Indian countryside a better place in which to live. But the general impressions that I formed in those two years were by no means limited to the subject of our enquiry For in my journeyings by observation and by converse with men and women of many and varied opinions I came to a new understanding of the political problem with which we are confronted in India, and I began to comprehend something of what I may call the Indian point of view and of how the complex of Indian affairs with which I had grown familiar from the angle of one living in Great Britain is viewed by those to whom India is a beloved mother the cradle of their race and the object of their deepest affections and of their highest hopes This experience had brought about I may truthfully tell you a profound change in my own outlook and opinions and when I found myself in the chair of the Joint Select Committee I was moved to hope that it might be vouchsafed to me to make at least a contribution however humble towards the assuagement of those political difficulties which have disturbed the relationship between India and my own country and which are due in the main to the development of political thought in this country and to a growing consciousness amongst Indians of the greatness of their country and of the high destiny towards which from her history and her place in the world India is entitled to aspire. Patriotism love of liberty faith in the virtue of liberal institutions of government these are qualities of which every man and woman of my own race is proud and which indeed are manifest in supreme degree by those other communities overseas which have sprung from the loins of the Motherland. And so it has seemed to me that my countrymen should regard the growth in India of those same qualities and aspirations not as a matter for anxiety

or disquiet, but rather as an occasion for pride and as a call upon them for their understanding sympathy, and their ready help, and if, in the workings of an inscrutable Providence, it may be given to them to assist with fostering care towards the establishment, in a unified India, of those beneficent principles of representative and responsible government which most of us hold to be the greatest contribution that Great Britain has made towards the secular progress of mankind, then what greater triumph could be theirs, or to what higher reward could they aspire? We have been fallible, and errors may have been committed, we are mortal and may have missed many opportunities But if, after the long Odyssey of some two hundred years, we may come to know that by the labours of those of both races who have gone before us, and by our own endeavours, we have contributed towards the establishment in India of a system of government destined through the years to shine as a light in the Orient and to show the way of peace between East and West, then indeed we may claim that those labours have not been in vain. Such were the hopes and purposes that sustained and fortified me when I accepted, at the hand of my Sovereign, the heavy and responsible charge that I now hold; such is the spirit in which I have today addressed to you my message, to which once again I ask you to give your close and sympathetic attention"

(ii) MESSAGE TO INDIA

Text of the message on the constitutional position, dated June 22, 1937 — **June 22 1937**

"I dare say you will recall that, when I spoke to you by wireless on the day I took charge of office as Viceroy, I gave you my view that we should be wise not to expect that constitutional changes as profound as those into which we have now entered could come about altogether without difficulty. I want today to say a few words to you about those difficulties as they have emerged, and to try my utmost to make some contribution towards their final dissipation As you read this message, I would ask you to bear in mind two things The first, that while I am truly anxious not to be more formal or technical than my task requires, it is very necessary that in dealing with this grave matter, I should use language of precision and that—even at the risk of imposing a heavy call upon your attention,—I should not attempt to shorten too much or to oversimplify the various matters I propose to discuss The second, that even though—for the reasons I have just mentioned,—my words may seem to you a little formal, this does not mean that my personal approach to these problems is in the least degree cold or unsympathetic I recognise to the full that your hearts as well as your minds are deeply stirred by these issues, and that a position such as that with which I am dealing can never be completely compassed by mere terms of law or of constitutional theory, because that position touches so closely those underlying springs of sentiment and emotion which—since we are creatures of flesh and blood—so profoundly move our minds and so largely shape our opinions

I have refrained hitherto from making any public statement of any sort on the constitutional issues which have been raised by the refusal of the party which commands a majority of the votes in the legislatures to accept office in certain Provinces. My decision to do so was deliberate. The Governor-General it is true exercises under the Act a general control of the action taken by provincial Governors in their discretion or in their individual judgment, and he is himself correspondingly subject to the general control of the Secretary of State. But given the scheme, the intention and the construction of the new Constitution matters such as those which have of late been the subject of discussion in all Provinces in which the majority party in the legislatures has declined to accept office are eminently in the first place matters for discussion between the leaders of that party in the Province concerned and the Governor of that Province.

A point has now however been reached at which it will I think be of advantage that, for the benefit of the man in the street and the ordinary elector I should myself take up the threads of this discussion in the light of the statements which have been made in Parliament by the Secretary of State, and in individual Provinces by the Governors, and that I should state comprehensively in the most formal and public manner open to me, my attitude which is equally the attitude of the Secretary of State and of the Governor of every Province in India, on the constitutional issues which have been brought to the fore in connection with this question of office acceptance. Before I proceed to discuss the situation in its constitutional aspect to restate formally the constitutional position as between Governors and their ministers and to place on record once again at the climax of this discussion, the spirit in which Governors the Governor-General and His Majesty's Government approach this matter let me say briefly how great in my judgment has been the value of the discussions which have taken place on this matter in the last three months. Those discussions have been of the utmost significance. Their outcome is of importance to *every parliamentary party in this country without exception. That* genuine misapprehensions and misunderstandings existed three months ago in certain quarters as to the relation of Governors to their ministers and as to the extent to which or the manner in which Governors would be likely to interfere with the day by-day administration of a Province by the ministry in power statements made by responsible party leaders have made abundantly clear I am glad to think that those misapprehensions and those misunderstandings have now in so substantial a degree been removed by the discussions which have taken place in Parliament in the press and on public platforms. Those discussions have made it possible for those who felt doubts as to the object and the scheme of the Act and as to the position and the attitude of Governors in the new Constitution to test in the utmost detail, and from every angle the weakness or strength of various lines of argument, and to advance, with that object in view hypotheses of the most varying character And they have given the Representatives of His Majesty in this country and His Majesty's Government at home opportunities personally to dissipate misunderstandings,

and to make clear in the most unmistakable manner their conception of the nature of the duties which fall upon the Governors of Provinces; of the spirit in which those Governors are expected by Parliament, and themselves propose, to discharge those duties; of the relations in which Governors contemplate working with their ministers, and of the extent to which Governors stand themselves entirely outside party, and to which they are at the disposal of any ministry which is prepared to work the Constitution within the terms of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The interval which has passed has been of value as giving an opportunity to His Majesty's Government, to Parliament, and to individual Governors, to clarify the position beyond any shadow of doubt. It has been of value, in my judgment, also in terms of the experience of the practical working of the new Constitution afforded since the 1st of April in every Province in India, whether the ministries in power in a Province commanded a majority in the legislatures or were themselves supported only by a minority in those bodies Three months ago a great political party, which commanded in six Provinces a majority in the legislature, felt that, even with the support of the majority in the legislature, it could not wisely accept office under the provisions of the Act unless it received certain specific assurances from Governors Three months' experience of the operation of the Constitution, short as I agree that that period is, has conclusively shown from the practical point of view that, any legal difficulties in regard to the grant of such assurances apart, those assurances are not essential to the smooth and harmonious working of the Constitution In every Province ministers have been able to test by practical experience that the co-operation and the assistance of the Services are at their disposal, and that they can in their dealings in the day-by-day administration of the Province, and in their relations with the Governors of their Provinces, rely on those Governors to place at their disposal in the fullest measure and with no shade or suggestion of prejudice or personal feeling that help, sympathy, co-operation and experience which the Governors of individual Provinces have promised Those three months have shown equally, and beyond question, that the apprehensions which have been entertained—and I readily accept the sincerity of those apprehensions even if I see no foundation of fact for them—that Governors would seek occasions for interfering with the policy of their ministers, or for the gratuitous and uncalled for exercise of the special responsibilities imposed upon them by the Act to impede or challenge ministers in the day-by-day administration of the Province, have no shadow of justification.

I have been intimately associated with the framing of the present Constitution I am familiar with the close concern shown by Parliament, whether in the Joint Select Committee or on the floor of both Houses to devise a scheme which would confer real and substantial powers on popularly elected ministers, and which would enable those ministers to feel that they could with confidence frame and implement with the co-operation of Governor and of the Services a programme of legislation on broad lines for the benefit of the Province

the government of which was in their hands. The Act and the Instrument of Instructions which must be read with the Act have been approved by Parliament. Taken together they represent the intention of Parliament and the instructions given by Parliament to Governors. Those documents make it clear beyond any possibility of question that under Provincial Autonomy in all matters falling within the ministerial field, including the position of the minorities the services etc. the Governor will ordinarily be guided in the exercise of his powers by the advice of his ministers and that those ministers will be responsible not to Parliament but to the provincial legislature. The only qualifications of this rule are in respect of certain specific and clearly defined matters. The most important of these are those known as the special responsibilities and of those special responsibilities again the most important are the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part of the Province the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of minorities and the securing to the services and their dependants of any rights provided or preserved for them under the Act and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests. Of those special responsibilities none was lightly placed by Parliament or inconsiderately on the shoulders of the Governor Everyone of them represents the response of Parliament to the demands of substantial and legitimate interests. There is no vestige of foundation for the assertion which I have seen advanced that the Governor is entitled under the Act at his pleasure to intervene at random in the administration of the Province. Those special responsibilities are as I have said restricted in scope to the narrowest limits possible. Even so limited as they are, a Governor will at all times be concerned to carry his ministers with him while in other respects in the field of their ministerial responsibilities it is mandatory on a Governor to be guided by the advice of his ministers even though for whatever reason he may not himself be wholly satisfied that that advice is in the circumstances necessarily and decisively the right advice The extent to which in practice given goodwill on both sides and a desire to operate the new constitution for the benefit of the Province as a whole difficulty may be anticipated from the existence of these special responsibilities cannot be better exemplified than by the history of every Province in India during the past three months. I think I am right in saying that no occasion has arisen on which there has been any conflict or difficulty in this area.

I have made clear I hope the object at which Parliament is aiming in the Act the fact that it has transferred the executive authority in the Province in practice to ministers, and that the extent to which a Governor acting in his discretion or in his individual judg ment has vested in him certain responsibilities is restricted to the bare minimum judged to be essential. I have indicated further that in the ministerial field there can be no interference by a Governor with ministers, save in respect of matters with regard to which he is empowered to exercise an individual judgment

I now turn to the question of what is to happen if unfortunately a situation arises in which the Governor and his ministers do not see

eye to eye on a matter where he is required to exercise his individual judgment Such an issue may arise over a matter of comparatively minor importance, or over a matter which is of major importance, but on which no responsible ministry, however little it might itself agree with the decision taken by the Governor would for a moment—or for more than a moment—contemplate resignation I have already stated that ministers have the duty of advising the Governor over the whole range of the executive government within the ministerial field, including the area of the special responsibilities For advice so given, whether on matters within or without the scope of the special responsibilities ministers are answerable to the legislature In all such matters in which he is not specifically required to exercise his individual judgment, it is mandatory upon the Governor to accept the advice of his ministers Within the limited area of his special responsibilities, a Governor is directly answerable to Parliament, whether he accepts or does not accept the advice of his ministers But if the Governor is unable to accept the advice of his ministers, then the responsibility for his decision is his and his alone. In that event, ministers bear no responsibility for the decision and are entitled—if they so desire—publicly to state that they take no responsibility for that particular decision, or even that they have advised the Governor in an opposite sense

But every Governor will be concerned to have the support of his ministry, or to know that he is not lightly at variance with his ministry when he acts without their support, or against their advice, in the discharge of a special responsibility He will, as I see it (and the view I now proceed to express is the view of every Governor in India, and of the Secretary of State), in such circumstances in the first place put the ministry or the minister fully in possession of his mind He will explain to him the reasons which in his judgment make it essential for him to follow a particular course or to pass a particular order. He will listen with a mind open to conviction to the arguments on the other side which may be advanced to him If he regards those arguments as valid, he will modify his proposal to such extent as may be appropriate If he regards them, on the other hand, as invalid, he will do his utmost, before taking a final decision, to convince the minister, or the ministry, of the soundness of the reason for which he is unable to accept his or their view. And if in these circumstances he still remains unable to influence their views in the direction he desires, he will take his decision and pass his order with the greatest personal regret that he should have been unable to secure the support of his ministry, and before passing it he will have exhausted all methods of convincing his ministry that that decision was the right one, given the obligation imposed upon him by the Act

So much for the general basis on which, as I conceive it, a Governor will handle the situation which we have been discussing But the special responsibilities, strictly defined as their ambit is, include in their compass matters and decisions the importance of which inevitably must vary greatly I ask at once—is the same attitude

to be adopted in every case, whether its importance is great or small? Is the ministry to regard its position as affected in an equal degree by any and every decision of the Governor contrary to its advice irrespective of the magnitude or the intrinsic importance of that decision? In a case in which the Governor in the exercise of his special responsibilities and after exhausting the method of approach to his ministry which I have indicated, finds himself obliged to pass an order with which his Government did not agree should the Government resign or shall it carry on its work after indicating publicly or privately or publicly and privately its attitude in the matter which has formed the subject of the order? Or shall the Governor be required to dismiss it?

These are all points of practical importance. They have attracted great attention lately in all political parties for a pronouncement on such an issue must be of direct concern to every party in every Province in India. I judge in particular from the statements made by persons of eminence in or in contact with the majority party in six Provinces that on the answer to them largely depends the final removal of any hesitations which may be entertained in that party as to the method in which the new Constitution is to be operated and the extent to which provincial ministers can rely on fair treatment and a minimum of interference by a Governor in those matters which under the Act fall within their field. The answer to these questions is of importance to every political party in this country to which it falls to work the Constitution and to take advantage of the powers and responsibilities which have been transferred by the Government of India Act to popularly elected ministers. It will be well therefore given the importance of this issue that I should make plain beyond any question, and speaking with the fullest authority my own position in regard to it which is the position of the Secretary of State and of the Governors of the Provinces.

Let me say in the first place that it is essential in this matter to preserve a just sense of proportion. I welcome for this reason the helpful suggestion recently made by Mr Gandhi that it is only when the issue between a Governor and his ministers constitutes a serious disagreement that any question of the severing of their partnership need arise. Serious disagreement is a phrase which it is possible to define and to interpret in various ways But the general sense is clear enough to anyone with any political or administrative experience The matter involved must be of really major importance. It must I would myself say be of such a character that a ministry would feel that their credit and their position were hopelessly compromised by a particular action taken against their advice by a Governor in the discharge of his responsibilities under the Act despite the fact that ministers had no direct or indirect responsibility for that action and that a Governor had taken the utmost pains to satisfy his ministry that he had no choice in the discharge of his responsibilities but to take the action in question. I readily agree that where on such an issue arising and where the Governor and his ministers have both

approached the matter, as I am confident that they would, with open minds and with a full sense of responsibility—the Governor, in so far as his special responsibilities are concerned, to Parliament, the ministry to the provincial legislature,—no agreement could be reached, then the ministry must either resign or be dismissed. As between resignation and dismissal, normal constitutional practice leans very heavily indeed to the side of resignation. Resignation is more consistent with the self-respect of a ministry, and is an effective public indication of the attitude of ministers towards the action of a Governor. Resignation equally is an act taken spontaneously by a ministry. Dismissal, more unusual by far in constitutional practice, might seem to carry with it some suggestion of inferiority, a suggestion which we are concerned at any cost to eliminate from the new constitutional arrangements I ought perhaps to add that the suggestion that the Governor should in certain circumstances demand the resignation of his ministers is not the solution provided by the Act and so that it will not be possible for Governors to accept it. Both resignation and dismissal are possible, the former at the option of the ministers and the latter at the option of the Governors But the Act does not contemplate that the Governor's option should be used to force the ministers' option and thus to shift the responsibility from himself

I have deliberately dealt with the extreme case, of a conflict involving resignation or dismissal, for it is the extreme case on which attention has been rivetted But the extreme case is in my judgment most unlikely in ordinary circumstances to arise, and it would be unwise of us to allow a contingency, by no means probable, given normal working and the friendly and understanding relations which we can without undue optimism anticipate between a Governor and his ministers, to assume a dominating importance in our eyes In the ordinary way such differences as may arise between a Governor and his ministers will admit, with goodwill on both sides, of being resolved in the ordinary course of administration by agreement between the two parties, without any question of issues so major as resignation or dismissal coming to the fore I have already indicated the method by which I anticipate that Governors will deal with a situation in which such a difference of opinion exists I feel no doubt whatever myself that, on that basis, deadlocks need not be anticipated, in view of the anxiety of all Governors—to which I can myself testify—not merely not to provoke conflicts with their ministers, to whatever party their ministers may belong, but to leave nothing undone to avoid or to resolve such conflicts

I have been the more concerned to set out in some detail the position as I see it, in that it is essential that those interests, or communities, or areas, to which the Act extends the assurance of the special responsibilities, should not, for a moment, think, or have the least ground for thinking, that any question will arise of sacrificing their interests for political reasons So far as the individual Governors are concerned I can reassure them on that point with the utmost confidence and the fullest authority So far as political parties go experience in those Provinces which are at present governed by

ministries supported by a majority in the legislature is decisively encouraging As regards the remaining Provinces the statements of responsible leaders of the majority party have emphasized how short sighted any attack on those interests would be from the point of view of that party itself and how improbable it is What I am concerned to make clear is that without any threat to those interests, or any sacrifice of them, a Governor and his ministers can, in my judgment, hope within the provisions of the Act to operate the Constitution in the normal manner which the Act envisages and to avoid, save in circumstances which I find it not easy to contemplate fundamental differences of opinion such as to endanger the relation between the Governor and his ministry in that very limited area in which certain special obligations and responsibilities are imposed upon a Governor

Let me review what I have said. The position is as follows —

The executive authority of a Province runs in the name of the Governor but in the ministerial field the Governor subject to the qualifications already mentioned, is bound to exercise that executive authority on the advice of his ministers There are certain strictly limited and clearly defined areas in which, while here as elsewhere primarily responsibility rests with ministers the Governor remains ultimately responsible to Parliament. Over the whole of the remainder of the field ministers are solely responsible and they are answerable only to the provincial legislature. In the discharge of the Governor's special responsibilities it is open to the Governor and it is indeed incumbent upon him to act otherwise than on the advice of his ministers if he considers that the action they propose will prejudice minorities or areas or other interests affected. The decision in such cases will rest with the Governor and he will be responsible to Parliament for taking it. But the scope of such potential interference is strictly defined—and there is no foundation for any suggestion that a Governor is free or is entitled, or would have the power to interfere with the day to-day administration of a Province outside the limited range of the responsibilities specially confined to him. Before taking a decision against the advice of his ministers even within that limited range a Governor will spare no pains to make clear to his ministers the reasons which have weighed with him in thinking both that the decision is one which it is incumbent on him to take and that it is the right one. He will put them in possession of his mind. He will listen to the arguments they address to him. He will reach his decision with full understanding of those arguments and with a mind open to conviction. In such circumstances given the goodwill which we can I trust postulate on both sides and for which I can on behalf of His Majesty's Government answer so far as Governors are concerned conflicts need not in a normal situation be anticipated. On the matter of degree a convention which would require the automatic dismissal or resignation of a ministry whenever there is any difference of opinion however unimportant would show a lack of proportion and I need not now emphasize the objections to any such convention. For it goes without saying that cases of quite minor

importance may arise within the area under discussion ; and it goes without saying equally that government, and the position of ministers, would be impossible if on each such occasion a Governor were required by a binding convention to dismiss his ministers, or the ministers felt it incumbent on them to resign. The interruption to administration and the loss of credit to ministers would be intolerable. All the more so since ministers would feel compelled to resign on account of a decision for which they were not in any way responsible and on which they would be at liberty to indicate publicly that they differed from the Governor who had, in the discharge of his own responsibilities, chosen to take a particular course It is not by rigid conventions of this nature, but by give and take, by the elasticity which is the governing factor of any successful democratic Constitution, that constitutional advance is shown by the experience of history to proceed

Where on the other hand a really major issue is involved and ministers, even though they are not responsible for the final decision taken by a Governor, and can without any constitutional impropriety make that clear, feel that such action has raised issues of such a character, and affected their position as a parliamentary party, in such a way that they can no longer, without misunderstanding in the country, associate themselves with the Governor in the work of Administration, then it is open to ministers to resign. Or, if they do not resign and the Governor feels that his partnership with them cannot with profit to the public continue, it is open to a Governor, and indeed incumbent on him to dismiss them But the object of Governors, and, I feel confident, the object of the ministers, will at all times be to avoid such a state of things arising. The mere fact that the Government of India Act covers contingencies such as the dismissal of ministers, the breakdown of the Constitution, or the like, is not for one moment to be taken as involving an assumption that the framers of the Act, those concerned with its administration, or anyone, indeed, who is concerned for the constitutional progress and development of this great country, wishes to see those contingencies turned into realities The design of Parliament, and the object of those of us who are the servants of the Crown in India and to whom it falls to work the provisions of the Act, must be and is to ensure the utmost degree practicable of harmonious co-operation with the elected representatives of the people for the betterment and improvement of each individual Province, and of India as a whole , and to avoid, in every way consistent with the special responsibilities for minorities and the like which the Act imposes, any such clash of opinion as would be calculated unnecessarily to break down the machine of government, or to result in a severance of that fruitful partnership between the Governor and his ministers which is the basis of the Act, and the ideal the achievement of which the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, and the provincial Governors are all equally concerned to secure

Before I take leave of you I feel that you would wish me, setting aside all technicalities, to speak to you for a moment or two as one who has had a good deal of parliamentary experience and some share in the shaping of the new Constitution. Some of you,

I know hold, and hold strongly that the plan of reform does not go sufficiently far in the direction of complete self-government. I do not question the sincerity with which that view is held. But I am certain that every responsible person, in deciding his position on this vital matter does so with a genuine anxiety in the best interests of India to take a balanced view and to reach a right decision as to what may best be done, in the conditions of this time to serve those interests. Let me at once assure you that in my best judgment and given goodwill on all sides this Constitution will work and that in experience it will be found to work well. It stands now as the law of the land. It stands, too —and despite all the criticism that has been levelled against it—as the only complete and homogeneous scheme of political reform now before the country I am convinced that the shortest road to that fuller political life which many of you so greatly desire is to accept this Constitution and to work it for all it is worth Of their nature politics are ever dynamic, and to imagine that their expression in terms of a written Constitution can render them static would be utterly to disregard the lessons of history and indeed the dictates of commonsense.

Again it is my firm conviction that this Constitution will be found to offer immense opportunities for beneficent public services And in this connection I may venture a word upon a matter very close to my heart It is my conviction that in the full working and development of this Constitution lies the best hope for that general and lasting amelioration in the condition of the rural population and of the humbler sections of society which all of us so ardently desire.

The discussions and debates of the last two months have I think placed before you every argument and point of view that bear upon this issue. The choice a choice fraught with so much of profound significance for the future of India must shortly be made I hope with all my heart that all, whether leaders or their followers may find it their duty to choose the way of constructive effort. Whatever emerges you may count upon me in face even of bitter disappointment to strive untiringly towards the full and final establishment in India of the principles of parliamentary Government. But if what I should regard as a deplorable outcome should emerge from the present situation and if parliamentary and responsible Government should as a consequence be suspended in a number of Provinces it might however much we might all of us regret it be beyond the power of any of us rapidly to reverse the circumstances that must then supervene. In that event invaluable time will be lost and I greatly fear no little hurt inflicted upon the cause of progressive reform. But I do not believe that these sad things will come to pass, for I have faith in you and in the destiny of India. The way we tread may seem dark and sometimes difficult. The star that guides our course may seem sometimes to flicker and almost to fall. Yet faith and courage are mighty forces. Let us summon them to our aid in this difficult hour and together move steadily forward towards the fulfilment of our hopes

2. "MY SCHOOL EXPERIENCES"

"I was pretty far up the school at Eton before I saw my first motor-car You begin to realise now, don't you, what an ancient fellow I am," Lord Linlithgow tells the boys of the Bishop Cotton School, Simla, at the prize-giving ceremony on September 4, 1937. **Sept. 1937**

From homely talk he passes on to the serious topic of his previous address at the school and tells them what "we old gentlemen" could do for them. and what they must do for themselves For, "no amount of advice can take the place of experience." Text of the speech .—

"You will perhaps remember, those of you who were present this time last year, that I said a few words to you about Truth, and about the great importance of cultivating the habit of truth I spoke to you of the power and influence for good that comes to those who hold to truth, and I told you that in your search after truth you must expect to meet with many difficulties, many set-backs and not a few disappointments, but that you were not to be dispirited, but were to remember that none of us in this world can hope to attain to perfection in anything.

I wonder if, when those of us who are grown up and who indeed are rapidly graduating for the honourable designation of 'old gentleman' come down to the school to talk to you, it ever occurs to you to ask yourselves what it feels like to be the speaker? Do you—for example—think of us elderly folk as having forgotten what it was like to be your age? Well, don't you believe that. I can remember my first day at school as though it was yesterday—my mother leaving me at the turnstile gate, and the anxiety and loneliness of the first night in the big dormitory. I can recall, I think, all the outstanding incidents of my school experiences with the same clearness that you remember the doings of last term at Bishop Cotton Perhaps, 40 years ago, our ideas were a little different from yours No one had even heard of an aeroplane, and I was pretty far up the school at Eton before I saw my first motor-car. You begin to realise now, don't you, what an ancient fellow I am But I don't think our hopes and fears and pleasures and difficulties were at all different from your own So you see, we have very much in common, you and I; and as I look at you sitting in this room, and as in my mind's eye I see that other boy, which was I, it comes to me very plainly that there isn't a halfpenny of difference between us. Now that makes a good start for a chat together, doesn't it? But remember that now it's you who are the old gentleman standing on this platform, while the boy sitting in your chair is the youthful I. And I am wondering to myself what on earth you are going to say next I am hoping in a far away sort of fashion that you aren't going to give us a pie-jaw. Last year you handed me out something uncommon like one and I am full of gloomy apprehensions Mind you, I don't really care two hoots what you say, because I know that though you may do your worst, I shall get my tea, and a good one, at five o'clock. But as I've got to sit here, couldn't you say something that will help me, you who must have

been through a good spot of bother in your time what with one thing and another ?

Well if I occupy your place much longer you will find me eating your tea, a thing past a joke you'll agree. So let's change places again and let me try and say a helpful word or two and I promise you they will be few

When last year I told you of the difficulty of holding to truth, I was thinking not of your difficulties about which you alone know but of my own. And the first point I want you to get hold of is that things like that don t get easier as one grows old. Sometimes they grow harder If we are going to be worth our salt we must try and improve. Nothing that lives stands still. It either waxes or it wanes And we ourselves either move progressively towards such fulfilment as we are capable of or we suffer the tide to turn and move backwards towards failure and towards the betrayal of our true selves. And here is what you at your age had better grasp That you have no time to waste and that the effort to improve will grow harder and not easier the older you grow Don t be afraid to fly the flag of your ambitions and of your ideals at the very top of the mast. Your performance will not climb as high as your ideal. But if you try to hide the gap between what you would like to be and what you are, by lowering your ideals just a little bit, you take it from me that your performance too will come down with a run and the gap between aim and achievement become wider than ever

Mind you we old gentlemen can t do very much for you, try as we may The reason is that no amount of advice can take the place of experience. That I see more plainly every day I live. But at least we can help you to interpret and to make the best of experience. I think too that we can sometimes help you to learn from the first lesson that experience gives you instead of having to suffer a long series of misfortunes before you take the hint.

I hope you will think it worth while to try hard at all the things you do whether work or play and to be of those who do as much as they can instead of doing so little as they need. You will get far more fun out of life if you live it in that spirit and you will be of much greater help to your fellowmen and to your country

3. TO AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES—GREETINGS !

In every province of India ministries enjoying the support of the legislature were now established in office The provinces were set upon their own courses and Lord Linlithgow proposed to send to them on behalf of himself and the Central Legislature " a message of cordial goodwill " **Sept. 13, 1937**

The full practical consequences of the enfranchisement for the first time of very large sections of the community, he suggested, " will not be discernible for many years to come " It was a matter of profound satisfaction to him that they should witness the establishment in India, upon foundations patiently prepared, of a new and vigorous system of parliamentary government—at a time when political liberty was being ruthlessly curtailed over wide areas of the world

He looked forward to the early establishment of federation It was of the utmost importance to the maintenance of the unity of India, and to the commercial and industrial development of the subcontinent as a whole that the States and British India should be early joined in constitutional relationship in the federal sphere

Text of address to the Members of both Houses of the Indian Legislature on September 13, 1937 —

" It is a great pleasure to me to see you today and again to extend my greetings to you and to the distinguished Presidents of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly. The year which has passed since I last addressed the combined Legislature has been marked by many developments, political and other, of great significance, and of great importance to India as a whole Of these developments by far the most important is the great constitutional change which took place in the relation of the Centre to the Provinces and in the position of those Provinces on the 1st of April with the introduction of Provincial Autonomy.

Let me touch briefly on certain questions of immediate importance or interest to the Central Legislature

The problem of middle class unemployment is, in present constitutional conditions, one primarily for Provincial Governments My Government has however been in close contact with the various Provincial Governments with a view to following up the suggestions made by the Sapru Committee, including the obtaining of statistics of unemployment, the maintenance of employment records, the subsidising of medical practitioners in rural areas, the provision of facilities for secretarial training at the University stage, and the arrangements for recruitment to certain governmental services and posts Any assistance which my Government can properly lend to the solution of this most important problem will most readily be given

In the field of rural development, there have, since I last addressed you, been developments of much importance Reports of great value have been received from Sir John Russell and Dr Wright,

and will shortly be published.* The Jute Committee established last year has held two meetings a number of schemes have already been taken up and with the establishment by next year of a Jute Technological Institute and of a Jute Research Station at Dacca, the work will be in full progress both on the agricultural and on the technological sides. The Imperial Institute of Sugar Technology started its operations in October of last year and I am confident that it can be relied upon to produce results of real and immediate value In the sphere of marketing, a Wheat Report has already been published and a Cold Storage Survey Report will be published in the very near future. I would like to take the opportunity to refer to the valuable contribution to marketing improvement made by the Central Legislature by the Agricultural Produce Grading and Marketing Act which was passed in February of this year Steps have been taken to arrange for an enquiry into the possibilities of extending cinchona cultivation in this country with the object of meeting from our own resources the very large demands with which we are annually confronted for quinine

The results of the appeal which I made last year for donations for the purchase of bulls have been most encouraging, and it is a source of keen personal satisfaction to me that so great an interest in this all important question should have been manifested throughout India. Let me add with what satisfaction I have also learnt of the response to the appeal which I made at an earlier stage for co-operation in the eradication of the cruel and wasteful practice known as *Phooka*. I am glad to be able to announce that my Government with a view to providing an added stimulus to the interest which has now been evinced in improving cattle-breeding have contributed a sum of Rs 25 000 towards the cost of a Cattle Show which will be held in Delhi in February next in connection with the Annual Horse Show held under the auspices of the National Horse-Breeding Society

Since I returned to India in April of last year I have been at pains to make myself familiar with the position in regard to archæological research and the preservation of ancient monuments in this country The question is at present under review of how best to further these important objects within the inevitably limited funds available The monuments of antiquity eloquent witnesses to the historical and cultural achievements of this great country constitute a heritage of incalculable value and significance which it must be our privilege to guard and to hand down to posterity

I have already announced my decision to extend the period of the life of the present Legislative Assembly This is an appropriate occasion on which to intimate that the date to which I contemplate its extension is the 1st of October 1938

The disturbances in Waziristan have been a source of much anxiety to my Government during the last few months and they have

* The Russell Report was published on October 7 1937 and the Wright Report on September 22 1937 Please see page 78 "Indian Information," October 15, 1937 and page 39 "Indian Information" September 30, 1937

resulted in heavy expenditure I am glad to say that there are now distinct signs of a settlement, and of the acceptance by the tribes of the very moderate terms which have been imposed upon them And it is my earnest hope that, thanks to the operations of the last few months, the foundation has been laid, of a greater measure of stability in this difficult and disturbed area

In consultation with the Commander-in-Chief, I have been giving the closest consideration to the question of Army organization and the re-equipment of the Army in India so as to maintain its efficiency at the highest possible pitch having regard to recent developments elsewhere in the matter of mechanisation, and the like The expenditure involved is inevitably considerable I have caused representations to be made in the matter to His Majesty's Government for assistance in carrying out the reorganisation owing to the very heavy cost involved, and it is my hope that we shall receive a favourable reply

The valuable recommendations made by the Wedgwood Committee are, as you are aware, under examination * I have watched with close attention the railway returns during the last year, for there is no surer barometer of the prosperity of a country Nothing, I am glad to say, could have been more encouraging than those returns up to the present date The revised estimates submitted to the Legislature in February for the year 1936-37 anticipated a surplus after meeting all obligations of Rs 15 lakhs The final figures show in fact a surplus of about Rs 120 lakhs, and, thanks to a substantial decrease in working expenses, the year 1936-37 shows a net betterment of over five crores I am not without hope, dangerous as it is to speculate in a matter of this nature, that that figure will be maintained, and indeed materially enhanced, during the current year, for the approximate earnings up to the end of August are some Rs 2 75 crores better than over the same period of the previous year

I cannot pass from this subject without a reference to the disaster which occurred at Bihta in July We all know how heavy was the loss of life and how long the list of casualties in that disaster I am glad to think that this shocking accident should be so wholly exceptional in character, and that during the five years ending March, 1936, the average number of persons killed in India per annum in collisions or derailments of trains should have been no more than 11, a figure of great significance when it is remembered that during each year 525 million passengers are carried, and 125 million train miles run

My personal concern for the improvement of conditions in the rural areas has always been close and immediate, but I would not have you think that because of that I am in any way indifferent to the claims of industry or in any way oblivious of the vital importance to the future of this country of lending all aid that properly can be

* The Indian Railway Enquiry Committee presided over by Sir Ralph L. Wedgwood examined the position of Indian State-owned railways and suggested measures to secure an improvement in net earnings and to place railway finances on a sound and remunerative basis Its Report was published on June 28, 1937

lent to the development of industries Here again the matters involved are now in a very considerable degree matters for Provincial Governments but I have taken pains to ensure that all such action shall be taken as can appropriately be taken by the Central Government for the encouragement and the development of industries. In particular I would refer to the work of the Industrial Research Organization. That organization is now in its third year It has I am satisfied proved its utility beyond any question and my Government will in due course recommend to you that it should be placed on a permanent footing from the beginning of the next financial year Another aspect of this matter which is of substantial importance, but which equally must depend to a very large extent if not entirely on provincial co-operation is the question of industrial surveys. That question was considered both by the last Industries Conference and by the Industrial Research Council at their meeting in July and it is being actively pursued. I need not stress the direct relation of investigations such as these and of the development of industry as a whole to the problem of middle-class unemployment. The next Industries Conference which will be held at Lahore in December will be asked to consider the question of training and assisting young men to start and conduct small industrial enterprises.

I referred in my speech last year to the position and the difficulties of Indians overseas. No one is more conscious than I am of the keen interest with which this question is watched by Indian public opinion or of the close attention which has always been paid to it by the Indian Legislature. The past year has not been free from questions of considerable difficulty and complexity Those questions are by no means yet in all cases finally resolved but in any area in which they arise the Government of India are in the closest touch with the situation. The most important of these questions and the only one to which I propose to refer today is that of Zanzibar In the case of Zanzibar I will only say that in my judgment the scheme now proposed while I am well aware that in certain respects it has fallen short of the expectations and of the demands of Indians in Zanzibar holds out very definite possibilities and very definite advantages and I would make an appeal to those concerned that it should be given a fair trial. It is my own belief and my earnest trust that with the co-operation of the Zanzibar Indians it should prove of definite benefit to those concerned.

When I last addressed you India stood upon the verge of constitutional changes the profound significance of which it is not possible to overstate I ventured then to say to you that we could hardly hope to compass the developments at that time imminent without some difficulty and some degree of anxiety Since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy on the 1st of April of this year the course of political events has varied between Province and Province a tendency which we may be sure is destined—having regard to the differing conditions obtaining in the various Provinces—to become more marked as time goes on.

To one feature of the elections, common to every Province, I feel I must refer The smoothness with which arrangements were carried out for polling nearly 35 million people, over vast tracts of country, and in areas in which frequently communications were difficult to a degree, left nothing to be desired, and the first evidence of the solid interest of that immense electorate in the political problems confronting the new India, of its discipline and its self-restraint, was given by the orderly manner in which the process of polling was effected. Nothing could have been a greater tribute to the electorate and to those responsible for the organization of the elections

Speaking now within six months of the launching of this great experiment, it would plainly be premature to attempt any detailed appraisement of the working of the scheme of reforms Indeed when it is remembered that we are witnessing changes which include the enfranchisement for the first time of very large sections of the community, we may be sure that the full political consequences of these changes will not be discernible for many years to come Meantime it is enough to claim that together we have overcome at least the most serious of the difficulties that have so far confronted us By the early days of August there were established in office in every Province of India Ministries enjoying the support of a majority of their respective Legislatures. The decision which has brought about this happy position does high credit to all concerned One of the great turning points of our political history has been successfully negotiated, and we face now a future that in my judgment is full of promise I have entire confidence that Ministers in every Province will find in the Public Services a body of men willing and anxious to support their political chiefs by every proper means in their power, and zealous, under the direction of responsible Ministers, to continue to the best of their ability to serve their several Provinces Nor do I doubt that Ministers will at all times be found ready to protect the just rights and interests of every servant of Government There can be no stronger bond of mutual regard and understanding than that of labours shared—of constructive work done together. It is in this field of common aspirations and common endeavour that we see exemplified the first fruits of that new relationship which it is the prime purpose of the Constitution to establish and to foster.

The Provinces are now set upon their own courses, and the extent to which this Legislature and the Central Government are concerned with their affairs is very precisely conditioned by the terms of the Constitution Act But it will not, I think, be held inappropriate that—with, I am confident, the whole-hearted support of all those who are present today—I should send to those Provincial Governments a message of cordial goodwill and of encouragement in confronting the many problems that lie before them

I turn now to the next and final stage in the Constitutional Reforms, the introduction of the Federation of India Since last I addressed you, my representatives have toured the States and held discussions with the Ruling Princes and their Ministers; and replies

from almost every State to my letter of enquiry of last August have been received expressing their views on the matters connected with Federation in which they are particularly interested. The work of collating and analysing these voluminous replies is nearing completion and after decisions have been taken on the many difficult and complicated questions of policy arising therefrom a process now far advanced it will be possible to enter on the next phase of the programme, namely that of placing the complete and final picture before the Ruling Princes and then formally addressing them in regard to their accession.

I am well aware that the scheme of Federation laid down in the Constitution Act gives rise in some quarters to doubts and criticism. I have done my best to make myself familiar with the nature of that criticism and I think I can say with complete truth that everyone of the grounds upon which it is levelled was before my colleagues and myself upon the Committee of Parliament at the time we made our recommendations. We saw clearly the difficulties of setting up a Federation composed of disparate units and we were fully seized of the implications that must follow an arrangement of that kind. We were conscious as well of many other difficulties Nevertheless upon the best judgment of which we were capable there were two considerations which in our view must be held to outweigh all others. The first that the early establishment of a constitutional relationship within the federal sphere between the States and British India is of the utmost importance from the standpoint of the maintenance of the unity of India the second that the existence of a Central Government capable of formulating economic policies affecting the interests of the sub-Continent as a whole is of direct and immediate relevance to the economic circumstances of the India of today

With regard to the first of these considerations I will only say that while no one so far as I am aware is disposed to question the strong desirability of achieving a Federation of India at the earliest moment possible the anomalies to which I have referred are the necessary and inescapable incidents not merely of the introduction of an all India Federation at this moment but of its introduction at any time within the measurable future.

To the economic aspect of this question too little attention has in my opinion been given The commercial and industrial development of the sub-Continent stand now at a point where progress is in many respects definitely prejudiced by the absence of uniformity at present existing in for example Company Law Banking Law the Law of Copyright and Trademarks and the like Again it is most desirable that there should be established without delay over the whole fiscal field the greatest possible degree of unity and uniformity It goes without saying that from the standpoint of British India as well as of the Indian States substantial advantage is likely to result from the establishment of a system under which tariff policies which affect every part of India should no longer fall to be constructed by a Central Government in whose counsels for historical and constitutional reasons wide areas of India at the moment enjoy no direct representation.

And I am myself confident that the achievement of Federation will presage an early and substantial modification of those disparate conditions the existence of which today, unavoidable, for the reasons I have mentioned, as it may be, tends in so many ways to hamper the growth of trade and commerce and the full development of our natural resources

Finally, let me say that I hold it as a matter for profound satisfaction that at a time when, over wide areas of the world, political liberty is being increasingly curtailed, we should witness in India the establishment, upon foundations patiently prepared, of a new and vigorous system of parliamentary government Differences of opinion there may be upon the merits of this or that provision of the new Constitution Yet I cannot but think that we shall be wise, in the circumstances of the world today, to make a supreme effort to concentrate our gaze rather upon points of agreement and of common interest than upon those things in which complete accord is yet to be reached. We have many things in common that are infinitely precious to both peoples; and many of those things are in grave jeopardy today We love peace, and peace is threatened over half the world Violence we both abhor, and the rule of force is in evidence in three continents To democratic principles of government both countries are deeply attached, and those principles are, at this time, under question and even challenge in wide regions of the world The regimentation of the human mind proceeds apace, freedom of opinion is systematically suppressed, and the right of the individual to live as he wills in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the family circle is a thing denied to half mankind It is a common affection for these things, today in dire peril of destruction—a common determination to protect the elementary decencies of human life upon this planet—that holds together the people of the British Commonwealth of Nations in loyalty to the British Crown I believe with every fibre of my mind that India at heart is loyal to those same ideals, and that her highest destiny lies within that brave sisterhood of States which stands today as a bulwark against forces that threaten the very soul of man"

4. INDIANISATION OF THE ARMY

Lord Linlithgow tries to remove the apprehensions in regard to the Indianization of the commissioned rank of the army in replying to an address of welcome from the Provincial and Lahore District Soldiers' Board on October 22, 1937 at Lahore Addresses were presented on the occasion also by the Lahore District Board, the Northern India Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Punjab Co-operative Union Extract from the reply to the address from the Soldiers' Board — **Oct. 1937**

"Wherever I have gone in the Punjab,—Ludhiana, Jullundur, Sialkot, Rohtak,—I have asked that I should be given the opportunity of meeting ex-military officers and ex-soldiers from the surrounding villages Nothing gives me greater pleasure than those meetings, and no one when he meets the ex-officer and the ex-soldier, when he sees

the campaign medals and the decorations carried by them, can fail to be impressed by the wide area over which the Punjab soldier has earned distinction by the record of service of these men by their independent and manly bearing and by the obvious fact that they are part and parcel of this great Province. The contribution—almost half a million men—made during the War by the Punjab is historic and the great name which in the War her soldiers won for themselves and for their Province added lustre to a tradition already eminent and long established.

The address to which I have listened has touched on one point to which I attach much importance and that is the employment of ex-soldiers. The Indian Soldiers Board take I know a great interest in this matter and so too do the Punjab Government. I understand that some three years ago the whole question was re-examined by the then Government and that instructions were issued to Departments and District Officers to ensure the maximum amount of employment of ex-soldiers in appointments suitable for them. And I am told that a recent examination of the working of the scheme has satisfied the Provincial Soldiers Board that it is on a sound and successful basis. I am happy to think that this should be the case and wherever I have been in the Punjab I have been glad to find ex-military officers rendering service to the civil administration as Honorary Magistrates Sub-Registrars Panchayat Officers Zaildars and the like. I am confident that this combination of military and civil experience is of the utmost value to the Province.

I fully recognise the interest which you take in the Indianisation of the Army and in the method of appointment to commissioned rank and I appreciate the nature and the basis of the apprehensions to which you have referred. I think you will agree with me that the rights of the enlisted classes have been not ungenerously recognised in this matter of commissions and as you will remember half the commissions annually granted are reserved for them. These Army cadetships are within the grasp of any enlisted soldier and as you know the most promising candidates are sent to the Kitchener College at Nowgong where they are educated free of all charge up to the standards required by the Indian Military Academy through which equally those selected pass free of all charge For those too who succeed in passing into the Indian Military Academy by the channel of open competition many scholarships are available and they are in fact generously helped both by the scholarships supplied by the various Provinces and by the remission of fees at the expense of Government. As regards pre-military education to which you rightly attach so much importance excellent Indian Military schools exist at Jhelum and Jullundur the cost to the parent for boys in those schools amounts I understand to no more than Rs 7-8-0 a month and in addition numerous scholarships financed either by Government or from regimental sources are available to boys at those schools. But I readily recognise the pressure on the available vacancies and I have every sympathy with your desire that the soldier's child should have the

fullest opportunity to take advantage of those educational facilities the existence and the use of which is of such material importance today.

I am fully alive to your desire that the ex-officer and ex-soldier should be given in his retirement the chance further to serve the State in a civil capacity, I am glad to think that much has already been done in this direction and to hear your recognition of the sympathetic attitude which has been adopted in relation to it.

I was particularly interested to hear from His Excellency the Governor of the grant recently sanctioned by the Indian Soldiers' Board for expenditure on development schemes in military villages. I understand that Rs 11,500 has been granted for the current year, and that Rs 10,000 has been promised in each of the next two years for this purpose As I understand it, the general effect is that grants within the limit of the total sum available are made to carefully selected villages with outstanding war records, and that the grant is on a contributory basis of not less than one-third, and is assigned to some local work of utility such as the consolidation of holdings, the improvement of water-supply, the establishment of girls' schools, or the like. This is a scheme which, in my judgment, has very important possibilities, and I have asked to be kept in touch with its development."

5. CO-OPERATION IN COMMON GOOD

Extract from reply to an address of welcome from the Punjab Co-operative Union at Lahore on October 22, 1937. **Oct. 22, 1937**

"I am very glad to see you here today and I am grateful to you for the kind words you have said about me. The constitution and the working of your Union well illustrate the happy results which flow from the co-operation of officials and non-officials for the common good, and I listened with the deepest interest to the lucid and informed statement of the activities of your Union contained in your Address I am heartily with you in your anxiety to develop and consolidate the public-spirited work of which you have given me an account: and I am sure that the pursuit of that work in the manner you have described, and on that non-communal and non-partisan basis which is so essential to the character and the success of the movement, will continue to earn you in a high degree the respect and the gratitude of all responsible opinion in the Punjab.

The main function of the Co-operative Movement must be for many years to come the provision of productive credit. I am glad to note the success which in the Punjab it has achieved in the reduction of debt The agricultural depression placed, as I am well aware, a severe strain on co-operative resources; and it is a matter for real congratulation that in your Province the Movement should have weathered the storm even though in certain districts the effects of it may still be evident It is in my judgment of fundamental importance that whether a member of the Society is able immediately

to repay his debt or not, he should be loyal to the body to which he belongs and that he should not lose the will to pay One of the lessons which we learnt from the economic crisis was the evil of excessive credit and I feel confident that your Union while continuing to serve legitimate needs so far as possible will insist in your transactions on the elementary principles of thrift and the discouragement of extravagance.

Co-operation is not merely a credit machine. If it were it would soon cease to be a regenerating force. Fortunately it has many other activities I need only refer to consolidation of holdings to cattle breeding to better living societies. I have as you mention myself had the pleasure of inspecting consolidated villages in Jullundur and Ludhiana, where I also had the opportunity of examining the affairs of a village co-operative society Consolidation opens out the way to many improvements which are not necessarily co-operative—the sinking of wells the use of better seed, the introduction of improved methods of agriculture the development of facilities for recreation and in general a healthy pride in the progress of the village. I have heard it said indeed that consolidation is the real foundation of rural uplift and I am glad to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the pioneer work of the Co-operative Department work with which the name of Mr Calvert will long be associated. You referred in your address to better living societies. I am delighted to hear of the progress which has been made in this respect and of the large number of members now enrolled in those societies and I would like to take the opportunity to emphasize the wide field which they cover and the opportunities they give of contact with officers of other departments of developing the missionary spirit of enthusiasm and of spreading the gospel of self help Let me say too how much I welcome the good work which has been done in cattle breeding in which the record of the Punjab is outstanding and let me finally thank you on behalf of my wife for the samples of the work of the industrial societies which you have been so kind as to present to her and which I can assure you that both she and I deeply appreciate There is much to be done in connection with village industries while I am aware of the difficulties I am also alive to the possibilities and the extent of the progress which has been made in this regard in the Punjab is encouraging indeed.

I have noted your desire for greater assistance from Government. Let me say on that that I cannot conceive any government in the Punjab failing to give their active sympathy and practical help to the Co-operative Movement least of all the present Ministry who have made it very clear indeed that their policy is to promote in every way the well being of the people

6. LANDED GENTRY OF THE PUNJAB

Lord Linlithgow congratulates the landed gentry of the Punjab on their realist and understanding approach to the question of the relation of the landowner and the tenant, at a garden party at Lahore on October 23, 1937: **Oct. 23, 1937**

"You are, I think, well aware of the close personal interest which I, a land-owner myself, have taken in the welfare of the countryside, in the prosperity and the development of agriculture, in the introduction of modern improvements, and in the development in every way of all that can promote the health, happiness, and prosperity of the rural population You know too, I think, the extent to which I have been concerned to familiarise myself with the condition of the land-owner, the tenant, and the agricultural labourer throughout India, and the particular interest which I have in that problem in the Punjab, where the small holder is so substantial and important an element in the countryside It is a source of particular satisfaction to me in these circumstances to have the pleasure of meeting you today and to receive the message of welcome which you have been good enough to extend to me

In your remarks you have given prominence to the Indianisation of the Army and the future policy of Government in this regard, and it is appropriate that before passing to other matters I should deal with one which is of special significance and importance in the Punjab. The military record of the Punjab is one of exceptional distinction, and I am well aware of the splendid tradition of military service which is the heritage of so many families all over the Province. It is not unnatural in these circumstances that you, Gentlemen, representing as you do the landed gentry of the Punjab, should be closely and immediately interested in this problem I have listened with close and sympathetic attention to your remarks regarding it and I will not fail to bear in mind what you say I recognise the force of your observations on the effect of the policy of Indianisation on the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers But you will, I think, agree with me that the reduction in the number of the Viceroy's Commissioned Officers has not gone very far, and you will share my view, too, that the fact that half the Officer's Commissions are reserved for the enlisted classes is a consideration which must be borne in mind in considering this matter, as must also the creation of Warrant Officer's rank I appreciate your feeling on the system of short service But the system of short service is a system to which, on the best advice available to me, I see no alternative if those reserves are to be provided without which a modern Army cannot for long keep the field

Let me congratulate you on the realist and understanding spirit with which you approach this question of the relation of the land-owner and the tenant, and on the progressive attitude which you have adopted in this matter. It is of vital importance to the establishment and the maintenance of friendly relations between landlord and tenant, with all the beneficial results which flow from that relationship when it is well adjusted and a happy one, that justice and sympathy should inform the attitude of the land-owner, and that he should be concerned

to do all that is in his power to promote the introduction of progressive methods on his estates. And it is a source of real satisfaction to me to find so ready and so warm a recognition of this fact on the part of gentlemen who represent so considerable a stake in the country I welcome too the reference which you have made to the fact that it is the policy of your present Ministry to promote this spirit and I note your public-spirited readiness to bear your fair share of any additional burdens which the general good of the agricultural classes may demand.

I listened with close interest to the tribute which you have paid to the work of the present Punjab Ministry a tribute I am sure from all that I have seen of its activities which could not have been better earned.

I welcome too and I thank you for the cordial assurance which you have given me that the Punjab will acquit itself as worthily under the new Constitution as it has in the past and I recognise to the full the immense importance to a Ministry of the confidence the co-operation and the assistance of the landed interests in a Province

In the remarks which you have just addressed to me you touched on the delicate and difficult question of communal strife. I am well aware of the efforts which are being made in this Province not only by the Ministry but by the leaders of parties and by men of standing and weight in all communities to dissipate misunderstandings and to bring about an atmosphere of harmony and sympathy between the various great communities. It is of the utmost importance to the future of the Punjab and to the future of India that such misunderstandings and difficulties resulting as they not infrequently have in the past in disturbance in bloodshed and in an absence of that mutual confidence which is so essential to the progress and the development of a Province should be removed without delay The efforts to which you have referred which are being made in this direction have my warmest and most cordial support and I trust sincerely that they will meet with the response and the reward which they so richly deserve

7 THE LAND OF FIVE RIVERS

23, *The Punjab enjoys a heritage of incalculable value in things material in the field of constitutional and political progress it has a record of marked distinction But says Lord Linlithgow there is no aspect of the work of ministers and of the leaders of all political parties to which he attaches more importance than to the promotion of harmony and concord between communities and classes*

Extract from a speech at a darbar in the Fort at Lahore held on October 23 1937 in accordance with time-honoured and long-established custom to meet representatives of the province

There is no part of the Punjab no class and no religion which has not its representative here today—Pathans Baluchis Punjabi Muhammadans of the North and South West Sikhs of the Central Districts Rajputs Dogras and Jats of the South East each one of you representing areas and belonging to classes and communities with a stirring history of their own united by the common bond of the

British Crown, and characterised without exception by their steadfast and long-established loyalty to the Throne and Person of the King-Emperor. I am glad, too, in this Province, the martial traditions of which are so famous, to see among you today many who, after distinguished careers in the Indian Army, are now taking their part in the civil administration of the country. I need refer in no detail to the outstanding services rendered by the Punjab during the war. We all know how prompt and how wide was the response to the call to arms. We all know, too, the widely scattered theatres in which Punjabi soldiers, representing those martial traditions which are the birthright of all communities in the Province—Muhammadans, Hindus, Sikhs—served during the War. Their deeds and their records are written large in France, in Gallipoli, in Palestine, in Egypt, in East Africa; 400,000 recruits left the Punjab during the critical epoch—no fewer than 37,000 of them destined never to return. To those who fell I take this opportunity to pay a tribute of respect and gratitude; those who returned and who are with us today, returned with a broadened vision, and with the consciousness of a great responsibility faithfully discharged in a foreign setting and in alien climate.

It is not to be wondered at that a Province geographically situated as the Punjab is, peopled by a sturdy and virile population, animated by martial traditions such as those to which I have referred, should be able to point to the distinguished record of progress in so many fields, of which it can boast today. On the material side your record, in matters of such vital importance as rural construction, the co-operative movement, the consolidation of holdings, the introduction and development of improved methods of agriculture and of animal husbandry, is one of which any Province might be proud and one, indeed, of which it is not unfair to say that in many respects the Punjab has given a lead to India. I recognise that, while great progress has been made, the very existence of that progress stimulates those who have benefited by it to seek to advance still further, and to obtain a still greater return from the natural advantages of the Province. It is a healthy sign, and an encouraging omen for the future, that that should be the case, and I am confident that you can look for all possible assistance in the development of your resources from a Ministry, broad-based in composition, and enjoying substantial support in a legislature elected on a new and eminently democratic franchise.

I have referred to the natural advantages of the Province, and I will not develop that point in any detail, for you are all well familiar with the facts. Let me however, touching for a moment on one aspect of the matter, say that no one who visits the Punjab can fail to be struck by the immense importance to it of the Five Rivers to which it owes its name, and by the great irrigation projects and colonisation schemes which are among its distinguishing features and the renown of which has spread far beyond the Punjab and, for that matter, far outside India. Those projects and those colonies are a memorial to the majestic conceptions which animated the engineers and administrators who conceived them and who brought them, with results

of such incalculable value to the Province today to a successful issue But great as is the progress that has been made and much as has been accomplished, more remains to be done and I am glad to think that the same energy and vision which contributed in so great a degree to the development of irrigation with its beneficent consequences in the past, continue to manifest themselves today that thanks to the deliberations of the Indus Supply Committee the Haveli project has already been started that the new Thal project is to be framed and will be commenced if closer investigation proves its practicability at an early date and that an exhaustive survey has been undertaken of the possibilities of tube-well irrigation—possibilities the importance of which I can from my own observation elsewhere hardly over estimate

Gentlemen in things material the Punjab enjoys a heritage of incalculable value—a heritage of which it has made the most. I am glad to think that in the field of constitutional and political progress the record of the Province should equally be one of such marked distinction. The Punjab took the fullest advantage of the constitution granted under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and in the 16 years which have elapsed since the introduction of those reforms it can point to a long and successful record of close association between the Government and the people and to the wide resultant expansion of beneficent activities. The former Legislative Council showed throughout the period of its existence that marked sense of responsibility and that readiness to face the facts of a situation which one would expect from the representatives of a Province so well known for its commonsense and its shrewdness. Today for the first time responsibility for your affairs rests in the hands of a popularly elected Ministry having behind it a majority in a Legislature which has been elected on a wide franchise. Nothing has been more striking than the ease with which the transfer was made in the Punjab in April of this year from the diarchic Government of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to provincial autonomy In all Provinces great powers and great opportunities have under the new constitution passed to popularly elected Ministers The manner in which those powers and those opportunities are everywhere being put to use is an augury of good for the future In the Punjab in particular nothing if I may say so could be more encouraging than the manner in which those powers have been exercised by your present Ministry I have followed closely their efforts to restore and enhance the prosperity which was interrupted by the agricultural depression—all the more closely because of my own keen personal interest in everything that can improve the conditions of the countryside and because of the fact that the Punjab is essentially a Province of small holders whose welfare has always been a matter of particular concern to me and in the beneficent schemes which your Government have in hand they have my warm and cordial sympathy and support. But in whatever Province there is one essential condition of any real progress and that is the existence of internal peace the promotion of harmony and concord between communities and classes and the elimination of internal

strife. I am well aware of the efforts which are being made by the leaders of all parties in the Punjab to bring about unity of view, and to reduce and remove the difficulties and misunderstandings which have in the past so frequently led to disturbance and even to loss of life There is no aspect of the work of Ministers and of the leaders of all political parties in this Province to which I attach more importance. I trust sincerely that the efforts which are being made in this direction will meet with the success which they deserve "

8. PRESENTATION OF COLOURS

Speech at the presentation of colours to the 3rd Battalion of the 17th Dogra Regiment at Lahore on October 25, 1937 **Oct. 2 1937**

" General Milward, Colonel Laird, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 3rd Battalion of the 17th Dogra Regiment,—I regard it as a great privilege to be present here this morning and personally to present, on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the New Colours of your battalion This ceremony has more than usual significance You are the youngest battalion of the Dogra Regiment; your old colours which we have just seen paraded for the last time bore no battle honours But these colours which I now present are rich in honours won in many foreign fields, in most of the spheres in which during the Great War British and Indian arms were engaged. They bear the names of battles and campaigns which will always be remembered with pride in the long and illustrious annals of the British and Indian Armies. In the years which have passed since the Battalion was raised it has acquitted itself nobly and has steadily added honour and distinction not only to its own record but also to that of the great regiment of which it is a part

These colours are the visible embodiment of that which you treasure so carefully—the tradition of the Regiment. The added lustre of the names which the Colours now bear has been achieved by the courage, the self-sacrifice and the devotion to duty of those who went before you—in many cases probably your own fathers and relatives The tradition is a great one—including as it does acts of gallantry which have received the highest award for valour which His Majesty can bestow I am confident that you, the present generation, and those that follow after you will maintain the distinguished record that has been handed down to you and keep undimmed the famous name of the Battalion and the Regiment "

of such incalculable value to the Province today to a successful issue But great as is the progress that has been made and much as has been accomplished, more remains to be done and I am glad to think that the same energy and vision which contributed in so great a degree to the development of irrigation with its beneficent consequences in the past continue to manifest themselves today that thanks to the deliberations of the Indus Supply Committee the Haveli project has already been started that the new Thal project is to be framed and will be commenced if closer investigation proves its practicability at an early date and that an exhaustive survey has been undertaken of the possibilities of tube-well irrigation—possibilities the importance of which I can from my own observation elsewhere hardly over estimate

Gentlemen in things material the Punjab enjoys a heritage of incalculable value—a heritage of which it has made the most. I am glad to think that in the field of constitutional and political progress the record of the Province should equally be one of such marked distinction. The Punjab took the fullest advantage of the constitution granted under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and in the 16 years which have elapsed since the introduction of those reforms it can point to a long and successful record of close association between the Government and the people and to the wide resultant expansion of beneficent activities. The former Legislative Council showed throughout the period of its existence that marked sense of responsibility and that readiness to face the facts of a situation which one would expect from the representatives of a Province so well known for its commonsense and its shrewdness. Today for the first time responsibility for your affairs rests in the hands of a popularly elected Ministry having behind it a majority in a Legislature which has been elected on a wide franchise. Nothing has been more striking than the ease with which the transfer was made in the Punjab in April of this year from the diarchic Government of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to provincial autonomy In all Provinces great powers and great opportunities have under the new constitution passed to popularly elected Ministers. The manner in which those powers and those opportunities are everywhere being put to use is an augury of good for the future. In the Punjab in particular nothing if I may say so could be more encouraging than the manner in which those powers have been exercised by your present Ministry I have followed closely their efforts to restore and enhance the prosperity which was interrupted by the agricultural depression—all the more closely because of my own keen personal interest in everything that can improve the conditions of the countryside and because of the fact that the Punjab is essentially a Province of small holders whose welfare has always been a matter of particular concern to me and in the beneficent schemes which your Government have in hand they have my warm and cordial sympathy and support But in whatever Province there is one essential condition of any real progress and that is the existence of internal peace the promotion of harmony and concord between communities and classes and the elimination of internal

strife I am well aware of the efforts which are being made by the leaders of all parties in the Punjab to bring about unity of view, and to reduce and remove the difficulties and misunderstandings which have in the past so frequently led to disturbance and even to loss of life. There is no aspect of the work of Ministers and of the leaders of all political parties in this Province to which I attach more importance I trust sincerely that the efforts which are being made in this direction will meet with the success which they deserve "

8. PRESENTATION OF COLOURS

Speech at the presentation of colours to the 3rd Battalion of the 17th Dogra Regiment at Lahore on October 25, 1937 **Oct. 25 1937**

" General Milward, Colonel Laird, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the 3rd Battalion of the 17th Dogra Regiment,— I regard it as a great privilege to be present here this morning and personally to present, on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the New Colours of your battalion This ceremony has more than usual significance You are the youngest battalion of the Dogra Regiment; your old colours which we have just seen paraded for the last time bore no battle honours But these colours which I now present are rich in honours won in many foreign fields, in most of the spheres in which during the Great War British and Indian arms were engaged. They bear the names of battles and campaigns which will always be remembered with pride in the long and illustrious annals of the British and Indian Armies In the years which have passed since the Battalion was raised it has acquitted itself nobly and has steadily added honour and distinction not only to its own record but also to that of the great regiment of which it is a part

These colours are the visible embodiment of that which you treasure so carefully—the tradition of the Regiment The added lustre of the names which the Colours now bear has been achieved by the courage, the self-sacrifice and the devotion to duty of those who went before you—in many cases probably your own fathers and relatives The tradition is a great one—including as it does acts of gallantry which have received the highest award for valour which His Majesty can bestow I am confident that you, the present generation, and those that follow after you will maintain the distinguished record that has been handed down to you and keep undimmed the famous name of the Battalion and the Regiment "

9 MINISTERS' DINNER

The Viceroy can have no favourite amongst the provinces of this country I am here to serve them all and in equal degree to cherish to the best of my opportunity the welfare of everyone of them remarks Lord Linlithgow in replying to the toast at the dinner given by the Ministers of the Punjab at Lahore on October 25 1937

Your Excellency and Gentlemen —I thank you most warmly Sir Sikander for the kind words with which you have proposed the toast of my health and you Gentlemen for the manner in which you have responded. I assure you that my wife and I have been deeply moved by the welcome you have given us from the first moment that we entered this famous Province. The Viceroy can have no favourite amongst the provinces of this country I am here to serve them all and in equal degree to cherish to the best of my opportunity the welfare of every one of them. But it would be indeed strange if I who am at heart a man of the countryside and of the farm were not to feel myself at home in the Punjab and happy amongst these strong sons of hers who till her fields and tend her herds. And when I go as dearly I like to go to visit some village and am received by the familiar rank of upright figures bearing upon their breasts the medals and decorations won in many a theatre of war I think of days—now long past—in which in the mud and chill of a Flanders winter I first saw famous units of the Indian Army and learned to admire the soldierly fortitude with which under conditions and in a climate so unfamiliar to them they answered the call of duty and most worthily maintained the splendid traditions of which they were the heirs and the guardians

The improvement of farming is an object that must interest the townsman as closely as it touches the country man for if we can increase the prosperity of the farmer we shall most certainly promote the expansion of every other industry and of commerce in general. There is no man or woman in this province but stands to benefit from the progress of agriculture and of animal husbandry I am confident that the Government of the Punjab will strain every nerve to promote and to consolidate that progress. To be charged with the duties of government over a great province such as this is an honour such as any man I care not how eminent he be might covet. It is also a heavy burden and a very great responsibility I have every confidence that the present Government of the Punjab under the able and zealous leadership of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan will strive constantly to advance the highest interests of the Punjab Sir Sikander you have mentioned the natural and laudable desire of yourself and your colleagues to embark upon wider and therefore more costly schemes of a beneficent kind than those which are at present within the scope of your available revenues and in this context you have referred to the disappointment that has been widely felt in the Punjab at the recommendations of Sir Otto Niemeyer Upon that I will say no more than that looking at this matter as I am bound to do from the angle of India as a whole and while I

sincerely regret your disappointment, it is my firm opinion that the award of Sir Otto Niemeyer was a just award. Sir Sikander has more than hinted that the Punjab prefers cash to kind words, and if I may say so as a Scotsman, I share that sentiment Nevertheless, I am going to say to you that I think that it may easily happen that you will find that the distribution of income-tax under Sir Otto Niemeyer's award may begin much earlier than you anticipate As you know, in the early years of provincial autonomy the amount of income-tax to be distributed to the provinces is regulated by the amount of surplus on railway revenues, and provided there is no reversal of the present improvement in railway earnings there is a fair prospect that your province may realise a not unsubstantial amount in this very year But I would emphasise that for this year and for some years to come such realisation depends on a continuance of the budgetary position of Railways, and for that reason I would strongly urge you to take no narrowly provincial view of problems such as the control of motor traffic and the like, which affect the fortunes of the Railways

I have heard with the utmost satisfaction your high appreciation, an appreciation I fully share, of the services rendered to this province by your Governor, Sir Herbert Emerson; and I value very greatly this fresh proof of the excellent relations existing between the Governor and his Ministers, based as those relations are, upon a proper conception of the working of the new constitution I am indeed happy to think, that by His Majesty's wish, Sir Herbert Emerson's services are to be at the disposal of the Punjab for a further period of time Let me also tell you how much satisfaction I find—a satisfaction shared I know by you all—in the fact that another good Punjabi, Sir Henry Craik, is to hold the plough handle in Sir Herbert's stead while the latter enjoys a period of well-earned rest

And now, Gentlemen, let me thank Sir Sikander most warmly for the kind reference he has made to Lady Linlithgow which I know she will greatly value. It is her hope and prayer that during the time she is in India she may in some measure succeed in promoting the welfare of the women and children of India, and in lightening the burden of pain and anguish that disease imposes"

10. A SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC

Speech at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Sir Fazl-i-Husain Memorial at Lahore on October 26, 1937 **Oct. 26, 1937**

"Your Excellency, Chaudhri Sir Shahabud-Din, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great satisfaction to Lady Linlithgow and to me that during our visit to Lahore we should have been able to be present at this ceremony, and to take part in this practical tribute to the memory of so eminent a son of the Punjab. I had not the intimate personal knowledge of Sir Fazl-i-Husain enjoyed by so many of those present here this afternoon, nor had I the pleasure of working with him as a colleague, for he had ceased to be a Member of the Council of

the Governor-General before I assumed my present office. But I am well aware of the remarkable record of the service performed by him and of the outstanding position which he occupied in the life of this Province and in the life of the country During the time of his public career cut short so prematurely he was able to perform in disregard of his own health and moved solely by the ideal of the public good service of real distinction and in thinking of him today we think of a great politician a great educationist a great Punjabi a great Mussalman and most important of all of a great Indian. I have always been impressed by the singleness of purpose which marked Sir Fazl-i Husain s public activity and when I look back today over the details of the long record of his service to his Province and his country I cannot but be reminded of the words used by a great British statesman of another famous parliamentarian of whom he said He always maintained that public service was the highest career a man could take. In that belief he fitted himself for it and in that belief he worked and died.

The removal from among us of a public man of exceptional capacity and marked personality still in the prime of life, is at any time a tragedy The sense of loss on personal and public grounds and the inevitable diminution of the effective influence which at all times so essentially depends on the winning personality of the individual are keen and real. I am glad to think that the friends and admirers of Sir Fazl i Husain should have decided to commemorate his brave spirit his great qualities and his eminent services by the Memorial the foundation stone of which we lay today No form of memorial could in my judgment have been a more fortunate one than that which they have selected. Sir Fazl i Husain was himself in the first place a great educationist he was closely associated with this distinguished college* which during its long and honourable existence has given so many men to the public life of the Punjab and which continues to maintain at so high a level the traditions which it has inherited. A library too if it is of all things a place in which the younger generation can prepare itself for the battle of life is also essentially a place of inspiration. I am glad to think, and I feel sure that Sir Fazli i Husain would himself have been happy that his name and the inspiration which it connotes should be associated with this library

As I lay this stone, I feel confident that I express the view of all those present today and of those many friends and admirers of Sir Fazl i Husain who are unable to be with us when I voice the hope that commemorating as it does so great a personality and so great a servant of the public this library will serve as a still further encouragement and inspiration to the members of this College an institution which can already look back on so fine a record of service and so marked a contribution to the public good. And I feel sure that the building of which we lay the foundation stone today will not merely serve as

* The Government College Lahore The memorial is a library in the College precincts

a personal memorial, but that it will prove an effective influence for good in the Province to which such devoted service was rendered throughout his life, by Sir Fazl-i-Husain"

11. BIKANER'S GLORIOUS HERITAGE

Speech at the opening of the Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum at Bikaner on Nov 5, 1937 **Nov. 5, 1937**

"It gives me very great pleasure to perform the opening ceremony of this Museum today A museum, enshrining as it does relics of the traditions and glories of the past to encourage and inspire us in meeting the problems of the present and future, seems to me a peculiarly appropriate memorial of the fiftieth anniversary of His Highness' rule—a rule during the period of which his sagacity, his judgment, and his tried experience, have done so much for Bikaner

I warmly congratulate the People's Golden Jubilee Committee on the excellence of this memorial of the loyalty and devotion of the people of Bikaner to their Ruler, and of their pride and joy in his Jubilee

You are right to value and reverence the prowess of the Bikaner Rathors of the past no country can claim finer and more chivalrous warriors than they, and their example should be an inspiration to the youth of today and tomorrow

I use the word "inspiration" advisedly, for if this museum is not to become a mere mausoleum of past glories—of the heroism which has been—it is necessary that we of today and our successors of tomorrow should not only admire and revere the exploits of those of past ages, but should resolve to follow their example and to adapt their spirit of courage and devotion to the solution of the problems which confront us in the changed circumstances of the present time—problems which, though they differ greatly from those which confronted our ancestors, require no less energy and determination for their successful solution

The long and eminent career of His Highness, the distinguished achievements to which he can point in so many and such varied fields of action, all bear witness to the extent to which the great traditions of a famous past afford the inspiration requisite to meet and overcome the difficulties of modern times

Nobody combines more happily than His Highness the Maharaja, military prowess with the initiative and energy necessary to the successful administration of a modern State, and Bikaner contains many memorials of his foresight and wise statesmanship

I congratulate the Golden Jubilee Committee and the people of the State whom the Committee represents on the success with which their project has been carried out The building which we see before us is in every way worthy of the high purpose which it is destined to fulfil and I offer my felicitations both to Mr Foster King, who designed

it, and to Mr R. H T Mackenzie who has so successfully carried the architect s designs into effect.

Ladies and Gentlemen it is my earnest wish that this Museum, which constitutes so signal a proof of the loyalty and devotion to their Ruler of the people of Bikaner and of the cordial relations which unite the Ruler and his subjects and which commemorates too an anniversary of such importance in the history of this illustrious State may long serve to remind the people of Bikaner of the glories of the past and of the great contributions which during the long period of his rule His Highness has made to its prosperity and well being

I have much pleasure in declaring the Museum open

12. FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS

Speech at the banquet at Bikaner on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on Nov 6 1937

I am most grateful to Your Highness for the kind terms in which you have proposed the health of my wife and myself and I thank you most warmly for the cordial welcome you have given us

This is not as you know our first visit to Bikaner but Your Highness knows what happy memories we carried away of our former visit and how great a pleasure it is to both of us that, on this historic occasion on which Your Highness is celebrating the 50th Anniversary of your accession to the Gaddi we should be present to take part in the celebration of your Golden Jubilee, and to witness the loyal enthusiasm of your subjects.

The long period of Your Highness rule has been marked by achievements of the greatest benefit to your State, and by a record of service of which any Prince might well be proud. The steadfast and eminent loyalty to the Crown of Your Highness and Your House is too well known to call for remark from me yet I cannot but think tonight, when we celebrate an anniversary so significant to your State of your long and close association with the person of successive Sovereigns.

Your Highness was present at the Coronations of King Edward VII of King George V and of King George VI you were appointed so long ago as 1902 to be an A. D -C. to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales—afterwards His Majesty King George V and you have ever since 1910 been attached as an A D -C. to the person of the reigning Monarch That is a record which is I think I am right in saying, unique in the Princely Order and one of which Your Highness may well be proud.

The loyal assurance which I have tonight received from Your Highness of your readiness to place at the disposal of His Majesty the entire resources of your State in men and money should occasion unhappily arise is but what I should have expected from a Prince

whose record of loyalty and of service to the Empire is so distinguished, and who has been so closely associated personally with so many Sovereigns. It will be a pleasure to me to convey that assurance to His Imperial Majesty.

The celebrations which are now taking place mark the Jubilee of the Ruler of one of the most conspicuous and progressive States in India, a Ruler, too, who has achieved for himself an outstanding position in India and the Empire.

We are all of us familiar with the long record of distinguished service of Your Highness, in the field, as a Prince, as an administrator. To refer in detail to the many events of the long period of your rule is not possible in the short time at my disposal tonight. But it is only proper that I should touch briefly on certain at any rate of the more significant and memorable features and events of your long rule.

Let me in the first place make some mention of the beneficent works which Your Highness has accomplished in Bikaner. To describe, however inadequately, all those works would far exceed the compass of this speech. I shall content myself therefore with a reference to some of the more important of them which must serve as exemplars of the whole.

There can, I think, be no more striking example of Your Highness' foresight and solicitude for your people than the irrigation works which you have undertaken, and in particular, the construction of the Gang Canal, which was opened by His Excellency Lord Irwin in October 1927, and which most appropriately bears Your Highness' name.

Even had Your Highness no other achievements to your credit, the Gang Canal would be a lasting memorial of your rule. By the waters of that canal many miles of desert, indeed a large proportion of the total area of the north of the State, have been converted into fertile land on which valuable crops are yearly raised.

This achievement, in any circumstances striking, is all the more outstanding in importance since in the area through which the canal now flows cultivation had for centuries been impossible owing to lack of water.

I need not dwell on the prosperity and happiness which the existence of the Gang Canal must have brought to those of Your Highness' subjects who are so fortunate as to live in its vicinity, and to the many thousands who had emigrated from the Punjab in order to take up land on the canal, nor on the contribution which such a work must have made to the country's wealth.

No more eloquent tribute could be paid to the reality of the benefit which the canal has conferred than the increase of 116,000 which occurred in the population of the State in the neighbourhood of the Gang Canal between the Census of 1921 and that of 1931.

Nor is it only agriculture which has benefited from Your Highness' energy in developing works of public utility and the statesmanlike foresight you have displayed throughout the long period of your rule.

Your Highness can point to the construction of many miles of railway and to a great development in the supply of electricity for domestic and industrial purposes alike.

Finally those who have had the good fortune to visit Your Highness capital cannot but have been struck by the many beautiful buildings which adorn it and which add so greatly to the attraction of the surroundings of the city

Let me in particular pay a tribute to the Bijey Singhji Memorial Hospitals which Lady Linlithgow and I saw with so much interest yesterday Those hospitals the design and layout of which are so admirably calculated to further the beneficent object which they have in view represent not merely a distinguished addition to the architecture of Bikaner They afford also equipped as they are in the most impressive degree with latest resources of modern science a convincing proof of the importance attached by Your Highness to making available to the subjects of your State first class medical attention and medical provision—an aspect of administration to which the generous gifts you have made for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis bear further witness.

Nor would it be appropriate that I should fail, in this connection, to mention the Museum, which it gave me so much pleasure to open yesterday and which represents the subject chosen by the Golden Jubilee Committee of the people of Bikaner to celebrate the Jubilee of Your Highness

Your Highness had hardly begun to rule over your State when in 1900 war broke out in China and the Bikaner Ganga Risala under your personal command formed part of the British Expeditionary Force which was despatched to the scene of operations where it played an honourable part.

A sterner trial was in store for Your Highness and your State Forces during the fateful years from 1914 to 1918 During that critical and anxious period the Bikaner State troops saw service during the Great War in France where Your Highness also served in person and afterwards in the defence of Egypt.

I can pay no higher tribute to Your Highness and your forces than to say that throughout those trying campaigns Your Highness and your troops worthily upheld the traditional prowess of the Rajput race.

I pass to more peaceful topics Your Highness acumen as a statesman both in India and the Empire is no less well known than your prowess as a soldier

In India you were the first Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes on its inauguration in February 1921 and you were re-elected to that high office on several occasions. You were a leading member of the First Round Table Conference which made so profound a contribution to the constitutional history of this country by inaugurating the proposals for a Federation of British India and the Indian States—proposals which it is hoped, will before long be translated into an accomplished fact to the lasting benefit of all concerned

I was glad to hear the tribute which Your Highness has paid tonight to the Federal ideal, and I share your hope that the States will find it possible to accede to the Federation, and that at an early date

I am profoundly convinced of the importance to the future of India of the early realisation of the Federal scheme , and just as since assuming office I have spared no effort to remove misunderstandings or uncertainties about that scheme, so you can rely upon me to continue to lend my utmost endeavour to secure that a constitutional development of such potential importance to India and to her peoples is brought to fruition with the minimum of delay

On more than one occasion Your Highness has represented India with distinction at the Assembly of the League of Nations But Your Highness' activities as a statesman have not been confined to India and Indian affairs

During the Great War you were a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, and later, when the War had terminated, of the Peace Conference Later still you were appointed by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor one of the Plenipotentiaries for signing the Peace Treaty, and in that capacity you were one of the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles Such have been some of the historic events in which Your Highness has taken an honourable and prominent part

It is but fitting on this occasion that I should say a word about the steps which Your Highness has chosen to signalise this anniversary.

I welcome your decision to increase the elected majority in your State Council, a decision which accords with the spirit of the time and which cannot fail to be appreciated by your subjects

I have mentioned already the generous and far-sighted contribution which Your Highness has made to the fighting of the scourge of tuberculosis, a scourge in combating which Her Excellency and I have taken so keen an interest, and to which we hope ourselves to make an early contribution And I am sure that the other steps which Your Highness has taken to make available additional medical provision for the people of your State will equally prove to be of the utmost value

I read, too, with the utmost satisfaction, among the other substantial and valuable boons which have been granted by Your Highness, the generous remissions of arrears of interest, amounting to over 41 lakhs of rupees, which Your Highness has approved on the instalments payable up to 1935-36 for lands purchased in the Ganga Canal area, and the steps you have taken to create a Rural Uplift Department, and to deal with that most important problem—the liquidation of agricultural debt And I feel no doubt that the educational benefits which you have taken this occasion to confer upon your State will be of widespread and permanent value to its inhabitants

I have endeavoured as briefly as possible, Ladies and Gentlemen, to recall to your minds some of those achievements which have made His Highness an outstanding figure and a conspicuously successful Ruler

Indeed I know of no Ruler of an Indian State in modern times who has by his individual efforts done more for his State and his subjects than our distinguished host and the enthusiastic welcome which one has seen His Highness receive in the streets of Bikaner affords unmistakable evidence of the relations between Prince and people and of the extent to which the State appreciates the good work which His Highness has done for it over so many years

I was very glad to hear the generous tribute which Your Highness has paid to the officers of my Political Department and in particular to Sir Bertrand Glancy and to Sir George Ogilvie.

It is a great pleasure to me that the good work of the Department and its officers and their service to the States should be recognised in such warm terms by a Ruler so distinguished and with such long experience as Your Highness.

Looking back over the last 50 years with their stress and dangers their successes and disappointments it must be supremely gratifying to Your Highness to compare the condition of your State now with its condition when you started to rule over it to mark the improvement in its resources to observe the devotion of your people and to reflect that these are almost entirely the fruits of your own labours.

It is a source of profound satisfaction to me tonight to be able by the command of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor to announce that His Majesty has been graciously pleased on this auspicious occasion to recognise the eminent record of His Highness the Maharaja alike in peace and war as ruler as soldier and as statesman by the promotion of His Highness from the rank of Lieutenant-General to the rank of General.

You will join with me Ladies and Gentlemen in tendering my heartiest congratulations to His Highness on this signal distinction and you will share my own warm and sincere hope that for very many years to come he will live to give to his State the wisdom of his rule.

Ladies and Gentlemen I ask you to drink with me to the health of our illustrious host His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner

13. SCOUTS' DUTY TO INDIA

16, *We are all fellow scouts and should do the best we can for India through the medium of the Scout Movement This spirit emphasises Lord Linlithgow in opening the Triennial Conference of the All-India Boy Scouts Association on November 16 1937 should inspire their activities Extract from the address*

" You will have noticed that I addressed you as Fellow Scouts. This form of address was deliberate. I want that to be the key note of these discussions—the realisation that we are all fellow Scouts and that the object of our presence here is to do the best we can for India through the medium of the Scout Movement. I feel confident that this conference cannot fail to achieve success if its deliberations are carried out with this realisation in our minds and if we inspired

by the great achievements in the past of the Scout Movement in India, keep to the spirit of Scouting, the main characteristics of which are, as you all know, toleration, loyalty, and discipline.

It may be of value if I analyse in general terms the position as I see it. Let me start then with what are, after all, fundamental—the aims of Scouting. I was reading the other day the Charter of the Boy Scouts' Association, which refers in its preamble to the Boy Scouts as an organization "for the purpose of instructing boys of all classes in the principles of discipline, loyalty, and good citizenship." The Policy, Organization and Rules of the Boy Scouts' Association in India repeats those principles in rather fuller terms and goes on to add that the Association is non-political and non-sectarian. let me add, too, in order to contradict an opinion, of which there are indications in some quarters, but which is in fact wholly erroneous, that it is essentially non-official.

Nobody will deny the value of these principles when applied to the youth of any country. They are educative principles of universal application. But as in the case of any such principles, the main difficulty lies in the organization of the machinery for their individual application. This is no new problem. It is to a certain extent the old story of the wood and the trees, and you will not misunderstand me if I urge on you the great danger of our losing the wood for the trees, of losing sight of the universal principles of our Movement in the individual difficulties of their application. There is no need for me to remind you of the wide differences between the various parts of India, of which any All-India Movement must take full account, of the great religions professed by its inhabitants, of its intense national consciousness, of the historic traditions of the Provinces and of the conflicting allegiances that each produces. The principles of the Scout Movement aim at breaking down these divisions and differences, but the closeness of problems and considerations which more nearly and immediately concern us, sometimes leads us to pay exclusive attention to them at the expense of the wider problems with which they are inevitably linked. It is the appearance of this tendency that I see in Scouting in India today. We are in danger of basing our line of action on the nearer individual case instead of on the more distant universal principle, possibly even of mistaking the means for the end. I would like to suggest to you, therefore, that if we concentrate on our agreement over the principles of the Movement, the problems of Scouting in India with which we at this conference will be concerned will appear much more as problems of the machinery by which the principles in which we all believe will be put into effect than as problems of fundamental agreement or disagreement regarding those principles themselves which many people appear to consider they are. The adjustment of the machinery of any organization to the developments of the time is a process of common occurrence. Like all processes of adjustment, it is at times both difficult and uncomfortable, but—and this I would impress on you—it is made easier if the principle in which you believe and which you want to create as a live force is kept uppermost in your minds.

I was reading recently the latest volume of Lord Baldwin s speeches The Service of our Lives and I read again that wise message which he broadcast on the evening of Their Majesties Coronation last May There is a passage in that which to my mind has a peculiar significance for us and which I would like to read to you

Let us dedicate ourselves he said, let us dedicate ourselves—afresh if need be—to the service of our fellows a service in widening circles service to the home service to our neighbourhood to our county our province to our country to the Empire and to the world.

The parallel must suggest itself to you. In Scouting in India we each have our local and provincial loyalties which demand our allegiance. But these are and must be subordinate to the greater loyalty of the All India Scout Movement. There is perhaps in certain quarters a hesitation readily to accept the value to the Movement of an All-India Central Organization because there is a fear that by attachment to such a Centre a certain freedom and individuality of local associations will be lost But as I said in my recent Message I do not consider that a unified Scout Movement in India is in any way incompatible with liberty of action in the Provinces within the framework of the Movement or with the fullest recognition of the national character of the Movement as a whole. I am convinced that it is through these wider associations and contacts that the integral parts of the Movement will retain vitality and direction.

With these words Gentlemen I will leave you. Fateful decisions are in your hands and may wisdom and good fortune attend your deliberations I repeat again that I am convinced that if you bear in mind the great principles on which this Movement was founded and is now based if you keep steadily before you the truth that more intimate loyalties are not incompatible with those of wider and more diverse application and if you will submit each issue as it arises to the simple test what is best for the boys? —you can reach decisions which will unite the Scout Movement in India and will help it to march forward with renewed strength and to add fresh laurels to its record of service to India and its youth.

14. INDIAN MILITARY ACADEMY

20 *Speech in presenting the Viceroy s Banner to the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun on November 20 1937*

Brigadier Kingsley Officers and Gentlemen Cadets of the Indian Military Academy —It gives me very great pleasure to come here today and present this Banner to be competed for by each Company at games in each Half in the same way as the previous Banner presented to you by my distinguished predecessor in office Lord Willingdon.

I notice incidentally that B and C Companies seem to have established something of a monopoly of that Banner I hope that A

and D Companies will see to it that B and C do not succeed in winning this new Banner too regularly or too easily, and will in their turn successfully challenge those former winners.

In presenting this Banner my desire is to stimulate in each one of you the determination to do his utmost to make his own Company the best, and I am glad to hear that a second league has been started this Half, which will give more Cadets an opportunity of joining in the games and of competing for the honour of their Company Let every man of you think it no hardship to make and keep himself fit, and go his hardest at whatever he does—that is one of the most important of the lessons you have to learn here, where you are training for the game of life which each of you has to play when you leave this place If a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth putting your whole heart into it and doing it as well as ever you can

I should like to take this opportunity of congratulating your Commandant and Officers, as well as you Gentlemen Cadets yourselves, on the high standard of the parade which I have seen , it reflects the greatest credit on you all. I am looking forward with keen interest to seeing later on other activities and phases of your life at this Academy Good luck to you all ! I wish you all every success and happiness in your careers , you will I know do credit to your forebears and this Academy where you have been trained, and will worthily uphold the high traditions of the Indian Army."

15. MEDICAL RESEARCH

Opening the Medical Research Workers' Conference on November 29, 1937, Lord Linlithgow lays emphasis on the importance of nutritional research Lack of education in a large section of the population in India prevents them from utilising even the available resources to the fullest possible extent " I fully realise," says Lord Linlithgow, " that this is a problem which is fundamentally one for Provincial Governments and local authorities " But he assures them that they can look with confidence to the Indian Research Fund Association for co-operation Extracts from the address — **Nov. 29, 1937**

" It will not be possible for me today in the brief time at my disposal to do more than touch on two or three aspects of the work of medical research at the present time Before I proceed to mention certain individual items in which I take a particularly close interest, I would like to say briefly how great is the importance from the point of view of India that attaches to the close and earnest pursuit of the solution of the many problems which still lie before us in the field of medical research, and how strong is the case for the generous support of philanthropists in this country in providing financial assistance for activities the outcome of which is of such great significance to the whole of this sub-continent

The School of Tropical Medicine at Calcutta, the work of which has been so invaluable, is fortunate in having a large endowment fund which was raised from donations from commercial associations

and firms in principally Bengal and Assam such as the Indian Tea Association and the Indian Jute Association.

No one who is aware of the invaluable results which have emerged from the work and the researches of the School of Tropical Medicine and its officers can for a moment hesitate as to the value which has been obtained for the money which the bodies in question with such public spirit provided in aid of research.

The All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health the work of which again is so material to the maintenance of health and the reduction of the incidence of mortality in India is the result of private munificence but of private munificence from a source outside this country

The appeal I would make is to those private individuals who have the welfare and the improvement of standards of health in this country at heart to bear in mind the strong claims of medical research in its various forms to their munificence There is no way I am sure in which a more real and valuable contribution can be made to progress in India, and I can most warmly commend the claims of medical research to consideration in this connection.

You are well aware ladies and gentlemen of the interest I take in the matter of nutritional research and in this very important question India thanks mainly to the work of Sir Robert McCarrison can claim an eminent place.

Nutrition and immunity as an eminent authority has pointed out constitute the two most powerful weapons in man s hands for his fight against disease. Adequate nutrition has apart from this a positive contribution to make to the health and the sense of well-being of the individual. The subject is I am well aware of extreme complexity in this country because the problem of nutrition is so closely associated with the economic condition of the people and because of the poverty which to the profound regret of all of us prevails in so many parts of India.

Any attempts for the improvement of the position must therefore take note of the existing food resources of the country and must devise means for their augmentation.

A difficulty too the importance of which will not be over looked is that in regard to a large section of the population lack of knowledge as to modern dietetic principles may frequently prevent them from utilising even the available resources to the fullest possible extent I fully realise that this is a problem which is fundamentally one for Provincial Governments and Local Authorities. But I am sure that those Governments and those Local Authorities can look with confidence to the Indian Research Fund Association to assist them by carrying out such research as may be essential for formulat ing administrative policy

I would refer in particular in this connection to the invaluable work which has been performed by the Nutrition Research Labora tories of the Association at Coonoor As you are aware those

laboratories have applied themselves for years past to nutrition research, to the study of the diets of the different communities in India, and to dealing with specific nutritional diseases

I am glad to think that, under Dr Aykroyd's expert guidance, within the last year or two the scope of this work has been considerably increased and that it now includes dietetic surveys on an extended scale in different parts of India, the assessment of the nutritive value of articles of food in common use by the people, the formulation of objective standards for nutrition, and the dissemination of knowledge regarding nutrition by free advice to institutions and by propaganda

Facilities have also been made available for selected officers from Provincial Departments of Public Health to undergo a special course of nutritional training at Coonoor, a course the value of which is I am convinced great

It is my earnest hope that those Provinces which owing to pressure on existing personnel, or for other reasons, were unable to depute officers to the first course of this nature will find it possible to take advantage of a further course which is now proposed to be held

I am convinced myself of the importance of providing trained officers for the Provinces who can be employed in the nutritional field, and I am confident that the fullest use will be made in that field by the Provincial Governments which have found themselves able in the past or which may find themselves able in the future to depute officers to Coonoor of the expert training which their officers have received there

A further step of substantial importance is that consequent on a recommendation of the Nutrition Advisory Committee steps are now being taken to co-ordinate agricultural research with the needs of human nutrition The problems of human nutrition are closely associated with those of agriculture and of animal husbandry, and it is in my judgment a matter of the utmost importance that this association should be adequately recognised in terms of the organisation of research

Let me refer briefly in this connection to one side-issue, for though it is a side-issue it is one of much significance, and one to which I have endeavoured in the past to draw particular attention

I refer to the benefit to be derived by the feeding of children even with small quantities of milk, a benefit which has been more than established by the work of the Nutrition Research Laboratories at Coonoor.

The results of those experiments on, to take one instance only, the effect of giving skimmed milk regularly to day and boarding school children are remarkable indeed When an ill-nourished child living on rice is given milk regularly, it immediately begins to grow more rapidly and its general health shows an improvement

I fully realise that milk costs money and that the resources at our disposal are insufficient to enable us to go as far as we should like in this regard

To supply a child daily with 8 ounces of liquid milk recon stituted from skimmed milk powder costs about 12 annas a month a large sum in relation to living standards in India. Nevertheless I am glad to see that a number of children s institutions have by economies in other directions managed to include greater quantities of milk in their diet schedules

And I would like again to draw such attention as I may to the great importance of the use of milk and to its beneficent results on the younger generation and so on the future of India.

Let me say a word, too about the problem of maternal mortality a problem of the first importance from the point of view of public health in India.

Though no precise figures are available I am given to under stand that I should not be far wrong if I put the number of maternal deaths at as high a figure as from 150 000 to 200 000 per year The average combined annual mortality from small pox and plague approximates to this figure while the annual mortality from cholera is not much higher

I need say nothing of the disastrous consequences to the health and happiness of the home when, as so frequently happens maternal mortality cuts off the mother of the growing family This whole subject has been under investigation in Calcutta now for over a year and during the present year a similar investigation has been initiated in Bombay

The experience of Calcutta has shown that the anæmia associated with pregnancy and eclampsia is responsible for a large proportion of maternal deaths.

These are conditions which require much more detailed in vestigation than they have hitherto received and it would be of great value if this work the importance of which I heartily commend to the generously minded, could be further extended.

I come now to the problem of Tuberculosis. Lady Linlithgow and I ever since we returned to this country have been watching the position in regard to this problem with the closest attention and I will frankly confess that we were both profoundly concerned to see the rapidly increasing toll which it is taking of the life and health of India and that we were profoundly impressed too with the necessity for taking the earliest possible remedial steps

There is no question that Tuberculosis is one of the major public health problems of this country

Investigations carried out by the Tuberculosis Association of Bengal appear to suggest that in that Presidency alone there may be each year 100 000 deaths from this disease and that the number of persons infected may be so large as a million

What is more important again is that the greatest degree of infection occurs between the ages of 20 and 30 and in Calcutta which I quote only because of the reliability of the figures available

to me in respect of it, it is estimated that at this age period there are five times more deaths among females than among males

I realise that there are many factors which go to make the control of Tuberculosis difficult. I need only refer in the first place to the increasing facilities of motor transport, which make for a rapid movement between urban and rural areas, and secondly, to the fact that industrial labour in India is largely drawn from villages, and that contact with the rural areas is maintained by the factory worker, who under the congested conditions of city life is continuously exposed to infection.

Researches have already been carried out under the auspices of the Research Fund Association which have helped to throw valuable light on some aspects of this problem, all the more important because the epidemiology of the disease appears in India to differ in some respects from that of western countries.

This work is still only at its beginning, and epidemiological surveys on an extensive scale will be necessary before we are in a position to obtain an accurate picture of the Tuberculosis problem

Let me however repeat that the problem is one of the utmost importance I can say today that I hope there will be made on Wednesday an announcement as to an Appeal by my wife in connection with it, the response to which will I hope be nation-wide, and such as to enable us to see in every Province and every State in India arrangements for the prevention and treatment of Tuberculosis on a really satisfactory basis, and to establish an effective barrier against the ravages of this scourge "

16. INDIA'S FORESTS

Referring to India's great material wealth in forests and their importance as an economic asset, their value to agriculture and their beneficent influence on climate, on water conservation and on erosion, Lord Linlithgow welcomes the opportunity of expressing his sincere belief and deep confidence that the new Ministries will be as zealous as any of their predecessors to conserve and to develop even further the forest resources which are now under their control **Dec. 1937**

Extracts from address opening the conference of Provincial Ministers and Representatives of States convened by the Government of India on December 9, 1937 —

" The material wealth of India in forests is very great and the importance of forests as an economic asset calls for no emphasis from me We are all of us well aware of the contribution which the forest yield of this country makes to the maintenance of one of the most precious of its economic assets, its live-stock

We are sensible, too, of the value of forests to agriculture, and of their beneficent influence on climate, on water conservation and on erosion

To realise how important it is to retain the natural protection afforded by forests and how conspicuously fortunate India's record in this regard has been one has only to look round at other countries and to see how in some large areas of land, unsuited for permanent cultivation which were alienated from forests and made into farms have now been abandoned to waste and desolation and in others how forest denudation has led to flooding or dust-storms which have brought wide-spread destruction and misery in their train.

The scientific attention which the various Governments in India and the Services working under them have for so long a period of years paid to the forests of India has achieved results of inestimable value and the long record of conservation and development which has earned for India so prominent a place in the list of countries confronted with the care of great forest resources is one on which we can all of us reflect with pride.

With the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy the responsibility for the conservation and the handling of the forest wealth of India passed in fuller measure to Ministers elected by the people.

I welcome this opportunity of saying how sincere is my belief and how deep my confidence that the new Ministries will be as zealous as any of their predecessors to conserve and to develop even further the forest resources which are now under their control.

I am confident, too that in their work they can look for the loyal support and the disinterested advice of the members of the Forest Services whose contribution in the past has been of such great value.

You will agree with me that Forest Administration is a subject which by its very nature does not admit if the best results are to be achieved of isolation within the boundaries of any single Province.

Efficiency today is achieved and maintained only by a constant effort to keep up to date by the persistent acquisition of knowledge of general conditions and of new scientific discoveries by comparison of method and the like.

If we consider it also from another aspect timber is a commodity of world wide economic importance and no producer today can afford to disregard the demands of his market or the technique of his competitors when that technique enables them to place better or cheaper goods on the market.

The fact that each Province is responsible for its own forest wealth does not I suggest weaken the need or diminish the advantage of periodical consultation with a view to the exchange of ideas and, where this may prove to be desirable or feasible of active co-operation

I suggest that this is one of the directions in which the Government of India can well be of assistance to the Provinces and can most appropriately and conveniently afford the facilities for periodical discussion of the kind which I have mentioned.

I need only refer to the invaluable work which has been done by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and by the Central

Advisory Boards of Education and of Public Health as an instance of the assistance which can be given in this way without in any way interfering with or impinging on the legitimate sphere of the Provincial Governments and the responsibilities which have now been transferred to them

The Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun is an institution admirably equipped for the forwarding of research, the value of which to the conservation and utilisation of the forest wealth of India needs no emphasis from me I have myself had the pleasure more than once of visiting the Institute and of examining its admirable equipment

No one who has had the opportunity of inspecting it can fail to be impressed by the excellence of its equipment, by the quality of the work which has been and is being done, and the opportunities which an institution of this character affords I am aware that the Institute has been criticised in the past on the ground that it tended to isolate itself from the Provinces and from industry for purposes of effective collaboration in the practical application of knowledge attained and recorded within it

Whatever foundation there may have been for that criticism in the past, active steps have been and are being taken to improve conditions in this regard A special Utilisation Branch has been established; everything is being done to encourage touring by the officers of the Institute, and in particular, and to this I attach much importance, active steps are being taken to pursue propaganda in non-technical language

That existing methods and existing machinery may in certain respects need modification if they are to give the fullest value in modern conditions may well be the case

But I can assure you, Gentlemen, that any constructive suggestions designed to this end which may be made either by this Conference as a whole, or, after the Conference closes, by its individual members, shall have the closest and most sympathetic consideration

I can assure you, too, that not only on general grounds, but because of my own close and active concern with agriculture and the allied fields of plant and animal husbandry, you can rely on my personal interest in any action that may be needed in that respect

Before concluding my speech I would like to concentrate your attention on the magnitude of the work in the hands of forest administrations in India.

The day-to-day concern with the immediate problems of one's particular field of work sometimes tends to produce a lack of perspective It is then that it is useful to have the picture as a whole brought before one's mind In order to appreciate this for myself I examined the other day the latest figures dealing with forest matters for the year 1933-34 These were so striking that with your permission, Gentlemen, I will quote them to you

Burma with its great forest areas has now been separated from India but even so there still remains in India a total area of 99 746 square miles of forest of which 71,357 square miles are reserve.

The total number of animals grazed in that year was over eleven and a half million. The total value of wood and timber exports was over Rs. 20 lakhs The gross forest revenue exceeded Rs 2½ crores of which over Rs 2 crores were spent in meeting the charges of forest administration.

These figures give some idea of the material forest wealth of India and of its contribution to the maintenance of India s live-stock The responsibility of administering assets as large as these is a very great one and one which cannot but have a material influence on the discussions of this Conference

Whether these discussions are concerned mainly with service matters or whether they deal with the wider questions of development and utilisation your decisions and recommendations must be important

17 TWELVE MONTHS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Dec. 20, 1937

The change represented by Provincial Autonomy and the powers and the responsibilities which under it passed to the control of popularly elected Ministers are discussed in Lord Linlithgow's address to the annual session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 20 1937

Extracts

Our object was the advantage of this great country with whose fortunes Great Britain has been so intimately associated for so long a period and to which she can I think with a clear conscience claim to have made a contribution not unworthy of her own traditions and of the ideals which we and our forbears have set before us.

The Act contemplates two essential stages Provincial Autonomy and the Federation of India—the first of these stages was attained on the 1st of April of this year

Since that date in every province of British India the administration has been in the hands of autonomous ministries and I think we can claim that eight months experience of the working of the ministries has shown that the scheme of provincial autonomy is one worthy of acceptance and one which in practical experiment has already manifested its great possibilities. Experience over the short period in question has too I think shown clearly the sincerity of our anxiety to give all possible help to the development of democratic institutions in India and the readiness of the Governors and of the Services to lend all the assistance in their power

Difficulties may on occasions have arisen. But it has been and is the sincere desire as it is the duty of Governors and of the Services to give within the scheme of the Act all possible help and assistance to the Ministries on which such heavy responsibilities rest.

It is an encouragement to me to see the manner in which those responsibilities have been used by Ministers of every party in every province

We are still at an early stage in our experience of the working of the Act and of the difficulties which may present themselves for one reason or another in the process of its operation

It would be foolish of me to suggest that all difficulties have been overcome or that problems may not arise as to the handling of which there may be substantial and serious differences of view That is only to be expected when we are dealing with so vast a population and with issues of such magnitude and such complexity

All I can say is that for myself my one anxiety will always be, consistently with the obligations which fall upon me under the Act, to lend all the help I can to the smooth and easy working of the Act and that, equally, is I know the attitude of every Governor in India

If I have an appeal to make today, it is an appeal for goodwill and for patience, for a long view of the problems that lie before us all, for a realization of the great potentialities of the scheme of provincial autonomy.

I am satisfied that that appeal, in the light of the realist approach which Governments of whatever party in every province have so far made to their heavy task, will not fall on deaf ears Indeed, the response which has so far been made to the provisions of the Act is of such a character that I would hardly feel justified in making that appeal were it not that political experience throughout the world has abundantly shown that it is not enough to start well, that it is dangerous to think that because one has taken the first water successfully one is secure in the deeper ocean movements which may lie ahead, or that one can regard one's own problems in isolation or otherwise than in terms of their relation to world movements and world political experience

There lies ahead of us the achievement of an ideal which inspired the framers of the Act, an ideal for which we owe a deep debt of gratitude to those spokesmen of the Indian States and of British India who participated in the deliberations which resulted in the present constitutional scheme

When I spoke to you a year ago I said that in my judgment Federation was not remote I have spared no effort in the period which has since elapsed for the solution of the problems inherent in the establishment of a Federation Those problems can never in their nature be simple Their importance becomes, if possible, greater when the Federation involves the combination and the co-operation not only of the great provinces of British India, with their widely varying conditions and problems, but of the historical Indian States with their long individual traditions, and the harmonization, so far as possible, into a common scheme of British Indian and Indian State interests and concerns

However great our anxiety (and none can be greater than mine and that of the Secretary of State), to achieve at the earliest possible

moment the culmination of the scheme embodied in the Act by placing on the Indian constitutional edifice, of which provincial autonomy is the first and essential stage the coping-stone of Federation it would be foolish to rush ahead without taking all possible pains for the preliminary elucidation of the various problems which present themselves.

I arranged as you know with the object of ensuring that in reaching our conclusions we had before us the fullest information as to the questions of concern to the Indian States for the dispatch to the Rulers of those States of emissaries of my own.

I cannot overestimate the value of the approach thus made and of the information which those emissaries in the light of their discussions with the Rulers made available to me of the points to which the States attached importance It has been no light matter to analyse the results of those visits but I do not for a moment regret the delay which has been involved, for it makes it possible for us to say that in the evolution of the great scheme the framework of which is laid down in the Act of 1935 there was no aspect of which we were not conscious or to the effect of which we were failing to give full value.

You can rely on me to continue to urge forward with all the energy and all the personal interest which I have in me the completion of the scheme. I feel confident that the Rulers of the Indian States with their long tradition of statesmanship and their clear realization of the trend of world events and the fortunes of India, can be relied upon to play their part.

I have spoken little so far of those immediate commercial problems which are of such direct concern to you and to those whom you represent.

I have done so deliberately because in my judgment, vital as those immediate problems are the matter of essential significance to all of us is the present and the future state of India. Provincial Autonomy directly and immediately affects you and your affairs that is no less true of Federation.

Two changes of great importance which have taken place since December 1936 are the separation of Burma and the provisions of the Indo-Burma Trade Regulation Order which came into force in April last. The importance of close relations between India and Burma from the point of view of both countries is one which is present to all of us and in the lengthy discussions which led up to the framing of the Trade Regulation Order the constant preoccupation of my Government was to ensure that the change in the status of Burma should involve *as little dislocation* as possible in her commerce with India.

In that I think I am right in saying we had the support of the entire trading community of both the countries. I do not think that I am going too far when I say that even after this relatively short experience of the operation of the Order-in-Council we can claim that our object has been attained

There is a second important matter which has reached a decisive point in the last 12 months The lengthy trade negotiations which

have taken place with Japan ended last April with the new Agreement, which was formally signed in London two months ago

Under that Agreement we have been able to provide for reasonable safeguards for our textile industry and a measure of security for our cotton-growers , and I think that we can claim, in the light of well-informed Press comment in both countries and of the manner in which the terms of the Agreement have been received by the trade, that the Agreement has given that reasonable satisfaction to both parties which is after all the only solid basis for the maintenance of friendly commercial relations between nations.

Our discussions with the United Kingdom with the object of concluding a new agreement to replace that concluded in 1932 in pursuance of the Ottawa Pact are still in progress.

I am very conscious of the criticism which has been made that those negotiations have been unduly protracted

That is a criticism, natural as it may be, to which if regard is had to the volume and the importance of the trade between the two countries and to the complexity of the issues involved, an exaggerated importance ought not to be attached

To examine those details, frequently of so direct a relevance in a case such as this, has inevitably taken time, but there has been no break in the negotiations There has hardly been even a necessary pause and at the stage which things have reached I see no reason why, with patience and with understanding, we should not be able to look forward to the establishment on a satisfactory and mutual basis of our relations with our principal customer.

I have paid close attention since I have been in India to the expansion of our trade intelligence service An Indian Trade Commissioner has opened his office in Japan An Indian Trade Commissioner for East Africa is sailing from Bombay to Mombasa A Trade Commissioner is to be appointed in New York He will, I hope, open his office there in June of next year. The appointment of a Trade Commissioner at Alexandria to watch the developments of our trade interests in the Levant countries is actively under investigation.

We can in other words claim during the last 12 months to have taken decisions the result of which will be to develop our foreign trade intelligence service I may I think appropriately in this connection refer to the recent decision to appoint an economist of international reputation as Economic Adviser to the Government of India

I need lay no emphasis on the fact that it is no longer possible in the conditions of the present day for the economics of any great nation to be considered in isolation, and the expansion of our intelligence system would be of little use without a proper study and interpretation in India of the data which it makes available I am confident that we can look for assistance of the utmost value from the advice and the wide international experience of the gentleman who has been selected for this most important post

I am accused from time to time of displaying an interest in agriculture which is close to a degree which leaves me little time to consider the improvement of industry

I am deeply and sincerely concerned with agricultural problems I think they are of the utmost importance to industry and I am sure that it is vital to industry if real progress is to be made that agriculture in the countryside should be in a flourishing condition. Let me at once however repudiate any suggestion that because I am interested in agriculture I do not take the closest and the most informed interest in industrial problems. My own considerable experience of great industrial concerns has provided me with some degree of familiarity with the problems of industry and I would add with a natural incentive while I hold my present charge to do all in my power to further industrial development and prosperity in India.

18. SCIENCE CONGRESS JUBILEE

India can claim not a few scientists whose originality has won them international recognition remarks Lord Linlithgow opening the Silver Jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress at Calcutta on
3, *January* 3 1938.

Referring to the vastly different backgrounds against which scientists in India and the west pursue their activities Lord Linlithgow expresses the hope that through her scientists India will increasingly make her special contribution to world thought Text of the speech —

Your Excellencies Sir James Jeans Mr Vice-Chancellor Ladies and Gentlemen —It was with the utmost pleasure that I accepted the invitation which you so kindly extended to me to open the Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress Association. This session is a memorable occasion in the annals of Indian science, and I would like at the opening of my remarks to extend to the Association my warm congratulations on the successful completion of this stage in its long and useful life. I would like too to extend my congratulations to those responsible for the organization of this Session. They have—and I feel I express the opinion of all present—been peculiarly happy in their choice of Calcutta for the meeting and in their decision with a view to marking the special character of this Session to extend invitations to representatives of the British Association and to scientists from other countries to join in the discussions and celebrations which are to take place.

The choice of Calcutta as the meeting place is particularly appropriate. For it was here that the first inaugural meeting of the Association was held in 1914 in the rooms of the then Asiatic Society of Bengal, which, if I may quote Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee s words has been throughout its long career the principal source of inspiration in the organization and advancement of scientific research of every description in this country I feel that it would not be amiss if I were to express here the deep debt of gratitude which this Association owes to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal which can I think

appropriately be described as its foster-parent in its early days and a very benign and helpful relative even today Calcutta, too, is the city with which the name of that distinguished educationist, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, himself the first Chairman of this Association, is associated I do not think I exaggerate when I say that the beginnings and continued development of the Association are very largely due to his energy and interest, and to the impetus which he imparted to the activities of the Association in its early days.

The visit of the distinguished representatives of the British Association and of scientists from other countries make this Jubilee Session outstanding in the history of the Association To all our distinguished visitors I extend a very cordial welcome. We in India, if I may say so, consider your visit to this country a very great compliment. Indeed it is more it is a recognition, as it were, of India's scientific coming of age, and a happy augury for closer co-operation in the domain of science between India and the outside world

I cannot allow this occasion to pass without expressing our keen regret at the untimely death of Lord Rutherford He was to have presided over the deliberations of this joint Session His death means not only the loss of a President who would have left the imprint of his great mind and personality on this Conference, but the loss to the world of perhaps the greatest experimental physicist of modern times. We are fortunate indeed in having Sir James Jeans to take his place His contributions to astrophysics are world-famous, and his name is familiar to all persons acquainted with the English language through his brilliant exposition of our present knowledge regarding the celestial world.

I would fail in my duty if I did not also mention here the keen regret which we all feel at the death of Sir Jagdish Bose, one of India's greatest scientists, and a man whose work had achieved world-wide recognition It is especially sad that he did not live to take part in these celebrations to mark the growth of scientific activity in India during the last 25 years—a growth in which he played so important a part. To him belongs the credit of being the first person to initiate scientific research outside the sphere of the Scientific Departments of Government; and I do not think that I should go too far were I to style him the pioneer scientific worker in physics in India

It is tempting on an occasion such as this to dwell on the personalities and the events which colour and mark the period the completion of which is being celebrated The history of the Indian Science Congress Association during the last 25 years is rich in both; indeed if one considers the development of world history over those 25 years it would be curious if the Association did not reflect in some degree the movements of those eventful years. But time compels me to refrain from any historical retrospect.

I cannot however pass on without paying a tribute to the success with which the Association has fulfilled the objects for which it was founded Since the early seventies of the last century, young Indians began to interest themselves in science and to proceed abroad on what

then constituted brave ventures for many of them to learn science. With the consequent increasing scientific activities in India the want was felt of an institution which would organize meetings of workers in different branches of science and enable them to exchange ideas to establish those personal contacts which are so helpful in furthering scientific activity to formulate policies for the furtherance of the cause of science and to bring its needs and services to the notice of those who are in a position to help in the attainment of its objectives.

The aims with which the Indian Science Congress Association was founded were three-fold. First to encourage research and to publish the results amongst scientific workers in India secondly to give opportunities for personal intercourse and scientific companionship thirdly to promote public interest in science. These aims have been magnificently fulfilled. At the first meeting of the Association there were five sections chemistry physics geology botany and ethnology The membership was 109 and 31 papers were read. At this year's conference there are 13 sections a membership of more than 1 600 and 800 papers have been notified for reading There are to be 22 discussions within individual sections and 10 joint discussions on programmes which concern more than one section. You will agree I am sure that this is a development the significance of which calls for no emphasis.

No one will deny I think that the Association with its annual meetings at various centres throughout India, has done work of the utmost value in the impetus which it has given to scientific research throughout the country and the assistance which it has lent by stimulating close and constant collaboration between scientific workers in the rationalising—if I may use a convenient word—of scientific work in India and the elimination of the risks of mutual ignorance and needless duplication of effort.

The Association too has rendered most useful service in bringing Indian scientists before the world outside by creating conditions for systematic presentation of their work. For this India owes the Association no inconsiderable debt of gratitude India today can claim not a few scientists the originality of whose contributions in different branches of science have won for them international recognition and I feel that the presence of so many eminent scientists from abroad sets the seal of international recognition upon the position to which science in India has now attained.

The future of science in India is full of encouragement. India has demonstrated that she possesses men of capacity with the will to labour and if we have workers equipped to take their place amongst those who today in every continent are engaged whether in pure or in applied science in advancing the frontiers of human knowledge it is evident that India affords limitless opportunities for the harnessing of that knowledge for the betterment of mankind.

By universal accord the first and foremost object of our endeavour in the material field must be to better the lot of the agricultural population to raise the standard of living of the cultivator

I can imagine no more fascinating challenge to young scientists in this country than the employment of their brains and the application of the latest scientific knowledge to the attempt to solve the manifold problems of material advancement that confront us on every side

But encouraging though the prospect may be in theory, India is faced with the same practical difficulties that other countries experience of making provision for research and scientific activities. As regards the division of labour on scientific subjects between various authorities the position in India is, broadly speaking, that the universities devote themselves—and indeed it is fitting that this should be so—to pure science, while research in applied science is carried out in institutions organised for a specific purpose—the Indian Forest Research Institute at Dehra Dun, the Imperial Agricultural Research Institute at Delhi, the Central Medical Research Institute at Kasauli, the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health at Calcutta,—to name only a few of the more prominent But the financial burden of this research falls either immediately or in the long run on Government. Research institutions are almost exclusively maintained either by the Central or Provincial Governments. The work of the universities is substantially subsidized by the Governments of the provinces in which they are situated.

It is to my mind an unsatisfactory state of affairs that Government, with the manifold calls on its financial resources, should have to bear the main burden also in this respect.

The scope for scientific research, whether pure or applied, is practically unlimited and no small obligation exists on private munificence to supplement what Governments are now doing in work which Government has for so long so anxiously supported, and to which it continues today directly or indirectly to contribute on no mean scale.

The opportunities of science are great—the field remaining to be explored immense I am confident that in asking for a still further development of the substantial assistance which over so many years, has been freely afforded by generous donors, I can rely on a response comparable in some degree with the needs to be met

The presence of this distinguished gathering constitutes a manifestation of the interest taken by the intellectual world of the West in the trend of development in India Interest from such a source is of inestimable value to India at the present time It will, I feel, continue to be of value in the future.

India is in a transitional stage , she is on the threshold of a new era We may anticipate that the recent political reforms will inevitably find their reflection in an increased determination among Indians that India should continue in increasing degree to make her own individual contribution to world history and world concepts.

What will be the nature of that contribution and what its scale, it is difficult to foresee clearly at this period

The history of Indian civilization goes further back than any history of Western countries. The great name of India has throughout

that long history at all times been associated with religion with mysticism with philosophy and with the arts.

Throughout the centuries her economy has been as indeed it is likely to continue to be fundamentally agricultural, with the simple patient, methodical and thrifty life for the people which that implies

With the march of the years there has come the inevitable impact of the West and India today is engaged in welding on to her old structures the newer political and economic forms of the West, in finding in her intellectual life a place for the discoveries of science with all their challenge to accepted modes of thought and practice.

This is a time therefore when interest understanding and sympathy are vital from those especially who are leaders in science and in those kindred activities which have been so dominant a characteristic of western development in recent years.

When talking of civilizations it is difficult to dissociate a scientist from the background against which he works and from the effect of his work on the development of his times. The scientist has his place not only in the world of science but in society as a whole.

The backgrounds against which scientists in India and the West pursue their activities are vastly different and the possible effects on society from the impact of their discoveries on everyday life must inevitably vary

But that difference in no way diminishes the value to us in India of the informed interest advice and wide and varied experience of those who have seen the possibilities and the limitations of scientific activity in other spheres.

Your knowledge your experience your very aloofness from the Indian background will impart a special value to any analysis of the problems which confront us here and to any suggestions which, in the light of your deliberations you may feel able to advance as to the directions in which investigation and examination can most fruitfully be pursued. Nor need I emphasise how great a source of encouragement it must be to those who have so unsparingly devoted themselves in this country to the problems which will come before you in your discussions and to those broad general issues which are in the scientific field, of such concern to all of us to feel that in the West there is a growing body of enlightened opinion acquainted with the Indian scene and understanding in some measure the efforts of India to solve her own problems in her own way

But the value of the visit will not be felt on one side only

Even the most enthusiastic believer in Western civilization must feel today a certain despondency at the apparent failure of the West to dominate its scientific discoveries and to evolve a form of society in which material progress and spiritual freedom march comfortably together

Perhaps the West will find in India's more general emphasis on simplicity and the ultimate spirituality of things a more positive example of the truths which the most advanced minds of the West are now discovering

Is it too much to hope that you, gentlemen, will be a channel through which India will make in increasing degree that contribution to Western and to world thought which those of us who know and love India are confident that she can make in so full a degree?"

19. EUROPEANS' ROLE IN INDIA

Whatever the political complexion of the Government, they can look for the full and active support of European groups in the legislatures in all measures calculated to ensure the progress and betterment of the people With this policy of the European Association, Lord Linlithgow expresses deep satisfaction. Jan. 3, 1938

Looking back over eight months of the working of Provincial Autonomy, Lord Linlithgow sees strong reasons for optimism and expresses the opinion that provincial ministries "have shown in a marked degree a sense of responsibility and a readiness to face the facts of the situations by which they may find themselves confronted" Extracts from a speech at the European Association dinner at Calcutta on January 3, 1938.—

"Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, My Lord Bishop, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Let me say first how great a pleasure it is to Lady Linlithgow and myself to be present here tonight, and how much we appreciate the kindness of the European Association in extending their invitation to us I know for how much the Association stands in the life of the European Community in India. I know, too, the good work which it has done over so long a period of years, and I have had myself first hand opportunities of observing the closeness with which the Association studied all those features of the work of the Joint Select Committee and of the deliberations in Parliament on the Government of India Bill which might in any way affect the interests of Europeans in this country, or be of concern to them.

The Association can look back with pride on a long record of useful work, and I feel sure that their record, distinguished as it has been in the past, is only a prelude to a further period in which, in the changed constitutional conditions of the present day, it will render service as valuable as any that it can claim to have performed hitherto.

You said, Mr. Chairman, that your members recognized that the Act gave them something of what they wanted You said also that it did not give them everything for which they could have hoped. That, if I may say so, is no uncommon experience when one is dealing with an enactment covering so wide a field, and affecting issues of such great and diverse importance, as the Act of 1935.

For good or for ill the Act, as you have observed, is on the Statute Book. It is the instrument which governs the evolution

in the future that lies before us of the destinies of this country and in determining to accept the facts as they are to work the Act and to make the greatest contribution they can to the prosperity and the advance of India and her people under the terms of that Act your Association and the great European community which it so ably represents have shown the political wisdom and the sense of values one would have expected from them.

You remarked in your speech that you were able to say with confidence that the European community had succeeded in its efforts to help to ensure the working of the new Constitution and to see that the part assigned to the European in India was worthily played. You expressed the confident hope that that would continue to be the case. If I may say so the short experience we have had of the working of the Act most fully and entirely bears out and supports your claim

You have referred to the working of the new Provincial Governments I need not say how great a satisfaction it is to me to think that we should have in every province governments commanding the support of a majority in their legislatures governments which over the relatively short period since they have come into being can point to so much good work done.

I have lost no opportunity of establishing personal contact with responsible Ministers and leaders of political thought from those provinces. Given the great difficulties inherent in a radical change such as that represented by the introduction of Provincial Autonomy all of us Indian or European and whatever our party affiliations can feel that the working of this great experiment in the period of which we have now had experience reflects nothing but credit on those responsible.

It would not have been surprising had the new Governments called on to carry for the first time the burden of administration and to deal with the problems that confront the politician on whose shoulders falls the weight of office, encountered difficulties greater than any that have in fact been experienced.

Looking back over these eight months I see no reason whatever for dissatisfaction or for apprehension as to the future working of the constitution. I see indeed good and strong reason for optimism. The Governments which hold power in the autonomous provinces have shown in a marked degree a sense of responsibility and a readiness to face the facts of the situations by which they may find themselves confronted.

Difficulties may lie ahead of us. But if such difficulties arise it is my confident and earnest hope that they will admit of being surmounted. I need not emphasize how important it is for the welfare of India that difficulties should be overcome and that the new Constitution should continue to work with the smoothness and the ease which have marked the first few months of the operation of Provincial Autonomy

You referred, Mr Chairman, to the good work of the European Group in the Bengal Legislature and you laid emphasis on the importance of personnel When I was in Calcutta a year ago, I ventured to express the hope that the great European commercial interests would be willing to spare the best men available to fill the seats assigned to European interests in the Provincial and the Central Legislatures

I repeat it now that there are few ways in which a contribution of greater value can be made to safeguarding their own interests, than by sending as representatives to the legislatures, whether Central or Provincial, men of balanced judgment and experience, familiar with the problems with which they are dealing, and competent to speak with authority on the various aspects of those problems

I would like to express my entire agreement too with the importance which you laid on the maintenance of close liaison between the representatives of your community in the Provincial and those in the Central Legislatures . .

It is in that way most assuredly that the community in any one province can feel certain that when those wider problems which fall within the sphere of the Central Legislature are under discussion, full weight is given to their importance from the point of view of the different Provinces, and full account taken of those aspects of those problems which may be of closer and more immediate concern to the Provinces than to the Centre.

I listened with deep satisfaction to your reiteration of the determination of your Association to implement the pledge which you have given that those who undertake the heavy responsibilities of Government, whatever may be their political complexion, can look for your full and active support in all measures calculated to ensure the progress and the betterment of the people of the provinces and of India It is proper that that should be so

You represent a community which has made a great and substantial contribution to the progress and prosperity of this country. You can look back with pride on the long association of Great Britain with India and her fortunes, and on the long record of service to which she can point ; and it is but proper that in the circumstances of the present day, when Ministers are facing for the first time responsibilities, and are for the first time shouldering burdens such as have never in the past fallen upon them, they should be able to feel that in the efforts they make for the betterment of the health, for the material prosperity, and for the raising of the general level of the contentment and happiness of the population of this country, they can rely on the firm support of the European Community

I am sure, Sir, that you were right when you remarked tonight that it is on the basis of the contented peasant that any firm and stable structure of Government either in India or elsewhere must ultimately rest While I hold my present post it will be my effort to do all in my power to improve the condition of the agriculturist in any way properly open to me.

If during my time I can feel that I have contributed in however small a degree to the realisation of that object I shall feel that I have been able to make, on however small a scale, some little contribution to the welfare of India and to the lightening of the burden on those who in the future are destined to play so important a rôle in the political and economic development of this country

20 "MY PROFESSIONAL PRIDE"

5, *I doubt whether the world outside appreciates the extent to which in almost every aspect of the life of the people British institutions and British culture have through the long years of our association with this country come to be woven inextricably into the fabric of the India of today' says Lord Linlithgow in his speech at the Bengal Club Dinner at Calcutta on January* 5 1938

Incidentally he speaks of the need of the economy of labour but would not deliver the same speech more than twice!' Extracts from the speech

Gentlemen I am told that it is expected of me or at least that I shall be forgiven for doing so if I speak to you this evening for a few moments about politics.

All my life I have been much opposed to hard work! Economy of labour is and has long been my chief ambition. Yet even I have not the hardihood to deliver in the short space of three weeks the same speech more than twice. That as a matter of professional pride and not at all because I labour under the notion that anyone reads my speeches. Earlier in the week I gave the European Association some of the reasons which lead me to the conclusion that the most important function of a public character that falls under the new Constitution to the duty of the European community is their choice of the very best men available to represent them in the provincial legislatures and at the Centre. I have no doubt of that Bengal and India need your help. I have not the least hesitation in assuring you that Indians of all political parties will welcome that help Like all other communities or interests in a democratic country you rightly expect your representatives in the legislature to be mindful of your own special concerns. But I hope you may never think it wise that your political activities should be confined to your own interests. Believe me the notion of the British interest in India shrinking degenerating into that of a mere trading enclave is a snare If you come to be only that *you will very soon be nothing at all. It is* vital to the future of this country and vital too to your own that you should extend rather than that you should contract the area of your participation in the political life of this country whether in the provincial or the all India fields. Your advice your experience your sympathy are indeed essential over the whole field of government and even if gratitude is not always noticeably vocal you may rest assured that gratitude will be there.

Modern India derives from many different sources, not a few of which have in their origin been extraneous to this country. I doubt whether the outside world appreciates the extent to which, in almost every aspect of the life of the people, British institutions and British culture have, through the long years of our association with this country, come to be woven inextricably into the fabric of the India of today. The part and interest therefore, that your community may properly take in the national life extends into almost every branch of the legislative and administrative fields. As business men you are here to play your part in commerce and industry, that of itself is a great service to this country But you will not, I am sure, desire that your services should be confined to those functions. Rather you will desire that following in the footsteps of so many of our race who have made India their home—if only for a limited span—you should—individually, and collectively—do your utmost to promote the welfare of the people as a whole, and the general advancement of India

Send your best men to the provinces and to the Centre Take each one of you a lively interest in the political problems of the day! Maintain close contact between the two political spheres of the provinces and the Centre Intensify your activities, but keep wide your horizons

And if Bengal must not isolate herself from the wider India, let us remember that India cannot live apart from the environment of the larger world about her Nor indeed can British policy in regard to India fail to take due account of the circumstances of the world We may have, each one of us, our own opinions as to the nature and direction of those major events and formidable changes which today are taking place in every part of the globe What no man can, I submit, afford to fail to apprehend is that the world is now entered upon one of those periods, of which history records other examples, in which there happens an immense quickening of those formative tendencies which, in calmer times operate so gently as hardly to be discernible Mankind is on the march, and none of us may know whither it is that we are bound

Such are the world circumstances with which we in India stand confronted Those circumstances, or so I believe, afford the best of all reasons why we should have undertaken, when we did, the difficult and most anxious task of promoting constitutional reform in India, for those are the conditions in which it is imperative that we secure before it is too late, the greatest possible measure of political appeasement and of contentment in India

Therefore, when—each one of you—you play your part here in India in promoting the success of the greatest and by far the boldest political experiment of which history holds record, you may feel that you are making your contribution towards the strengthening, throughout the world, of all those things which are most precious to you, and of which, by right of long centuries of British effort and achievement, you are the natural heirs and the proper guardians.

Well we have managed somehow to establish Provincial Autonomy and I am extremely well satisfied by the way it is going Inevitably there are anxieties and it goes without saying that the utmost vigilance must be maintained. You may rest assured that watchfulness will not be lacking Meantime I may tell you quite simply that I think the signs most promising Now we are busy upon Federation. I am amused to notice that in some quarters it is whispered that Lord Zetland and I are on the run about Federation I suspect that hope has had a share in the percentage of that particular rumour Let me tell you quite shortly how the position stands If you look at the Act (and there is no more captivating volume of bedside literature) you will find that whereas that Instrument prescribes in utmost detail the structure of government in the autonomous Province it is a good deal less informing when you come to those sections that deal with the Federal Structure. And the reason for this difference is not far to seek, for as regards the Federal part of the Constitution its shape in certain important regards must depend upon arrangements made with the Indian States subsequent to the passing into law of the Act. It is upon those important intricate and often difficult matters to which I have referred that I am at present engaged I am always grateful for advice and it is a commodity of which I am rarely found in short supply When the issue of office acceptance was on the bill of fare I was encouraged from many well meaning quarters to do this that, or the other

In the outcome our friends have been kind enough to approve the method of approach and the tactics which we employed. Once again, a good deal of advice is coming along I for one am always glad to listen to that advice. My hope is that the method we are now pursuing with regard to Federation may prove to be as indeed I am convinced it is that one best calculated to secure at the earliest possible moment the political unity of India.

Before I conclude—and I am immensely obliged to you for the patience with which you have heard me this evening—I should like to say one or two words about the labour situation here in Bengal and elsewhere Let me at once say that I am well aware of how much has been done of recent years by employers of labour and by none more than by the European firms to ameliorate the general conditions of the wage earners Let me also tell you that I am perfectly well aware that in terms of discounting strikes the experiences of recent months have shown that good conditions for the workers are by no means a panacea against labour troubles. That so far as my know ledge goes was very much the experience of employers in Great Britain in the earlier days of the movement towards better labour conditions. Without pretending to know much about labour and factory or mill conditions out here it seems to me inevitable that with an entirely illiterate labour force by nature highly emotional and volatile and therefore easily led by the agitator and given the political background as it has existed you should have had to face the conditions in regard to labour that have recently obtained. But be that as it may you will I feel sure agree with me in regarding the

general amelioration of labour conditions, and in particular of housing conditions, as of the utmost importance I need not, before an audience such as this, dilate upon the obvious relationship between political development and the problems of labour. Nor do I dream of suggesting that the principal motive impelling so many organisations to improve the conditions in which their employees live, has been what I may term the commercial motive. I know well that the greater number of employers are moved by a sincere desire, upon grounds of humanity, to better the lot of their fellow men

Yet, as all of us know, it is not possible in practice, either in India or outside it, to dissociate the factor of the cost of improving the position of the workers from that of the financial position of the employing corporation In this connection I may perhaps be allowed to say to you that I am sure that we shall find that during the phase of intense political activity upon which we are now embarked labour problems in India will inevitably intrude themselves from time to time upon the industrial scene Nor do I doubt that by a process of adjustment and by the development of appropriate machinery of conciliation and the like, and through the extending experience of the wage earners themselves, means will be found to solve those problems I am bold enough to hazard the guess that when you enter in your relations with labour upon that process of adjustment and of constructive evolution, it will come to be generally recognised that none will have done so much to promote a happy issue out of those anxious difficulties than those who have betimes undertaken, so far as the resources at their disposal made possible, a progressive policy designed to ameliorate the lives of those men and their families without whose arduous labour no industry can thrive "

21. THE EXCHANGE RATIO

Extract from the reply to Address of welcome from the Madras Chamber of Commerce and the Southern India Chamber of Commerce at Madras on January 10, 1938 **Jan. 10, 1938**

" Gentlemen of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, I realise that the field you cover is a wide one, and that you speak today not only on your own behalf, but on behalf of the members of the other Chambers to whom you refer in your Address You remarked in the course of that address that your interest as members of Chambers of Commerce lies primarily in fostering trade and commerce, but that the march of events inevitably compels you to take an ever-increasing share in political matters I appreciate your position , and I welcome your assurance that it will always be your endeavour to do what lies in your power by co-operation with Government to promote peace and well-being That is an assurance which is of real value, coming as it does from a body which represents such very substantial interests and at a time when, as you have also remarked, earnest and unremitting effort from all men of goodwill is an essential pre-requisite to smooth and successful working of the new Constitution

Gentlemen of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce I have always taken a close interest in the affairs of Madras and I am glad to hear from you of the satisfactory progress of the province under the new autonomous Constitution.

You raised in your Address the question of the revision of the exchange value of the Rupee. That I am well aware is a matter in which much interest is taken and I am fully alive to its general importance. I listened accordingly with close attention to the arguments and the suggestions contained in your Address I do not however in the light of those arguments agree that the Rupee is at present over valued in terms of sterling and quite apart from that, he would in my judgment be a rash man who looking round the world today and observing how far from satisfactory are the conditions in those countries which have practised devaluation persists in the contention that currency depreciation is a safe specific for economic ills. In this general matter of the exchange ratio I indicated in remarks which I made on a public occasion a couple of months ago that my Government had no intention whatever of disturbing the present ratio—a point which I regarded it as desirable to make abundantly clear—and further that I was convinced that its maintenance was the policy best calculated to serve the interests of India s agricultural population. That is the position and that remains my view today

You urged in your Address the conclusion of trade agreements by the Government of India with the principal customer countries of India, and you remarked that the United Kingdom had concluded trade agreements with various countries in none of which in your judgment, had the trade of India received fair treatment. Let me remind you that the character of the United Kingdom s trade with the countries in question and the resulting balance of payment present problems which are fundamentally different from India s relations with the same countries and which are not susceptible of the same solution. As for your suggestion that India ought herself to safeguard her trade by making treaties with her principal customers I would point out that we are already in active negotiations with our principal customer the United Kingdom, for the promotion of an agreement of this nature and this must in my judgment form an essential preliminary to any new arrangement with other countries. With our second most important customer Japan we have already made an agreement which regulates trade relations until 1940

As regards coastal shipping I would remind you that the position in relation to the most powerful of the Indian companies has been regulated by an agreement with the competing British companies under which a definite quota of trade is assured to it. Similarly under the award made by Sir Joseph Bhore in 1934 the smaller steam ship companies on the west coast of India are ensured 85 per cent of the trade.

As for the remarks which you have addressed to me in regard to the separation of Burma I will only say that the arguments on both

sides were exhaustively canvassed both in India and in Burma before the decision to separate Burma from India was reached, and that it would, in my judgment, be most undesirable to make any effort to revive a controversy which the decision in question has finally settled I am unaware in this connection that any cause for friction has arisen in regard to the actual working of the trade agreement with Burma ; and indeed the evidence at my disposal goes to show that that agreement has given general satisfaction to the trading communities of both countries

Gentlemen, the representatives of the Madras Chamber of Commerce in their Address this morning referred to the part played by Madras in the public affairs of the country, and they referred with legitimate pride to the position which this Presidency has for so long enjoyed in the domain of politics, and to the high degree of development of her institutions, social and cultural alike I have no hesitation in subscribing to their claim that in the evolution of political sense and political responsibility Madras has achieved a measure of success which bears favourable comparison with progress elsewhere I am quite sure that Madras can be depended upon, in the period that lies before us, to continue as in the past to make a contribution of real and substantial value to progress and development in the constitutional as well as in the material field "

22. NON-MUSLIM MINORITIES

Extract from reply to addresses of welcome from the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India, the Indian Christian Association, Madras, and the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation, at Madras on January 10, 1938 **Jan. 10, 1938**

" Gentlemen of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India — I listened with close interest to what you told me of the work of your Association. I am glad to think that that Association, now of such long standing, should be celebrating its Diamond Jubilee next year ; and I listened with the utmost interest and satisfaction to the information you give me as to the steps which it has taken throughout its long career for the improvement of the educational level of the members of the community I am quite sure that today, and in the past, your Association has been wise to concentrate as it has done on maintaining a high educational level among its members The importance of education grows every day, and I am confident that the course which you have pursued in this matter will bring its own reward. I am glad, too, to think that the record of the community in sport should have been so distinguished.

I note, and appreciate, your anxiety that your interests in the various branches of Government service should be safeguarded I feel sure that the considerations you mention and to which you have now given special publicity in the Address which you have just presented to me are fully present to those with whom responsibility rests for decisions in these matters

Gentlemen of the Indian Christian Association — I listened with particular pleasure to the statement made in your Address that what ever anxieties you might feel in regard to the future of your Community you will take to the Government of your Province in whose even handed justice you have every confidence. I am glad today when Provincial Autonomy has been in operation for the best part of a year to hear that tribute from so important a minority community as that represented by your Association. Nothing could speak better for the cordial and friendly nature of the relations which have been established over the period in question I thank you too for your friendly reference to my interest in Agriculture I am never tired of emphasizing the immense importance of the agriculturist in the Indian economic system and the essential necessity in the interests of industry no less than those of agriculture of doing all that lies in our power to raise his standard of living and to remove such legitimate grievances as he may feel.

Let me say on behalf of my wife how greatly she appreciates your kind message to her and your expression of sympathy with the efforts she is making for the betterment of India s womanhood and for the relief of sickness and distress in this great country

Gentlemen of the Madras Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation —I listened with interest and sympathy to the representations you have addressed to me You will not I am sure expect me on an occasion such as this to enter into a discussion of the various matters to which you have referred some of which are by no means free from controversy I will content myself with a reference to one point on which you touch in your Address and that is the grant of increased representation to your community in the Upper House of the Provincial Legislature. As you are aware the Schedules to the Act make no provision for the provision of seats in the Madras Legislative Council for members of the Scheduled Castes similar to that made in respect of seats in the Assembly On the other hand His Excellency the Governor is given power under the Act to nominate in his discretion to the Legislative Council not less than 8 and not more than 10 Members. As I understand the position His Excellency has already nominated 9 Members and of those 9 one Diwan Bahadur Srinivasan is a member of the Scheduled Castes. I cannot feel, even given the large numbers of the Scheduled Castes in this Presidency that in these circumstances it can be contended that their interests have been allowed to go by default in the Upper House or that they have not received a measure of representation which having regard to the claims of other interests and communities can be regarded as other than substantial.

Gentlemen I thank you all again very warmly indeed. It is a great pleasure to have seen you today and it is a source of much satisfaction to me to receive today these Addresses of welcome from bodies so representative of interests so important as those for which you stand.

23. MADRAS MUSLIM ORGANISATIONS

Extract from reply to addresses of welcome at Madras from the Mohamedan Educational Association of Southern India, the Madras Muslim League, and the Anjumane-Mufide-Ahle-Islam of Madras on January 10, 1938. **Jan. 10, 1938**

" Gentlemen of the Mohamedan Educational Association —I congratulate you warmly on the good work which your Association has done over the last 35 years, and I congratulate you and those who have gone before you on the foresight manifested by you in concentrating on this issue of education I wholly agree with you as to its great importance for the future of India and for the future of her various communities And I am very glad to think that the response to the efforts you have made should have been so successful, and that you should be able to point to so large a number of students in receipt of scholarships from your Association I appreciate your desire to secure such additional concessions with a view to a still further improvement in the pace of the educational progress in your community as may be practicable, though I am very conscious that in dealing with requests such as those to which you refer a Government has many considerations to take into account.

Gentlemen of the Muslim League, you have been good enough to pay a tribute to my deep and sincere anxiety to do what I can during my period of office in this country to improve the lot of the agriculturist I would like to correct one misapprehension under which you appear to labour in this connection I am I fear entirely unable to agree with you as to the case for the modification of the rupee ratio, or to accept your suggestion that the maintenance of the existing ratio lies at the bottom of our economic problems. As I have already made clear in my reply to an address from another deputation, my Government have no intention of disturbing the present ratio, and I am myself convinced that its maintenance is the policy best calculated to serve the interests of India's agricultural population.

You have referred in your address to the apprehension entertained by certain Muslims that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Act of 1935 is calculated to be injurious if not fatal to the vital interests of British India That, if I may venture to say so, can only be the result of a misunderstanding of the nature of the scheme and of the positive results which are likely to result from its introduction and the implementing of its provisions I can claim in this matter to speak with a close familiarity with the subject in all its aspects, and with the long discussions in Parliament and in the Joint Select Committee from which the scheme of Federation emerged, and I have no hesitation in my conclusion as to the positive and marked importance in the interests of India as a whole of the early realisation of the Federal scheme.

Gentlemen of the Anjuman-e-Islam, you can point to a long and useful record of service to your great community, and I am

glad to think that over the period during which your Association has been in being, now more than half a century you should have made so valuable a contribution to the welfare of the members of that community I am glad, too to think that throughout that period you should have had the co-operation and the generous support to which you refer in such appreciative terms not only of the Government of the day but of the other communities, Indian and European alike and the buildings in Madras which you have mentioned—the Lawley Hall and the Goschen Hostel—are public evidence of the good work which you have done. Let me, too express my warm appreciation of the excellent work of your Industrial School and of your public spirited and charitable activities in connection with the maintenance of destitute Muslim boys under the provisions of the Madras Children s Act of 1920 I am glad to think that despite the generous contribution which you have made to the alleviation of distress and to the educational advancement of the Muslim Community in Madras your financial position should be as satisfactory as you tell me that it is You have my sincere and earnest good wishes for the future progress of the admirable public work on which you are engaged.

24. SOUTH INDIA EUROPEANS

Jan. 10, 1938.

Lord Linlithgow expressed pleasure that while the South Indian branch of the European Association found themselves unable to accord political support to the then Government of Madras they emphasised the friendly relations existing between the Association and the Government. Extract from reply to the addresses of welcome presented by the European Association and the United Planters Association of Southern India on January 10 1938 at Madras —

Let me thank you very warmly Gentlemen for the kind and appreciative references which you have been good enough to make to my work. I well remember the invaluable assistance given by the representatives of the European Association in connection with the discussions whether in the Joint Select Committee or in Parliament preliminary to the passing of the Government of India Act 1935 Let me say too how glad I am to think from the remarks made both by the spokesman of the European Association and by the spokesman of the Planters Association that relations between the great interests which you represent in South India and the Provincial Government should be friendly and cordial Nothing could be a greater tribute to the nature of that relation than the statement made by you Sir on behalf of the Planters Association that in matters of a more provincial nature we are ever assured of sympathy and assistance from the various Provinces and States of South India where our plantations are situated. And I note with pleasure too that while the European Association find themselves unable to accord political support to the present Government of Madras they emphasize the friendly relations which exist between the Association and the

Government; and that they emphasize, too, the extent to which they are ready and willing to co-operate in all matters affecting the welfare and development of this country. It is, I am quite confident, along the line of co-operation, and of a readiness, in the pursuit of the common welfare, to sink differences on points of detail where no issue of principle is involved, that the true and only road of progress lies

My wife and I are very glad to think that she should have your support and your sympathy for the Appeal which she has made in connection with the King Emperor's Fund That there is a great need, no one can doubt; and it is our earnest hope that the response to the Appeal which has now been made will result throughout India in a really substantial contribution to preventive and curative measures for dealing with Tuberculosis."

25. A HISTORIC STATE

Extract from reply to the toast at the State Banquet at Hyderabad on January 18, 1938 **Jan. 18, 1938**

" It has always been my desire to visit this historic State, whose connections with the British Government have been so close and intimate almost from the beginning, and this desire was naturally enhanced after my first meeting with the Nizam a year ago in Calcutta

Your Exalted Highness has been kind enough to refer in very complimentary terms to my work and to my qualifications for the high office which I have the honour to hold I think that the survey which Your Exalted Highness has given tonight of the many activities of your Government fairly enables me to return the compliment They show an anxiety for the amelioration of your subjects, both urban and rural, and a desire to give practical effect to schemes for that amelioration, of which any Ruler might well be proud The measures which have been taken for the alleviation of rural indebtedness and the improvement of rural conditions generally have, perhaps, a particular appeal to me, but so also have the steps taken for the improvement of the public health, and I should like to acknowledge publicly the munificent response given by Your Exalted Highness' Government to Lady Linlithgow's Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal. It is particularly gratifying to me to think that, even before that appeal was launched, this subject had engaged Your Exalted Highness' attention, and that schemes for combating this scourge were already well under way.

I rejoice to know that congenial spheres of employment have been found for Your Exalted Highness' sons and that they are both taking a keen and practical interest in their work

In other fields of administration, I notice the recognition of the need for a more practical trend in education, the successful co-ordination of Railway and road services, which has long been and still is a most difficult problem both in Europe and India, the

construction of large public works and the improvement of communications the sound financial condition of the State which has made all these things possible and the tendency to an increasing association of your subjects with local and general administration. All these facts inspire me with the belief that Your Exalted Highness and your Government are fully alive to the responsibilities and the opportunities for progress which belong to governments everywhere.

Your Exalted Highness has alluded at the end of your speech to the increasing part that is being played by Hyderabad in all India affairs. I rejoice to see this and I take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging—as was also done by my distinguished predecessor Lord Willingdon—the important part played by the Hyderabad Delegation, headed by Sir Akbar Hydari in the deliberations that led up to the passing of the Government of India Act.

I do not propose on the present occasion to enter into any long exposition of my views on the matter of Federation Those views are well known to Your Exalted Highness and to the other Members of the Princely Order and you are well aware of the steps I have taken in the past to dissipate misunderstandings on this all-important question and to bring about at the earliest practicable date the Federation of India. I feel sure that the wise statesmanship and the great experience of Your Exalted Highness and your Advisers will direct you in the decision to be reached by you on this matter"

Feb. 22, 1938

28. RESIGNATION OF TWO MINISTRIES

Text of Lord Linlithgow's statement as Governor-General on February 22 1938 on the resignation of the Congress Ministries in Bihar and the United Provinces (Some other statements presented by the Secretary of State for India to Parliament in a White Paper in February 1938 will be found in the Appendix)

The history of the difficulties which have arisen in the United Provinces and Bihar in connection with the release of prisoners described as political prisoners is well known. In both Provinces discussions regarding the release of prisoners in this class have for some time past, been proceeding between Ministers and Governors and Governors throughout made it clear that they were ready and willing to examine individual cases and would not stand in the way of release unless where circumstances were clearly such as to involve responsibilities laid upon them by the Act. The principle of individual examination was well established over many months in Provinces where Congress is in power It was equally established in other Provinces and Mr Gandhi himself has proceeded on this basis in his recent discussions with the Government of Bengal. It was thus no new thing

Discussions regarding release after examination of individual cases were still proceeding when on 14th February a demand was tendered by the Premiers of Bihar and the United Provinces for immediate general release of all prisoners classed as political in those two Provinces. In the case of Bihar that demand, received by the

Governor at 1 P M., called for action by the Chief Secretary in this case by 4 P M the same day In the case of the United Provinces the time limit set for compliance was, also, brief to a degree In the case of Bihar the Premier made it clear that as a matter of principle he could not agree to individual examination In the case of the United Provinces, after much discussion Ministers made it clear that a policy of gradual and individual release would not satisfy them

The prisoners in question are almost without exception persons convicted of violence or of preparation for specific acts of violence, by normal criminal courts. The nature of their offences has been indicated sufficiently in the statements issued by the Governors Their record is such that individual examination was called for, not merely for the reason I have given, but in the interest of public safety, and that examination was equally essential in the interest of maintenance of sanctions of law, and of authority and position of courts.

In these circumstances, having regard to the responsibilities which, under the Constitution, are placed upon the Governor-General, the Governors of both Provinces, after consulting their Ministers, referred for my instructions the advice which their Ministers had tendered Having regard to the circumstances described above; to the essential necessity of considering the reaction on adjoining Provinces of the release of these prisoners; and to the fact that acceptance of the principle that terrorist convicts should be indiscriminately released without regard to individual considerations would be highly dangerous, and in view of the history of terrorism in the past could not fail to give impetus to fresh terrorist organisation in Bengal, careful consideration left me with no choice but to conclude that issues involved were such that it was incumbent on me to issue an instruction to those Governors under provisions of section 126 (5) of the Act That section empowers the Governor-General to issue orders to Governors of Provinces as to the manner in which the executive authority thereof is to be exercised for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of India or of any part thereof. To acquiesce in the immediate and indiscriminate release of prisoners with records of violent crime would have been to strike a blow at the root of law and order in India, dangerously to threaten peace and good government, and to run a grave risk to peace and tranquillity; all the more so since this categorical demand took no account of possible reactions of certain releases on the position elsewhere, or of the reiterated readiness of Governors to examine individual cases

The Governors, on receipt of my instructions, informed their Ministers that they could not accept their advice on this matter. The Ministers therefore tendered their resignation

The Governors concerned, and I, so far as I am concerned, have done our utmost over the last seven months to work in harmonious co-operation with the Congress Ministers of both these Provinces and all possible help has been lent them There has been no foundation over that period for any suggestion that it is the policy, or desire, of the Governor-General or of the Governors to impede or interfere with legitimate activities of these Ministries, or to take any step the necessity

for which was not imposed upon them by the terms of the Act That is equally true today

I have made it clear that in issuing the instructions I did, I had no hesitation in feeling that a grave menace to the basis of law and order and so to the peace and tranquillity of India would have been involved in acceptance by the Governors of demands of such an order presented to them in such a manner

As regards the particular issue of the release of prisoners so far as the Governors are concerned there is no going back on the policy of readiness to examine individual cases and the Governors remain ready to agree to release after examination where no undue risk in their own Province or in other Provinces is involved. There is no impropriety whatever may be suggested to the contrary in their requiring such individual examination or in their declining without it to accept the advice of their Ministers. Ministers are responsible for law and order But they are so responsible under the Act subject to the responsibility of Governors to ensure the peace and tranquillity of their own Province and the Governors are bound to have in mind the corresponding responsibility that falls on the Governor-General for the peace and tranquillity of India or any part thereof. Neither a Governor nor the Governor-General will wish to see his responsibility attracted but as I made clear in my message of last June where that responsibility is in fact attracted, neither the Governor nor the Governor-General can shrink from discharging it

Finally and this I wish particularly to emphasise there is no foundation for the suggestion that the action I have taken is dictated by a desire to undermine the position of Congress Ministries. The record of the last seven months should have made it abundantly clear that the Governors and I myself are only too anxious to lend all assistance that we properly can within the framework of the Act to any Ministry in power in a Province. Neither the Governors nor the Governor-General have any desire to interfere or any intention of interfering with the legitimate policy of a Congress or any other Government. The action taken was designed to safeguard the peace and tranquillity of India and, incidentally to uphold the sanctions of law and orderly functioning of the constitutional machine. That action leaves it open to Ministers in consultation with the Governors to pursue a policy of release of prisoners and they need anticipate no difficulty now any more than in the past in securing the friendly and ready co-operation of the Governors in individual examination I am glad to think that in no quarter is there manifest any disposition to extend the area of difficulty beyond the limits of the position which I have described and it is my sincere and earnest hope that it may shortly be possible to return to normality and that in the two Provinces most concerned Ministers in discussion with the Governors may find themselves able to resume their interrupted labours *

* The Ministers discussed the position with the Governors and resumed their labours.

27. PRESENTATION OF PHOTOGRAPH OF ROYAL FAMILY

Speech in presenting a photograph of the Royal Family to the Indian Signal Corps at Jubbulpore on March 2, 1938. Mar. 2, 1938

"Brigadier Hitchins, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Men of the Indian Signal Corps,—It is a great pleasure to me to be able to come here today to present this photograph of the Royal Family, on behalf of Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal, your Colonel-in-Chief, and to convey to you the message with which Her Royal Highness has charged me on this occasion That message is as follows · 'My best wishes as Colonel-in-Chief of a Corps of which I am proud will accompany the photograph which will be presented to you today by His Excellency the Viceroy. It gave me great pleasure to see in England the representative members of my Corps who were present on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor.'

The photograph and Her Royal Highness's gracious message will serve as a happy reminder of the visit to England of those of you who went as representatives of India's Signal Corps and took part in the Coronation ceremonies The close and constant personal interest taken by Their Majesties and by Her Royal Highness in the welfare of the Corps and all that concerns it is well known to you.

I shall report to the Princess Royal that I have visited you here and that I have presented this portrait on her behalf and conveyed to you her gracious message I shall tell Her Royal Highness that I found the Corps in every way worthy of the honour of her association with it and I shall be glad to send to her on your behalf any message which you may wish to give."

28. "ROYAL TIGER"

The service in Canada, the West Indies and America, in the Crimea, in South Africa, in Afghanistan and India of the Leicestershire Regiment was recalled in presenting new colours to the First Battalion of the Regiment at Jubbulpore on March 2, 1938 — Mar. 2, 1938

"Colonel Pinder, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and men of the 1st Battalion, the Leicestershire Regiment,—I consider it a great privilege to be here this morning to present, on behalf of His Majesty, these new Colours to your Battalion. The ceremony today has more than usual significance as you are this year celebrating the 250th anniversary of your Regiment Yours is a long and proud history Your Regiment has served with distinction in all parts of the world—in Canada, the West Indies and America ; in the Crimea ; in South Africa , and then again in Afghanistan. But it is with India that your Regiment has been particularly associated It is not for me to remind you that the Royal Tiger, which is your Badge, was granted as "a lasting testimony of the exemplary conduct of the Corps during the period of its service in India from 1804 to 1823" It is therefore appropriate that these new Colours should be presented by

His Majesty's Representative in the country with whose history your own is linked.

These Colours like others presented in recent years bear the names of the campaigns of the Great War during which the Leicestershire Regiment served with distinction in many spheres. These are honours won by the courage and devotion to duty of all ranks of your Regiment and I am confident that the spirit of the Regiment which has triumphed in arduous service over so many years and has endured the grim years of the Great War will continue in the younger generation now in the ranks. I trust that the time may be far distant when your powers of courage, endurance and service will be put to so severe a test. But should the occasion arise, I do not doubt that the same spirit will be there.

Let me add one more word. The reputation of a Regiment depends on its bearing not only on the battlefield but also in times of peace when duties are less spectacular though no less important. You are here to preserve peace—a task which requires in full measure all the qualities of discipline dignity and tact Remember and I am confident you will—that the honourable performance of your duties in peace time just as much as in the more arduous times of war can add to the already high reputation of your Regiment.

29. N.W.F.P MAKES UP LEEWAY

April 19 1938

A Viceroy's thoughts can never be far away from the North-West Frontier Province says Lord Linlithgow replying to the address of welcome from the Peshawar Municipal Committee on April 19 1938 and they naturally centre often on Peshawar for if the Frontier Province is rightly called the gateway of India Peshawar is the key of that gateway and everything that affects its interests and its good name must be of concern to those responsible for the administration of this great country Proceeding —

"I need not now go into the reasons which led to the extension of Reforms to the North West Frontier Province at a later date than other Provinces. But the Province has been quick to make up its lee-way and the late Legislature and the Legislature which has been elected under the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 both afford eloquent proof of the speed of political development and the good use to which the opportunities afforded by the new Constitution have been turned.

It is incidentally a result of the new Constitution that the composition of your Committee is now decided entirely by election. As you point out in your address this change in your constitution has placed an even heavier burden on you than before. But I most warmly commend the determination which you have expressed in your address to carry that burden.

I do not overlook that that very responsibility to the electorate is not without its drawback to the extent that public men may have

on occasion to make up their mind to follow a line which they themselves know to be right but which may be a possible cause of losing popularity with their supporters But in the long run it is the man who follows the dictates of his conscience who will be the real leader of his community or his country, and that applies as much to local administration as to the wider spheres of Government.

I have noted what you tell me of the difficulties which at present beset the commercial community at Peshawar who have for so many years enjoyed a favoured position in the import and export trade with Afghanistan.

You will realise that these difficulties arise mainly from the legitimate desire of the Afghan Government to conserve the profits of their external and internal trade and to strengthen their economic position in the world

My Government are giving anxious consideration to the problem in order to discover whether anything can be done to assist the Peshawar traders without interfering with the internal policy of an independent and friendly neighbour, and they hope that conversations will shortly be held with a representative of the Afghan Government, in which the existing situation will be discussed, and remedies satisfactory to both parties will be sought

It is not possible for me to say more until those conversations have taken place I understand that the views of your representatives have already been placed before the Government of India, but I have no doubt that the Afghan Representative, if he visits India, will also be ready to discuss matters with your representatives, and you can rely on the Government of India to place no obstacles in the way of such an interchange of views

Let me again thank you on behalf of Lady Linlithgow and myself very warmly for the welcome you have extended to me today and for the very kind remarks which you have been good enough to make about my interest in the advancement and the welfare of this great country

The Anti-Tuberculosis Appeal which Lady Linlithgow has made on behalf of the King-Emperor's Fund is designed to meet a real and crying need and to help in the solution of a problem the acuteness of which is only now beginning to be fully appreciated It is my sincere trust that the response to that appeal will be on a very generous scale Ninety-five per cent of all the sums raised fall to be spent within the Province, and the opening afforded for a real and significant contribution to the problem of Tuberculosis treatment and prevention in the North-West Frontier Province is a great one

I thank you, too, for your reference to my interest in agriculture, and for the kind words which you have been good enough to use about my association with the development of the Constitution

The first stage of that Constitution has come into being, and while there may be ups and downs, and while difficulty and anxiety may from time to time arise, on a broad view we can claim that the first

year of Provincial Autonomy has worked well and that Provincial Legislatures have shown imagination and responsibility in a high degree. The coping stone of the edifice as it is prescribed in the Government of India Act is still to be fixed in place.

But I am glad to say that the long period of work preparatory to the implementing of Federation is now drawing rapidly to a close.

No effort will be spared on my part or on the part of His Majesty's Government to expedite the realisation of that great ideal the achievement of which is calculated to promote the unity of India and to advance the welfare of her interests.

30. A SATISFYING OCCUPATION

April 23, 1938

Speech at the opening of the Malakand Hydro-Electric Scheme on April 23 1938 —

Your Excellency Dr Khan Sahib and Gentlemen —Before declaring this Scheme open I must first, very briefly express my great pleasure not only in visiting Malakand, full as it is from the earliest times of historic associations but also at being present on this particular occasion of the opening of the Malakand Hydro-Electric Scheme, which, you will agree, is another example of those solid achievements which, like great milestones mark the inspiring history of constructive engineering in India.

Although as Mr Oram said the idea of generating electricity in Malakand is an old one it is doubtful whether even now it would have taken practical shape but for the enthusiasm and engineering genius of Mr Burkitt whose work as we all know has left its mark on so many different parts of the North West Frontier The completion of a great work such as this is cause for congratulation not only of those in whose minds the idea originally germinated but of those who were responsible for planning and carrying out the actual construction of the work. I would like particularly to mention Mr Ross who has been in charge during the anxious period of construction and who is to be congratulated on the speed and smoothness with which the work has been carried out Mr Arnall s death last summer after a long illness patiently borne was a serious blow to the Scheme and I would mention here that at the conclusion of this ceremony I shall unveil a memorial tablet in his memory I would like, too to congratulate Mr Oram and all his staff who have been concerned either with the purely electrical part of the Scheme or with the civil works connected with it.

While congratulating you all I must confess to a certain amount of mild jealousy An engineer's always seems to me to be one of the most satisfying of occupations. You plan, you labour and in due course the results are before your eyes in concrete—usually in more senses than one—form. You watch you improve you possibly build again—all these with a reasonable confidence that unless some unforeseen disaster overtakes you your work will remain

and function properly As a politician and an administrator I cannot but envy you that confidence

It is not for me to expatiate at length on the benefits that will accrue from this Scheme, but the possibilities of development consequent on this supply of cheap power are fascinating I would only mention that with this supply of energy there seems considerable scope for the development of industries such as the establishment of sugar factories, cotton, wool and flour mills, ginning and baling plants The power can also be used for the irrigation of land uncommanded by canals on the lines of experiments which have been carried on with success in other Provinces in India. But while the inauguration of a Scheme such as this with all its great potentialities should provoke enthusiasm and initiative, it is also a time for caution. Schemes fraught with such possibilities of beneficial development are often spoiled by the adoption of short-sighted policy in control I trust that it will not be taken amiss if, speaking from my experience as a business man and as an administrator, I touch on one or two points which seem to me of importance. The first is the question of staff While I fully appreciate the very natural desire to give preference to local men when the question of employment arises, I cannot over-emphasize the necessity for entertaining the experienced and efficient staff essential to rapid development, and the danger of sacrificing efficiency to other interests. To recruit any thing but the best material available would be dangerously short-sighted And equally it would be dangerously short-sighted to hope for a quick return by charging high rates in the initial stages Such a course would inevitably stifle development, and I am sure that the wiser course will be to start with cheap rates to encourage prospective consumers I make these suggestions because I feel, and I am confident you will agree, that it will be more than unfortunate if for avoidable reasons this Scheme was not used and developed to the maximum of its obviously great potentiality "

31. AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

Co-ordination in matters of common concern to autonomous provinces and States was fostered during Lord Linlithgow's regime through conferences called at the initiative of the Central Government Lord Linlithgow's speech in opening a conference of Ministers on agricultural marketing at New Delhi on November 29, 1938 — **Nov. 29, 1938**

" Gentlemen,—I am glad to welcome to the Capital this very representative gathering of Ministers from the Provinces of British India and from the Indian States Your attendance here today, and many of you have travelled far in order to be with us, is welcome proof of the importance you attach to the subject of Agricultural Marketing. Let me say at once that your interest will be an immense encouragement to all in the Government of India who have been associated with this most important aspect of agricultural improvement.

Sir Jagdish Prasad has referred to my past experience in the field of agricultural marketing In Great Britain my colleagues and I signed the last of our five reports on the Distribution and Prices of Agricultural Produce in November 1923. These reports led, in 1924 to the setting up of the Marketing branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and in 1928 Parliament passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act. I mentioned this because it is of interest to notice that in Great Britain it took about 5 years to get under way from the moment of the initial impulse.

In India, as Sir Jagdish has reminded us the Royal Commission on Agriculture reporting in 1928 stressed the great importance of Agricultural Marketing and linked it with transportation. In 1934 the Provincial Economic Conference led to the initiation of the present marketing scheme under which the Government of India provide a central staff now consisting of 20 officers while the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has provided ten lakhs of rupees spread over a period of five years to meet part of the cost of Provincial Marketing Staffs. These grants were made in order that the all India commodity surveys might be carried out on an uniform basis. But it is worthy of comment that at each stage there has been spontaneous co-operation from the autonomous Provinces and States Each provincial Government has from the outset at its own cost provided a Provincial Marketing Officer to take charge of the provincial section of the work and several Governments have provided additional marketing staff and, more recently have taken over some of the experimental developments such as grading stations. Many of the States of whom no less than 220 have co-operated in this matter have provided their own marketing staffs and they have all readily collaborated with the Central Marketing Staff both in the commodity surveys and in such practical matters as marking and grading In 1937 the Central Legislature passed the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act and it is significant to notice that in India this stage was reached about three years after Mr Livingstone s arrival and rather less than two years from the completion of the Marketing Staff. In England, as I have told you a period of five years elapsed between the setting up of the Marketing branch and the passage into law of the first Marketing Act. It is I think, encouraging to note that despite the formidable complications and diversities of the Indian marketing system merchants and market men in this country have shown themselves just as ready as their brethren in the West to avail themselves of well thought out marketing improvements. The position today is that six marketing reports are now complete and that a further four are well advanced. In congratulating all concerned upon the very promising beginning that has thus been achieved, I feel that I must affirm my conviction born of my own considerable experience that adequate preliminary surveys are essential to the construction of sound schemes of marketing Careful economic reconnaissance is an essential preliminary of every sound scheme and I would confidently recommend all who are responsible for the construction of such schemes to count neither time nor money wasted which are spent in prosecuting with

zeal and efficiency these essential preliminary studies In work of this nature, anxious as we all of us naturally are to improve producers' prices, it is seldom wise to attempt the short cuts Rough and ready methods may seem at the outset to give quick results, but those are not the results that will stand the test of time Organized marketing means the application of scientific methods to the problems of collection and distribution That is why emphasis is laid on the importance of basing all future action on an adequate assembly of tested facts Again, in using those facts and in drawing deductions from them, the scientific is the only safe method, which is to mistrust each conclusion until it has been subjected to every possible test

In India an important stage has now been reached for many marketing surveys have been completed or are well advanced, and broad conclusions have emerged which call for application on a wide scale It is satisfactory to note that Central and Provincial Staffs did not wait the completion of the all-India commodity reports before studying the possibilities of development At a comparatively early stage the necessity of certain lines of improvement became clear The standardisation of weights and measures, a wider adoption of the system of regulated markets, which had already proved its value in some parts of India, a fact emphasised by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, are recommendations common to all the reports It was also apparent from the outset that grading and standardisation would offer a fruitful field for development and in consequence, on the recommendation of the Provincial Economic Conference of 1934, the preliminary studies on quality necessary for the consideration of grade standards were started simultaneously with the marketing surveys This stage was followed by the setting up of experimental grading stations for such commodities as fruit, eggs and hides and skins which the surveys showed to be susceptible of such treatment It was speedily found that, as in other countries, legislative action was needed to protect the marks, and as Sir Jagdish Prasad has said, the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act directed to that purpose was passed by the Central Legislature in February 1937

It is of interest to note that the total number of experimental grading stations now in operation is about 25

Standardisation, the determination of grades, is more than agreement on convenient categories of physical attributes—size, colour, purity, water or fat content, and the like Standards must be very definitely related to the requirements of the consumer, that is to the saleability of the produce Standardisation is a pre-requisite of effective advertisement Standardisation, the determination and strict adherence to grades, is a key to distant markets, and—given improved world conditions—a sure road to expanding business But marketing organizations can do something beyond promoting the orderly and economic distribution and sale of primary produce An efficient marketing organization should be the grower's intelligence bureau Often you will find that the cultivator, who cannot himself be in touch with distant and overseas markets, will prefer a crop, or a particular

variety of some crop because of its agricultural advantage that is because it is easy to grow or because it matures at a convenient moment in the seasonal routine of the holding or appears to give a particularly heavy yield. Sometimes indeed a variety will be sown in deference to mere local fashion and familiarity But the Marketing Officer who knows the requirements of the ultimate markets and the prices ruling in those markets is quite frequently in a position to advise the cultivator that he will increase his prospects of profit by growing some variety other than that one which seems to possess the highest agricultural advantage. Evidently this function of a market ing service may be of great value in conditions in which world markets in terms of the relative demand for different kinds of primary produce is—for one reason or another—in a state of change and uncertainty Causes so different as the development of synthetic substitutes or the economic aftermath of a war may substantially promote the demand for one type of produce at the expense of some other Consider how much loss may be spared to the grower if his marketing organisation —what I have called his intelligence bureau—is able to provide him with very early warning of such a change in demand.

The improvement of marketing offers a fruitful field for co-operation between the Central Government Provinces and States. The development of marketing in the main, falls within the provincial sphere but the main problems are of a wider character Though the production of many commodities is localised but the areas of concentra tion are scattered throughout the country and are not confined to any particular Province or State the consumption of a product is generally spread over the whole country and many are of all India importance both as regards our internal and export trade. Wider issues relating to the finance of the primary producer are also involved since marketing reforms are essential before the commercial banks can fully develop a system of short term produce advances. In the report of the Agricultural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India for 1936 it is stated that short term advances for marketing produce should be regarded as one of the most important parts of banking business but that the commercial banks have hitherto been unable to develop produce advances to the extent of their capacity owing to the extraordinary diversification and vagueness of market conditions throughout India and the manner in which produce contracts are drawn. In this connection the Report stresses the importance of the following improvements in marketing machinery and practice (*i*) a reasonable standardisation of the staples and of the contracts relat ing to them (*ii*) the provision in properly regulated markets and elsewhere of suitable storage under conditions which would permit of proper insurance and (*iii*) the establishment where possible and ad visable of properly regulated forward markets permitting of hedging and thus to the mitigation of violent market fluctuations. It is therefore satisfactory to note that an agreement has been reached with the principal trade associations for standard future contracts for wheat and linseed and that discussions are well advanced in regard to standards for groundnuts and coffee Equally to be welcomed is the

progress now being made in several provinces with legislation for the setting up or improvement of regulated markets As progress is made with these two items, the consideration of the establishment of more adequate terminal or future markets would be possible To what extent provinces will, in future, require assistance from a central marketing staff in this and cognate matters is one of the matters which the Conference will consider "

32. ADVICE TO LANDLORDS

Extracts from Lord Linlithgow's reply at a dinner given at Darbhanga by the Maharajadhiraja on December 11, 1938 — **Dec. 11, 1938**

" I am well aware of the great territorial interests which you, Maharajadhiraja, represent You have referred in your speech to my strong desire to assist the advance of the rural community to a fuller life and you know of my own deep and abiding feeling for the countryside and the close interest which I have always taken in the welfare of the land and in the prosperity of those connected with it. I am delighted in these circumstances to meet here tonight so many representatives of great land-owning families representing long traditions in their various provinces This is not the occasion for a political speech, and following your example I do not propose to talk politics tonight But I shall not I think be straying beyond the appropriate limits if I refer in two words to the great importance of the landed interest, its potentialities for good, and the contribution which it is in a position to make to the welfare of the countryside—whether in terms of the improvement of the condition of tenantry, or in terms of the development of natural resources and the introduction of up-to-date appliances and methods of farming Very much has I know been done in this direction already by enlightened landlords Much must inevitably remain to be done in a country of the size of India, a country distinguished by such varieties of soil, climate and agricultural problems, and I am sure that you, Gentlemen, with your great experience and your great responsibilities, are as fully alive to this as anyone can be "

33. SIGNIFICANCE OF FEDERAL SCHEME

In opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India at Calcutta on December 19, 1938, *Lord Linlithgow devoted his speech mainly to the issue of Federation* **Dec. 19, 1938**

" I have had the advantage this summer of renewing personal contact with the Secretary of State And I have been able, too, to renew the same personal contact with Members of both Houses and with His Majesty's Ministers There has never been any divergence of view—though I have seen that suggested—between my Noble Friend the Secretary of State, or His Majesty's Government, and myself on the Federal issue, but in speaking to you today I can do so with the additional confidence as to our entire unity of purpose and

approach given by my conversations this summer While I have been away and since I have returned a further stage and a vital one in the clearing of the approach to Federation has been achieved and I am glad gentlemen to be able to speak to you today with the knowledge that the Princes are shortly to receive the revised draft Instrument and will be asked to signify within an appropriate interval of time their decision on it.

In measuring the reactions of public opinion to any proposal of major political importance it is well to remind ourselves that the circumstances of political controversy tend everywhere to magnify and to advertise those points as to which there is difficulty or deep divergence of opinion while those matters as to which there is concord and common agreement are too often—in the heat and dust of the fray—forgotten or set aside. So indeed has it been in regard to the controversy upon the question of All India Federation. Yet if the matter be impartially examined, it will be found that upon the essential merits of Federation there is wide and, in some highly important regards unanimous agreement

Let me attempt for a moment to probe the deeper reasons—the underlying instincts upon which rests the understanding so universal today of the immense importance to India at this time of attaining a fuller political life without sacrificing the ideal of unity What are the considerations historical and contemporary which have harnessed the wider patriotism of Indians to the heavy task of securing the political integration of their country? Surely it is the deep conviction that upon unity depends the position and prestige of India before the nations and her capacity to take her due place in the world and to exercise upon world development the influence to which she is entitled by right of her history her importance and her culture. For the due fulfilment of her destiny unity is essential. In the past India has suffered much and lost many things as the direct and unescapable penalty of internal schism and division. These truths lie deeply embedded in the historical consciousness of the people I am convinced that their realisation today contributes most materially to shape opinion upon contemporary problems. Quickening and fortifying these powerful impulses there is quite evidently a growing comprehension of the position of India in a world which has now beyond doubt entered upon one of those formative periods the out come of which must affect the shape of human affairs upon this planet for many generations to come It is certain that in one shape or another such a crisis must impose intense stresses and crucial tests upon all people. That India is aware of these matters none may doubt. Her statesmen are constantly extending and broadening the range and scope of their survey her public is increasingly disposed to look outwards towards the great world of international affairs not as mere spectators but as those who grasp the significance of India's place in the environment of modern world problems. Such stirrings of the national consciousness are bound soon to seek their due expression. How can they find expression unless unity upon All India basis is achieved?

Upon the economic significance of Federation there can, I imagine, be no serious doubt or dissent, and I am confident that commercial and financial interests throughout India are fully alive to its importance I venture to hope that those interests, whether Indian or European, will make a direct contribution towards the education of public opinion upon this weighty aspect of federation The full fruits of union will not ripen in a moment, but I believe that substantial benefits will very soon accrue Differences and exceptions in the economic field may—no doubt will—survive the achievement of the Federal scheme That, in the nature of things, is but to be expected But the achievement of that scheme cannot, in my judgment, but tend to harmonise the interests of all parties without material injury to any , to weld together from the economic and fiscal point of view, in a manner and to an extent which could not otherwise be looked for, the Indian States and British India ; and to ensure the alleviation of that lack of unity which, whatever its historical explanation, cannot in this sphere but strike the observer as calculated to reduce efficiency, and to hamper the development of India's natural resources, and of her commercial and industrial opportunities.

When we last met a year ago, Provincial Autonomy had been in operation for nine months The experience of those nine months had left me confident that whatever difficulties lay ahead (and the possibility of difficulty and misunderstanding was as present then as it is today), the workability and the essential soundness of the scheme devised by Parliament had proved themselves ; and that, whatever criticisms might be levelled on points of detail, the foundation was the right one, and, given understanding and goodwill, the scheme of provincial autonomy sound and workable I was confident too that the autonomous provincial governments, whatever party they represented, could in the working of provincial autonomy expect in the fullest measure from Governors, from the Services, and, in so far as he was concerned, from the Governor-General, friendly and ready co-operation

Another year's experience of the working of provincial autonomy leaves, I venture to claim, no room for doubt on any of these points The tributes which Ministers of all political parties have in recent months paid to the work of the great Services speak for themselves I know from first hand how real is the importance which Ministers attach to the loyal and willing co-operation which they have received I can speak equally from first hand of the friendly character of the relations between Governors, standing as the King's representatives outside and above party, and their Ministers As to the working of the special responsibilities, you will, I am sure, agree that the forecast which I gave in my message to India of June last year has been amply and fully realised He would be a bold man who, today, even in these conditions, excluded the possibility, from one cause or other, of difficulty, even of very serious difficulty, in the future But, on a broad view, the great experiment of provincial autonomy, the transfer of real powers to Ministers elected by an electorate five times the size of any electorate that had previously voted in India, has proved a

marked success And given the continuance of the goodwill and the understanding which has been given in such full measure there is no reason today why we should not look with confidence to the future. I have no fear that, given the same goodwill and the same co-operation the Federal scheme manned by the joint talent and experience of British India and the Indian States will not be as great and as significant a success as Provincial Autonomy has been

I am familiar with the criticism that the Federal scheme is too restricted in its scope. Nor do I overestimate, in relation to federation, the importance or the value of the inferences to be drawn from the working of provincial autonomy For all that when I consider criticisms such as those which I have just mentioned I cannot but think of the apprehensions expressed, and, I am sure genuinely and sincerely felt at the time of the introduction of provincial autonomy I would ask whether experience has not shown the reality of the powers then transferred the ready spirit of co-operation of Governors and the Services, the immense potentialities which the scheme of provincial autonomy whatever hesitations it may have engendered before it was brought into being has placed in the hands of Ministers. And I would point to the fact that the special responsibilities placed upon Governors by the Act have admitted over a period of now more than 18 months of being operated in the manner in which the Act intended them to be operated without any interference with the orderly development of the provincial scheme, and without those frequent clashes between Ministers and Governors which were in so many quarters apprehended as likely I am confident that after all allowance has been made for the different setting of the stage, we may look for a similar state of things with the introduction of the Federal scheme.

To draw a strict parallel between the Federal portions of the Act and the provincial portions would be misleading But I would like to express my own profound conviction of the value and the importance of the orderly processes inherent in the Federal scheme and of the seeds of development which that scheme contains I no more under rate here than in the case of provincial autonomy the sincerity of the doubts which critics of Federation may feel But I would ask them to give Federation the trial which I am convinced that it deserves. Given goodwill and understanding I am sure that results of the greatest and most lasting importance to the benefit of India may be looked for from its realisation. I am confident too that the Governor-General, whoever he may be, will at all times, in the Central as in the provincial sphere, be ready to give the fullest weight to all relevant considerations that he will be anxious to help those who are ready to take advantage of any assistance which he may be able to give them and that he will be ready to approach the problems of the Centre (and I fully recognise how they differ from the problems in the provincial field) with detachment openness and a sincere anxiety to reach the solution best in the interests of India. In these matters the spirit is of more concern than the letter and that consideration is one that must at all times be present to those on whom falls the responsibility for government in this country

Mr President, I listened with great interest to your remarks about the Indian States, and I welcome the opportunity that you give me of saying a word about the States in their relation to Federation. The States are as essential an element in a Federation of India as are the Provinces of British India. The unity of India is as dear a thing to them as it is to British India. It was with distinguished leaders of the States that the Federal ideal in its present form originated; and their contribution to the elaboration of the federal ideal has in the past been material. The decision as to their further contribution must be for them and for them alone to make. No pressure to take a decision in a particular sense will be brought upon the Rulers of the Indian States by His Majesty's Government or by me. Indeed, this matter has throughout been approached with full appreciation of the responsibility which falls upon the individual Ruler who has to take a decision of such momentous consequence to his dynasty and his State. We have done all that lay in our power to apply a just judgment to the points which have been raised by individual States in connection with their accession to Federation and to find the wise and appropriate solution of those points; and we have, at all times, kept before us the ideal of the unity of India.

The decision whether or not to accede to the Federation of India falls to be taken at a time when the minds of many Rulers are preoccupied with the question of determining the extent to which ideas germinated in different conditions, and arising from wholly different circumstances, are capable of assimilation with the background of their traditions and responsibilities. I realise the difficulty of that problem—none the less great because, while the advice and assistance of the Paramount Power is always available to Rulers, it must rest with Rulers themselves to decide what form of Government they should adopt in the diverse conditions of Indian States. And, as the Secretary of State has again made clear in the last few days, while the Paramount Power will not obstruct proposals for constitutional advance initiated by Rulers, His Majesty's Government have no intention of bringing any form of pressure to bear upon them to initiate constitutional changes. I need not remind you of the close and active interest which so many Rulers have already displayed in this question. But in a field in which, for historical and other reasons, such wide differences in conditions exist, generalizations are dangerous and misleading. The nature of any internal adjustment, the checks and balances appropriately to be applied, cannot wisely in all circumstances be the same, and the fullest weight must be given to all relevant factors by those on whom the responsibility directly falls. But, gentlemen, let us make no mistake about this: if Federation is not to fall short of the high ideal which it has so far constituted, if it is to be a real Federation of all-India, then the collaboration and the participation of the Indian States, and of the tradition they stand for, are essential.

Gentlemen, I have kept you too long and only the importance of this issue is my excuse. It has been my object to reaffirm to you my own faith in the federal ideal and the importance that in my judgment attaches to its early realisation. Provincial Autonomy and

its working have in a sense been a touch-stone. I claim that we are entitled, in the light of the working of Provincial Autonomy to be of good heart when we contemplate the working of Federation. Provincial Autonomy and Federation essentially and intrinsically parts one of the other represent a great decision all the more significant when outlined against the background of world politics That back ground is more sombre by far in 1938 than it was in 1935 But the darkening of the background the emphasis on totalitarian ideologies have made no difference to the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards Indian constitutional advance Their policy is unchanged they remain of opinion that in the interests of India as a whole as well as from the point of view of individual units whether States or Provinces the ideal embodied in the Act is that best calculated to achieve results of real and permanent value alike to India and to the component parts of the Federation.

Mr President you referred in your remarks to the appeal which I made when I addressed you a year ago—an appeal for goodwill and patience for their response to which I am profoundly grateful to your Members Today I would make another appeal—an appeal to India for collaboration and I would make that appeal even to those who may sincerely doubt the value of the federal scheme for I am confident that experience will justify my own profound belief in it. I would make an appeal for trust—trust in the sincerity of those by whom the scheme has been devised, trust in the goodwill and the good faith of those by whom it falls to be carried out. I would make an appeal, finally for patience and for a realisation of the difficulties of others and I would ask again that in considering the problems whether of individuals or of units the fullest weight be given to all the attendant circumstances. The responsibility to India of all of us who have it in our power to make any contribution to the achievement of the Federal ideal is heavy and immediate, and it is no light reassurance to me gentlemen to feel that in whatever effort I may make to bring it into being without delay I have your goodwill and your understanding sympathy and support.

34. FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH

Jan. 3, 1939

To supplement and co-ordinate and not to supplant the work of the Provincial Departments would be the concern of the technological laboratories of the Indian Central Jute Committee set up to provide facilities for research of a fundamental character in several aspects of jute production marketing and manufacture Extract from Lord Linlithgow's speech at the opening of the Laboratories at Calcutta on January 3 1939

Let me at once tell you how great a pleasure it is to me to be present among you today in order to inaugurate the technological laboratories of the Central Jute Committee It is 11 years since my colleagues and I of the Agricultural Commission signed the report in which we recommended the setting up of a Central Jute Committee. Since that time the experiences of the grower the manufacturer and the exporter have as I think you will agree been such as substantially to strengthen

the case for the active prosecution of research—agricultural, technical, and commercial—in connexion with this most important crop.

You, Sir Bryce, have paid a well-merited tribute to the work, over many years, of the Bengal Department of Agriculture in the direction of improving the production of jute, and in that connexion you have mentioned the importance of securing that a higher crop yield may not be attained at the cost of a fall in the quality of the fibre To my mind, it is the great merit of the plan of research laid down by the Indian Central Jute Committee that that plan envisages continuous research over every stage of production, marketing and manufacture, from the seed available to the cultivator to the preparation of the finished article, and also the provision of an improved service of statistics and information.

Throughout the range of its activities, the committee will be concerned at all points, not to supplant, but to supplement and co-ordinate, the work of the Provincial Departments and of the Research Institute of the Indian Jute Mills Association. The co-ordination in research and planning thus secured will, I am persuaded, go far to secure that, in the formation of schemes for improvement in any stage or process, due regard will be had to their relation to the industry as a whole.

I do not doubt that among the many factors which make for prosperity, proper weight will be given to the extreme importance of securing a fair return to the cultivator, whose activities must continue to constitute the foundation upon which rests the whole fabric of this highly important industry "

35. TWO WEST COAST STATES

(i) Lovely Cochin

A tribute to the progressive administration of Cochin was paid by Lord Linlithgow at the State Banquet at the Maharaja's capital on January 7, 1939. His Excellency also referred to the development of "the great Cochin Harbour," the "finest in the east", and to the natural beauty of the State Extracts — **Jan. 7, 1939**

" . . You know how great and real a pleasure it is to us to meet Your Highness again, this time in your own State and in your own capital, and you know, too, I think, how much we have looked forward to our visit to Cochin and to seeing for the first time your lovely State I know how widely Your Highness has travelled, but I feel sure that there must be few places which you have seen in the course even of travels so wide as yours which can claim a greater degree of natural beauty or a more attractive setting than Your Highness's own State

The advanced condition of Cochin today the high degree of literacy and of education of its peoples, the progressive character of its administration, directly reflect the close and immediate interest

taken by Your Highness and your predecessors on the *gadi* in every thing calculated to be of importance to your subjects. Your own close and intimate knowledge of all parts of the State and the first hand knowledge which your extensive touring has given you has made you well aware of their needs and requirements and I well know how concerned Your Highness has always been to apply the knowledge and experience which your travels whether inside or outside of your State has given you in the administration and for the benefit of Cochin.

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the great Cochin Harbour It must be a source of keen satisfaction to you that your State should contain a harbour which is, as you say one of the finest in the east and the creation of which is of such importance from the point of view of the trade and commerce of Cochin and of India as a whole. I gratefully acknowledge the kind expressions which Your Highness has used as to the assistance which my Government have been able to give you in connection with the development of your port, and you may be confident that I will not fail to watch the course of its future development with close interest.

I warmly welcome the assurance Your Highness has been so kind as to give me in your speech of your ready co-operation in the task that lies before me of the completion of the scheme envisaged by the Government of India Act and the inauguration of the Federation of India. I do not propose tonight to discuss in any detail the question of Federation Your Highness and your Government have throughout taken a helpful and constructive attitude in regard to the Federal scheme and Your Highness is well aware of my views on it. But I would like if I may to associate myself to the fullest with Your Highness s remarks as to the fundamental unity of India. That unity so precious to all who love India is I am sure an ideal that can in no way better be furthered than by completion of the federal scheme and I ventured in remarks which I recently made elsewhere to emphasise the extreme importance of maintaining and consolidating that unity more particularly in the conditions of the present time. Your Highness is right in thinking that the moment has come when in your own words unity even in the political sphere can be achieved for this great country and I am sure that you are right too in your feeling that that unity of India as a whole can be achieved consistently with the safeguarding of the interests of its component parts.

(ii) Travancore s Record

Jan. 10, 1939 *Extracts from speech at the State banquet at Trivandrum on January 10 1939*

It is now half a century since a Legislative Council was first established in Travancore and I listened with the greatest interest to the review which Your Highness has given us of the developments in the powers and the field of operation of your Legislative bodies I note your arrangements to enable the Assembly to exercise effective financial control. I note also the method of preparation of the budget

and of its presentation to both Houses of the Legislature, and the arrangements you have made for the scrutiny of the annual audit and appropriation accounts of the State by a Public Accounts Committee elected by the Legislature itself I am glad to think that the legislative activity of the two Houses should be as marked as you tell me that it has been, and I welcome the steps which I understand from you they have taken in the field of labour legislation

In appointing a Public Service Commissioner, Your Highness has taken a step the importance of which the Joint Select Committee and Parliament have both emphasized in the case of British India , and I note with interest the arrangements you have made for the recruitment of candidates for the various grades in the Civil Service and for the standardisation of the salaries of Government servants I note, too, the steps taken by Your Highness and your Government to safeguard the position of the backward communities, to widen the basis of recruitment to the Army, and (and to this I attach great importance) to relieve the burden of agricultural indebtedness I note with much interest that the effect of the Regulation which fixes the relation of landlord and tenant in Travancore is to give the tenant permanency of tenure and fixity of rights I trust sincerely that the distress prevailing among agriculturists in Travancore, which I hear with great regret has been so acute, may look to be alleviated and reduced The establishment of a Board of Agriculture, the appointment of Marketing Officers, the appreciation which you have shown of the necessity for intensive agricultural research and activity, are all indicative of the close concern with which Your Highness watches the agricultural problem—a problem of such vital importance in India today

I share your hope that the scheme for the development of Hydro-electric power in the State will, as you say, give a stimulus to industry, and I am sure that you are right in the emphasis you lay on the importance of the promotion of cottage industries to the future of Travancore. Travancore has great natural resources, and the well thought out scheme for their development, the outlines of which Your Highness has sketched, tonight, will, I trust, produce results of real and lasting benefit to your State I was struck in particular by the progressive character of the scheme which you tell me that you have in contemplation of the exploitation, by means of careful planning, of the great forest wealth of your State

This is indeed, as Your Highness has remarked, a period of crucial importance in the history of this country as of the world as a whole. And I welcome the assurance which you give me of the readiness of your ancient State to play its due and adequate part in that co-operation between the Indian States and the Paramount Power, the importance of which you have so rightly underlined. I listened with great pleasure to the tribute which you have paid to the work of my Resident I am glad indeed to think that relations between your State and my Representative should be of so friendly and harmonious a character."

36. "ADMIRABLY GOVERNED STATE"

n. 13, *Extract from speech at the State Banquet at Mysore on January* 13
39 1939

Twelve years ago I paid a brief visit to Bangalore, but this is the first opportunity that we have had since I came to India as Viceroy of seeing Your Highness's State. I have been here less than one day but I can already say that the reports of Mysore's beauty are in no way exaggerated and I have already been able to gauge something of the activities of Your Highness's Government in the development of agriculture and industry and the improvement of public health. On my drive round Bangalore I saw the results of intelligent town-planning upon a residential quarter, a modern maternity hospital, and most worthy memorial in the Technological Institute of Your Highness's Silver Jubilee. Bangalore is already the eighth largest city in India. It is a rapidly growing city, and I can see that it is growing on the right lines.

I am glad to notice however that the fast developing Mysore Industries are being placed in different centres in the State so that they may be more closely linked with the countryside, and so that the economic benefits derived from them may more directly profit the countryman. Today in Mandya I saw how your sugar industry has brought wealth to the agriculturist and I can well believe how proud Your Highness must feel when you pass through a countryside where the earning capacity of the people has been so materially improved.

I have crowded much into this one day, and I must give my special thanks to Your Highness for the exhibition of Rural Health and Welfare that was arranged for me at Closepet. The Health Training Centre organized in co-operation with the Rockefeller Foundation, is a most interesting experiment. It is only by intensive practical work in a limited area that one can learn the most effective means of improving the health and welfare of the Indian villager. This centre should be a most valuable guide to the development of public health work not only in the Mysore State but in many parts of India.

The last part of my journey today was when I drove with Your Highness through the streets of your capital. The City of Mysore is remarkable not only for the beauty of its streets and buildings, but also for the development of institutions for the care of the sick and especially the care of those suffering from the terrible disease of tuberculosis. Your Highness has told us of your great interest in the fight against this disease which we are now waging throughout India, and we know that the Mysore State has devoted special attention to this work. My wife and I are happy to be in a city where so much is done to fight this disease, and she looks forward with great interest to visiting tomorrow the tuberculosis institutions, especially the Sanatorium founded in memory of Your Highness's sister, the finest memorial that any one could desire.

So much I have seen today, and I regret that time does not permit me to see more of the developments in the State which spring

from Your Highness's unremitting labour throughout your long rule I have however had the opportunity of reading something of the developments in Agriculture, Industry, the Medical and Public Health Services and Hydro-Electric Power Supply I am particularly interested in the developments in agriculture since I visited the State as Chairman of the Royal Commission and I can see that your Agricultural Department has been able to bring about a real improvement especially in the types of paddy, sugar and cotton grown and in the quality of the Mysore cattle Your Highness is fortunate in ruling over a State possessed of great natural resources, and wise in your policy of utilising those resources to the full The progress of electrification in Mysore is remarkable, and when the two new projects at Shimsha and Gersoppa are completed there will be a cheap supply of electricity available throughout the State

When we leave Mysore we shall take away with us the picture of a City of great natural beauty embellished by Your Highness's care, and of an admirably governed State the great natural resources of which have been developed by Your Highness's devoted labours of over forty years for the prosperity and happiness of your people "

37. DESCENDANTS OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT

Extract from speech at the State Banquet at Kolhapur on January **Jan. 18,**
18, 1939 — **1939**

"I have looked forward with keen interest to my visit to Kolhapur, the Premier State of this Agency, whose Ruler is the direct descendant of Shivaji the Great, founder of the Mahratta Empire, and I am the more happy to be here today given the cordial relations which have so long existed between Your Highness's State and my Government It is a source of profound satisfaction to me to give expression in person to the confidence I feel that the future will see no diminution in the intimacy and cordiality of those relations

The loyal support and the co-operation so readily afforded by His late Highness in the critical years of the Great War have found an echo in the spontaneous and generous gesture made by Your Highness during the recent crisis in placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's command—a gesture, I can assure Your Highness, most deeply valued and appreciated

I have listened with close interest to the record of progress made in the State during recent years That record is one which covers a wide field of achievement; it would be difficult indeed to suggest any sphere of activity which has escaped Your Highness's notice, and you may well be proud of the progress which Kolhapur has made in so many directions since Your Highness succeeded to the *gaddi* But I might perhaps pay a special tribute to the development of hydro-electric power, and to the provision which you contemplate of a pure water supply, and an efficient drainage system—measures of the utmost importance to the health alike of town and village,

while the steps which Your Highness has taken to introduce and encourage improved methods of agriculture cannot but be of great and growing assistance to your subjects

Your Highness has referred in your speech to the fine tradition of service for their people of the Ruling House of Kolhapur and you added that the changing conditions of the times carry with them additional obligations. I feel confident that under Your Highness s inspiration and your guidance these obligations will be discharged to the full, and I am confident too that the policy of Your Highness and your Government will continue to be marked by the same wisdom and foresight in this as in other respects.

I have been greatly interested in this connection to hear that a form of Local Self-Government based on a Panchayat System has been in force in Kolhapur since so long ago as 1926 and that the Illakha Panchayat should have discharged so successfully the purposes which it was created to serve. I need not say how earnestly I trust that the steps which Your Highness tells me that you now have in contemplation for the establishment of a Legislative Assembly in your State will be attended with no less success.

I would like too most warmly to commend Your Highness s decision to create a High Court in your State. Its creation cannot but result in increased confidence in the Judiciary generally and it emphasises if that were necessary Your Highness s anxiety to maintain this most important branch of State Administration at a high level.

I am very glad to hear from Your Highness of the cordial relations prevailing between your Government and your Feudatory Jagirdars I have every confidence that Your Highness will do all in your power to see that this cordial relationship is maintained.

I can well believe that Your Highness s efforts towards the advancement of the State and the welfare of your people have won and will continue to preserve the loyalty and affection of Kolhapur you may be certain that I shall continue to watch with close and sympathetic interest the developments of Your Highness s policy in these respects.

Your Highness has touched in your speech on the all-important question of Federation. I am most grateful to you for the kind reference which you made to my recent speech on that subject and I much appreciate your readiness to consider the final draft of the Instrument of Accession with a desire in your own words to render the fullest co-operation in the achievement of the Federal ideal In the remarks Your Highness has made as regards the importance of achieving the political unity of India, you have, I am sure the support of all thinking men

I listened with the utmost pleasure to the generous tribute which Your Highness has paid to the advice and assistance which you have received from the Political Officers with whom you have been associated. I need not assure you that that advice and assistance is at all times at the disposal of Your Highness in the fullest degree

and it affords me great satisfaction to take note of the intimate and friendly relations which have prevailed, and which I sincerely trust and believe will continue to prevail, between Your Highness and the Political Officers accredited to your State

Lady Linlithgow asks me to thank Your Highness most warmly for the remarks which you have been kind enough to make about her Appeal on behalf of the King-Emperor's Fund The urgency of the need which the Fund is designed to meet calls for no emphasis by me but I would like to say with how great a satisfaction I have noticed the generous response which has been made to the Appeal, and how greatly both my wife and I appreciate the generous donation of Kolhapur The two Sanatoria for affording relief to sufferers from tuberculosis which already exist in your State show clearly that the interest of Your Highness and your Government in this vital problem is no new thing "

38. INDUSTRIAL ADVANCEMENT

Lord Linlithgow commends the growing realisation that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the provinces is essential if India as a whole is to advance industrially His Excellency remarks that he is as much alive to the importance of industrial advancement as of agricultural advancement Extracts from speech at the 10th Industries Conference at Bombay on January 23, 1939 **Jan. 23, 1939**

"There may have been misgivings lest my preoccupation with agricultural matters should result in less than a due appreciation of the importance of the development of Indian Industries It was partly in the hope that I might be able to dispel any such misgivings that I welcomed the opportunity to open your proceedings today

There is no doubt in my mind that conditions today in the world at large make it more necessary than ever before that India should attain a certain balance in her agricultural and industrial economy The goal of self-sufficiency which is being pursued by many foreign countries is not one that is in my judgment suitable for India, but the falling off in the demand for India's raw products, which is one of its symptoms, imposes on us, precisely in the interests of the agricultural classes, the duty of making a fuller use of those raw products ourselves . . .

I must commend your choice of the actual meeting place in this city, the University Senate Hall, which I hope is symptomatic of the closer co-operation in which it is desirable that Industry and the University should work.

I am happy, too, to see so many representatives of the Indian States taking part in your Conference It is a recognition of the close interaction, in the industrial as in many other spheres of public activity of the problems, and interests of British India and of the Indian States The solution of common problems cannot but be

facilitated by increased opportunities for formal consultation and co-operative effort.

The Industries Conference is now an annual institution but I notice that although this is the Tenth Industries Conference it is over eighteen years ago since the first of the series was held at Simla, in April 1920 In view of the somewhat different scope and composition of that Conference from the Conference which we are inaugurating today it is perhaps desirable to indicate briefly the circumstances which have brought about the change

Twenty years ago the Indian Industrial Commission appointed during and to a great extent owing to the stress of the Great War had just issued its Report.

Its ambitious proposals for a great advance in industrialisation depended on the acceptance of two principles.

The first was that Government ought to take an active part in the industrial development of the country with the aim of making India more self-contained in men and material.

The second was that it was impossible for Government to under take that part unless they were provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable and technical advice. It was to the Central Government that the Commission assigned the main responsibility for further industrial advance and to this end one of their main recommendations was the formation of an All India Industrial Service of specialists and technical experts, who would largely have been seconded for service under provincial Directors of Industries by whom under the general control of local Governments the actual administrative work would have been carried on.

But about the time when the Indian Industrial Commission made its Report far reaching constitutional changes were under contem plation changes which had not been envisaged by the Commission and which were to render substantial parts of their scheme impracti cable By the time the First Industries Conference met in 1920 it was already known that Industries was to be a provincial transferred subject to be controlled and administered by ministers.

The Conference, therefore although it consisted entirely of officials concerned itself mainly with details of the organization of the growing provincial departments of industries and little was done in the way of co-ordination of effort At the Conference held in April 1921 the new provincial Ministers for Industries were present for the first time. At this and at the next following Conference there manifested itself a certain apprehension lest co-ordination and attempts at unified effort might mean interference and though it was primarily as a measure of retrenchment that these Conferences were abandoned in 1923 there is I think no doubt that a contributory cause was what I may for want of a better word refer to as the separatist tendency of individual provinces who for the most part had ceased to attach any great importance to co-ordination in this field.

Fortunately this tendency the strength of which I have no desire to exaggerate did not last long and certainly does not persist today

For it was at the request of the Provincial Governments themselves that these annual Conferences were revived in 1933 Indeed, what I notice now-a-days is something very different from any apprehension that the Central Government may encroach upon the legitimate sphere of provincial activities It is rather a certain exasperation at the inability of the Central Government to exercise in certain directions powers which were long ago taken away from the Central Government and handed over to provincial ministers

This seems to me to be a perfectly natural outcome of the growing realization that a real co-ordination of industrial effort between the provinces is essential if India as a whole is to advance or even to maintain the position that in certain industries she has already won From time to time fissiparous tendencies show themselves, and though we can hardly hope to see complete identity of views established through the machinery of these conferences, it is none the less along the lines of such free and frank discussion of common problems as is here possible that a solution is to be sought.

What part, however, is there still left for the Central Government to play in the future industrial development of the country?

An examination of what has already been done will perhaps shed some light on this I have already indicated the circumstances in which it was not possible that the Central Government should put in operation the scheme drawn up by the Indian Industrial Commission Looking back on that scheme, the part that I am most inclined to regret was the abandonment of the scheme for an All-India Industrial Service If that recommendation could have been given effect to, there would have been in existence today a central pool of industrial experts on which the provinces could have drawn to man their departments, and I feel sure that the existence of such a body of trained men would have been felt today by many provincial ministers to constitute a very material reserve of highly qualified expert advice of which they could if they so wished avail themselves

Nevertheless the Central Government has been enabled to play a role, different indeed from that envisaged by the Commission, but one which has exercised a notable influence on the development of Indian industries

By their control of Tariffs, and in pursuance of the policy of discriminating protection which was accepted as the result of the recommendations of the Indian Fiscal Commission, many great industries—steel, cotton textiles, paper, sugar—have been built up By their Stores Purchase policy, under which a definite preference is shown by Government, in their purchases undertaken to meet the needs of the public services, to articles of indigenous manufacture, Government have done much to assist many large and small Indian Industries

The extent of these purchases is not perhaps as widely realised as it should be During the ten years from 1928-29 to 1937-38 articles wholly or partially manufactured in India were purchased for Government to the extent of twenty-three crores of rupees

The Indian Stores Department exercises constant vigilance to prevent the purchase from abroad of articles which can equally well be obtained in India and has succeeded in diverting to indigenous sources of supply many demands which can be met from Indian markets but which might otherwise have been filled from elsewhere.

Again, the action taken on the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture has demonstrated in a striking way the advantages to the provinces of the co-ordination of research and guidance undertaken by the Central Government and this example has been followed though not perhaps to the full extent that some of you may have desired in the industrial field.

The co-ordination of provincial efforts which is effected by your Conference has been emphasized by the establishment of the Industrial Research Bureau the Industrial Research Council and the Imperial Sericulture Committee and by the grants given to the Handloom Woollen and Sericulture Industries.

Last year Government took the decision to place the Industrial Research Bureau on a permanent footing Owing to the deterioration of the general financial position during the current year my Government have felt compelled to re-examine that decision but I am glad to be able to announce that it has been decided to maintain it.

Similarly I am glad to say that it has been provisionally decided to continue for another financial year (1939-40) the handloom grant which was due under the original scheme to expire next October

In the legislative field measures recently passed by the Central Legislature such as the Companies Act and the Insurance Act cannot but have a far reaching effect of a beneficial nature on industrial development.

And there are other measures on the anvil such as the Patents Bill, which proposes to penalize the pirating of designs a Bill to facilitate the registration of Trade Marks in India the revision of the *Law of Merchandise Marks and a Bill which will enable the Central* Government to prescribe a uniform standard of weights. All these legislative activities will help to create an environment in which industry can flourish.

I have perhaps said enough to indicate that the Central Government has within the limits of the constitution played its due part in the development of Indian industries

It will not have escaped your notice that when the scheme of government contemplated by the Government of India Act has been brought into full operation, the responsibility for the development of those industries where development under federal control is expedient in the public interest will remain with the federal government. Quite apart from this however there is a large and fruitful field for co-operation and discussion in industrial matters between provinces and States *inter se* and between them and the Central Government

that end, our views more nearly approximated. But you have given me an opportunity in your very full, and, I may say very outspoken address to deal in some little detail with a number of issues of very great importance not only to India generally but to those commercial and industrial interests for which you speak. I will endeavour in the short time that is available to us this morning to deal, with such particularity as is practicable with the position in regard to those issues, and to reciprocate the frankness with which you have set your view of the case before me—a frankness which I in no way misunderstand.

You have placed in the forefront of your remarks the question of the Rupee Ratio and I think that it would be appropriate that I should touch on this most important question in the first place.

You will I am sure not misunderstand me if I at once make plain that I find myself quite unable to accept your observations upon the history of this matter as an objective statement of the facts of this complicated question. While I may tell you that my own view formed after close study of the question, is as definite as that conveyed in your address it does not appear to me that any analysis of past history is likely today to assist us in appraising the practical issues with which we are faced. Let us then agree to differ as to the past history while we proceed to concentrate rather on the practical aspects which must appeal to you, as business men and on the merits of the position.

The vital importance of the exchange issue makes it in no way surprising that for many years past its prominence should have been so great. It is an issue as you with your great experience realise as fully as I do extremely technical in character It is not an issue that can be considered in isolation or in terms of a single country only

The history of the 20 years that have elapsed since the end of the Great War makes clear beyond any possibility of doubt the international ramifications of the currency question and emphasize the essential necessity of taking no step in regard to it save after the fullest consideration and the fullest weighing from every point of view of the repercussions of action in a particular sense.

The history of world currency over this period has very clearly shown the uncharted reefs that confront those who endeavour to sail in these dangerous and difficult waters. That is a factor that has continually been present to me and to my Government in shaping our policy for we carry a very great responsibility to the people of India—a responsibility that we are bound to discharge without fear or affection, without consideration of the temporary reaction on any one interest or group of the adoption of a particular course and with the object solely of ensuring on a long view the true and best interest of the Indian tax-payer and the Indian cultivator

Those being the considerations that have weighed with us in the past, and that weigh with us today in the formulation and the conduct of our currency policy I can assure you that in the decisions my Government have taken and in the policy that we are maintaining, we have failed to take into account no material factor

Nor in reaching our conclusions have we done so without the most careful weighing of every relevant consideration, whether in India or outside India.

Those conclusions, which we have again publicly stated in the last few days, are based on the widest experience and the best advice that could be obtained, and, speaking myself with a strong sense of the responsibility which rests upon me personally and upon my Government, I have no hesitation in saying that the policy to which we are working is the only one which could, on the picture as we see it, properly have been adopted by us, having regard to the necessity for giving full weight to the interests of all classes and sections in this country, and for planning on a long-term basis

I would be unfair to you if I did not, with the same frankness which you yourselves have adopted in your Address today, tell you that my Government have, as they recently made clear no intention of allowing the lowering of the present exchange value of the Rupee, that they intend to defend it by every means in their power, and that they are confident (a fact the significance of which will, of course, be present to you as representatives of great commercial interests) of their entire ability to maintain it

I know that misunderstandings exist as to the effect of our present exchange policy. In a communiqué recently issued, which expressed the views of the Government of India, an endeavour was made to deal with certain of these misunderstandings. I will not trespass on your patience by reiterating all the points which the recent statement of my Government was designed to underline.

There is, however, one point which is of particular and close interest to me personally—the effect of the present ratio on the agriculturist.

I am satisfied that there is no foundation for the suggestion that the maintenance of the ratio has been disadvantageous to the agriculturist. I am satisfied, indeed, that to lower the ratio in the market conditions, internationally, of the present day, would result in no rise that matters in what the cultivator can realise for his produce, that it would immediately and sharply increase the cost of what he buys, and that its effect on the budgetary position of the Centre and of the provinces could not but be of a character which would injuriously affect the taxpayer, whether urban or agricultural

In face of considerations of this nature—considerations, I repeat, our conclusions in regard to which have been reached only after the most careful and prolonged examination—you will not I know be surprised that our policy is the policy which I have described to you But I trust sincerely that, having heard my exposition of the care with which we have examined the whole position before reaching our conclusion, and the pains at which we have been to give weight to every conceivable factor, you will believe that that decision has not been lightly taken, or taken on any basis other than that of the true interest of the taxpayer, of the cultivator, and of the industrial and commercial interests of India

I have listened with interest to your suggestion that the time has come for Government to abandon the policy of discriminating protection in favour in your own words of a policy of full fledged protection.

The fiscal policy of Government in respect of India s industries is as you are well aware based on the principles laid down in the Resolution adopted by the Indian Legislative Assembly on the 16th February 1923.

This policy has been in operation for well over a decade and the experience gained of its working during that period appears to me to confirm the soundness of the principles on which it is founded.

I am aware that divergent views exist as to the effect of that policy on the pace and extent of industrial development But the results of the policy in its application to particular industries the Iron and Steel, the Cotton Textile and the Sugar industries to name only a few have been sufficiently impressive to justify the conclusion that further progress should be sought along lines so well tested in the past rather than in a fundamental departure from the principles which have hitherto guided Government s fiscal policy

You will I am sure agree with me that it is of supreme importance in a predominantly agricultural country such as India to ensure that no undue burden shall be imposed on the community as a whole as a result of a policy of protection Avoidance of such undue burden on the general mass of consumers is of the essence of the policy of discriminating protection and any deviation from this principle could not fail to have a most injurious reaction upon the condition of the agricultural classes the protection of whose interests is, I am sure, both on general grounds and because of the direct and immediate reaction of the prosperity or poverty of those classes on trade and industry a matter of as deep concern to your Chamber as it is to Government.

That is the position in its most general terms. You will share my view that a great deal has been done in the way of protection and I have urged that we should be wise to continue to follow the path which has hitherto given us good results rather than to embark on new and more hazardous experiments

I think it is fair too in considering this issue of protection the importance of which I fully recognise to bear in mind that one effect of its adoption has been to turn a highly elastic revenue system into an inelastic one in which the law of diminishing returns is already strongly in operation.

A consideration of a quite different character and one that is I know present to you is the probability indeed the certainty if the demand for high protective tariffs were conceded that foreigners would take advantage of those tariffs by establishing factories here and that cannot be regarded from the point of view of those who are most anxious for an increased degree of protection as a factor to be treated lightly

Speaking however to an audience of your great experience in the commercial world, I think that I might not inappropriately before I

pass from this subject remind you (though I am sure that that consideration is one to which you are alive) of the heavy burden on the consumer, with no corresponding increase of revenue to the Exchequer, involved in a high protective duty

I do not indeed think that I should be very far off the mark if I were to estimate the real burden of the customs tariff as about double the amount of revenue it yields, or, to put it in a different form, to suggest that the burden of that part of the tariff which is in fact protective is, as I speak to you today, of the order of 40 crores a year I would ask you to bear in mind the magnitude of this sum in relation to the burden which the taxpayer shoulders for the defence of the country.

This brings me to the question of Military expenditure, a question, I imagine, throughout the world today of profound concern to every taxpayer and to every Chancellor of the Exchequer I agree with you in regarding the 45 crores spent annually on Defence by India as a heavy burden

And yet I am able today to point to the fact that India is the only large country in the world in which Defence expenditure during the last fifteen years not only has not been increased, but has undergone a decisive reduction I might perhaps remind you that in 1922 Defence estimates were 65¼ crores Last year they were between 45 and 46 crores Defence expenditure has indeed been progressively reduced, and that despite the altered position of the international situation, to a point at which, as you recognize yourself in the remarks you have just addressed to me, a further reduction cannot safely be made

I wholly agree with what you say as to the desirability and the importance of the training of Indians for the defence of their country, and no inconsiderable part of the Army is now under the process of Indianisation

I would like, however, to take this opportunity to draw attention to the fact that some difficulty is being experienced in finding suitable candidates for the number of vacancies offered Indeed, the numbers presenting themselves at the half-yearly examination are comparatively small and have been steadily declining In the case of the Indian Navy equally, there has been a shortage of qualified candidates for Commissions

The question of how to secure a better flow of candidates for the Defence Services is under active consideration, but I fear that today there can be no question that supply is hardly equal to demand—a consideration of very direct relevance to the general principle of Indianisation Finally, it is to be remembered that the Military field is one in which long training and experience are necessary, and in which the policy we are pursuing can come to full fruition only over a period of years It would, in my judgment, be false economy to take the risks involved in sacrificing soundness and dependability to haste.

I should like to assure you of my full sympathy with the hopes you have expressed for the continued growth and progress of the Indian mercantile marine.

I need not recall to you the measures taken by my Government in different spheres of action in pursuance of their declared policy of assisting in the participation of Indian-owned shipping in India's trade and of organizing facilities for the training of Indians for a sea career It has been their constant endeavour by the method of peaceful discussion and negotiation to promote the full co-operation of all the interests concerned in the solution of their differences and largely through their efforts important advantages have been secured in the past for Indian shipping concerns. You may rest assured that they will continue to use their good offices and their influence in furtherance of an object the importance of which they so fully realise.

You mentioned in the course of your remarks that in the judgment of your Chamber those sections of the Government of India Act which aim at the prevention of commercial discrimination placed India at a very material disadvantage and from comment in the Press and on the public platform I realize that this is an issue which attracts wide attention in many quarters. But you are familiar with the long course of argument and discussion at the Round Table Conferences, before the Joint Select Committee and in Parliament, which preceded the incorporation of these sections in the Act and it would be disingenuous of me to hold out any hope that the question will be held under early review

You have expressed your concern at the delay in the conclusion of the negotiations for a new Trade Agreement with the United Kingdom.

I share your regret that the range and complexity of the matters at issue and the importance of the interests, affected, should have had the effect of prolonging the negotiations. But you will have seen the decision of my Government that, whatever the course or outcome of the negotiations the Ottawa Agreement will not be continued beyond the end of the next Budget Session. You will have seen also the announcement recently made in the Legislative Assembly that any agreement reached will be placed before the Legislature for its opinion before effect is given to it.

I have taken careful note of the other suggestions which you have made in regard to matters of procedure connected with the conclusion of trade agreements and I can at once assure you that they will receive consideration at the appropriate time.

On one point to which you have alluded—the desirability of such agreements being signed on behalf of the Government of India by their own representatives—I might explain that the position which you have indicated as desirable is that which already obtains in the case of agreements with other Empire countries. Where however the agreement is with a foreign country the constitutional position of India requires that it should be formally signed by representatives of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

You alluded to the effect on the cotton grower, and on the cotton trade generally, of the slump in cotton prices, and you suggested as one step which might be taken to meet the situation a substantial reduction in the railway freight rates for this commodity.

I am aware of the difficulty which faces the cotton-grower, and I need not assure you of my deep sympathy with him I am also aware of the difference between the pre-war rates and those now in force, the increase in rates having been made at a time when the cost of operation on railways had substantially increased

Improvements in the conditions of service, particularly in the case of the lower paid employees, have contributed largely to these operating costs, and legislation within recent years affecting labour and designed to secure still further improvements tends to augment the working expenses of Railways, despite every effort for rigid economy.

I cannot agree, I fear, that Railways do not recognise their obligation to assist in the development of the trade of this country The tariffs of practically all the principal Railways are replete with rate quotations indicating the substantial reductions in the normal freight rates that have been made by individual Railways, to assist in the development of trade and industry

The reluctance of Railway Administrations to reduce the freight rates for cotton is not due to any disregard for commercial interests It is due, as I understand it, entirely to the practical consideration that any feasible reduction in these rates would, on the one hand, not result in any increase in traffic, while it would, on the other, almost certainly involve Railways in a loss of revenue approximating to Rs 1½ crores I am sure you will recognise that, in these circumstances, the Railways' primary obligation for their financial stability rules out of consideration the substantial reduction which you suggest.

I have made in connection with the Indianisation of the Army the point that it takes time to work up from a very low percentage to a high percentage

The same considerations apply in respect of the Indianisation of the Civil Services With the best will in the world, progress must be gradual, though progress has been very considerable indeed. I will not weary you, towards the end of a long speech, with details

I will only say, to take the Central Services, to the position in regard to which you draw my special attention, that the number of Europeans recruited to Class I of those Central Services to which recruitment is made by the Governor-General-in-Council, during 1935, 1936 and 1937, is 20, 7 and 6 respectively The number of Indians recruited for the corresponding period is 9, 44 and 56

The number of Indian officers appointed to the secretariat is bound to increase as time passes and as Indians with the requisite qualifications and of the requisite seniority become available, and while my Government are doing all that they can in this connection, the process is one that must inevitably take time

I have I fear kept you for a long time this morning But the importance of your address which I have been so glad to receive and the necessity of dissipating misconceptions and of making the position clear on the major issues on which you have touched in your address are my excuse. I have not hesitated to deal with the various points that you have mentioned to me in greater detail than I should other wise have done because I feel confident that a close examination of them would be welcome to you, and because even though there are many points on which I have with regret found myself unable to accept your views I am anxious that you should not be left with any feeling that I have not given them the most careful personal consideration or that I have not done my best in the short time available to me to set out the position as I see it in regard to the matters to which you have drawn my attention. Let me in conclusion thank you again for the cordial welcome you have given me today and for your good wishes which I greatly value.

40. RULERS AND SUBJECTS

b. 28, 39 *While noting the record of administrative progress in Jaipur State Lord Linlithgow emphasised the importance of providing opportunities to enable public opinion to express itself*

The stage was now at hand when the Rulers of Indian States should take a decision about accession to Federation But it was for them to take a decision Extract from speech at State Banquet at Jaipur on February 28 1939

Your Highness in your speech tonight has traced the record of administrative progress in Jaipur in recent years and I listened with close attention to the account which you have given us of the many and various directions in which you are able to point today to improvement and to advance in the administrative field. These are times in which the establishment and the maintenance in that field of a high standard of efficiency the removal of legitimate grievances the maintenance and the encouragement of good relations and good understanding between landlord and tenant between Ruler and ruled are more important than ever before and I am sure that these are considerations that are fully present to Your Highness and to your government.

I have listened with close interest to the arrangements which you have made to promote rural development and I welcome your intention despite the hampering effect of existing famine conditions to endeavour to pursue the policy which has been inaugurated in that respect. My own interest in cattle-breeding and my strong sense of the real importance of that question make me glad to think that so progressive a policy should under Your Highness s auspices have been adopted in regard to the improvement of the breed of cattle in Jaipur

The immense value in terms of the contentment and the prosperity of your subjects whatever their class or creed, of a high

level of administrative efficiency is rightly present to Your Highness The benefit of certain of the schemes which you have mentioned to us tonight can hardly be expected to accrue in its fullness for some years to come But it must be a cause of profound satisfaction to you that so much should already have been done, and that the basis of that administrative efficiency, which is so vital at the present day, should so early in your rule have been securely laid, and laid on solid and well-devised foundations I listened with the closest attention to what your Highness was good enough to tell us of the steps you have taken to enable you to ascertain the needs of your people in regard to administrative questions, and to afford them, in your own words, opportunities to bring to the notice of your Government any matters of public concern which, in their opinion, require attention This is a period when old standards call in many cases for re-examination and adjustment in the light of circumstances, when throughout the world the ebb and flow of changing conditions is marked to a greater degree than has been for many years the case, when in all countries the long view, and long-term planning, have assumed an importance far greater than they have occupied even in the critical years of the post-war period

In such conditions the importance of providing opportunities to enable public opinion to express itself, and to place on record, for the assistance of those on whom the burden of responsibility falls, the views and the opinions of the ordinary citizen, is far greater than it has been in the past, and in the light of modern requirements it is plainly necessary that there should be some machinery whereby Your Highness can be satisfied that any legitimate wants or grievances of your subjects can be brought to the notice of your Government so that they may be freely and promptly set right I trust sincerely that the steps which you have taken and which you have mentioned to us tonight, will achieve Your Highness's object of securing the closer association of your subjects with the development of your administration and that, within the framework of the State and of the Constitution, they will give your people the opportunity to bring to the notice of Your Highness and your Government considerations which may be relevant or germane to the decisions which fall to be taken within the area concerned .

Your Highness in your speech mentioned the Draft Instrument of Accession which, in common with other Ruling Princes, you have recently received I welcome the assurance which you give me of the care with which you are considering that important document My own views on Federation are well known , and I do not tonight, on an occasion on which topics technical or potentially controversial would be out of place, propose to develop them again But I might, I think, venture to say that, as Your Highness is well aware, I have never ceased to emphasize the extreme importance, from the point of view of all concerned, which I attach to the early realisation of Federation For I am certain myself that it is the right and only solution of the difficulties of the present time I realised fully the intricacy of many of the issues which arise, and, as Your Highness is aware, I have

spared no pains to ensure that they should be elucidated in the fullest detail. But the ground has now been cleared. The long preliminary exploratory process necessary before the Draft Instrument of Accession in its present form could be present to Your Highness and to other Princes for consideration is over and the point is at hand at which the decision falls to be taken a decision as I have more than once made clear which is for Your Highness and for other Ruling Princes yourselves to make

I thank you warmly on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for the cordial reference which you have made to the interest which she has taken in the work of combating Tuberculosis and I should like on her behalf also again to thank Your Highness publicly for the munificent donation given to the King Emperor s Fund by Your Highness and by your State. I know how close an interest your State has taken in the provision of medical and hospital facilities and I am glad to think that its contribution in a matter of such direct concern to your subjects should be on so generous a scale.

41. FUNDAMENTALS OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION

ar 1, 39

The necessity of making arrangements to enable State subjects to bring their legitimate grievances and suggestions to the notice of the administration was stressed by Lord Linlithgow speaking at a State banquet given by His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur on March 1 1939 Extract from the speech —

Your Highness referred in your speech to the inhospitable character of the country in which Jodhpur is situated but it seems to be very frequently the case that the hardships of Nature produce races of tougher fibre of greater courage and loyalty and indeed of more generous and hospitable instincts than do countries which have been more favoured. The history of Your Highness s illustrious House and of your State offer a conspicuous example of the truth of this tendency and there are not wanting many evident proofs of its continued persistence even in the changed conditions of the present. Those adverse natural conditions as Your Highness has mentioned are not reflected in any lack of material prosperity I can indeed congratulate Your Highness very warmly on the material progress to which you can point.

At Jodhpur Your Highness possesses one of the most up-to-date aerodromes in India. It is fitted with electric equipment for night landing and is a main aerodrome on the Trans-India route. It is used regularly by three Trans-India services and in 1937 38 as many as 877 machines landed there. This achievement has been made possible by the great personal interest which Your Highness has always taken in flying Indeed aviation in India owes a great debt to Your Highness. Yourself a distinguished air pilot you maintain a Flying Club in Jodhpur and you have always given the most willing assistance to the Royal Air Force. It is therefore with particular pleasure that I am able to announce tonight that His Majesty the King Emperor has been

pleased to confer on Your Highness the rank of Air Commodore in the Royal Air Force

Your Highness has rightly pointed out that material advancement is not the sole end of good government, and I have listened with pleasure and appreciation to your views on the aspects (to use your own words) other than material of your policy and your administration. Your Highness has mentioned the religious impartiality of your Government and your concern to give fair treatment to all communities alike. The absence of communal troubles in Jodhpur is due, I would suggest, in no small degree to the confidence and contentment which the application of that policy by Your Highness and Your Highness's Government have inspired

And if that old fashioned loyalty and reverence for order in Jodhpur to which you have referred remains unshaken, it is not least, I am confident, because Your Highness has shown yourself personally worthy of such loyalty, because of the keen and immediate interest you take in the happiness and progress of your State and its inhabitants, and because the guiding principle of your administration, your own close interest in which I am aware of and applaud, has been the good order of your State and the welfare of your people.

The energetic measures taken by Your Highness's Government to bring relief to the stricken areas in the State which are suffering from a failure in the Monsoon last hot weather are but one example of this In addition to a large sum set aside for famine relief, I understand that fodder depots have been set up to assist the emigration of cattle in search of pastures , free grazing is being arranged wherever possible and taccavi is being distributed on a generous scale.

Your Highness mentioned that you were, and that you had been for a long time, fully prepared to take steps to associate your subjects in an increasing measure with your administration in the government of your State I am aware of the steps Your Highness has taken to that end, details of which you gave us tonight, by establishing Panchayats in villages, Advisory Boards in many districts, and a Central Advisory Board

It is in these days, as Your Highness clearly appreciates, of vital importance not only that administration should be conducted on sound and up-to-date lines, but that adequate provision should exist for the ventilation of legitimate grievances and for bringing to the notice of the Government of the State the wants and the suggestions of its subjects The detail of such provision must, of course, vary with circumstances, and it is clear that no rigid uniformity of system can wisely be expected

The nature, equally, of the arrangements to be made to achieve those objects must be for the decision of the Ruler I trust sincerely that the system Your Highness has described to us tonight will prove of substantial benefit to your people and will win their appreciation In wishing all success to Your Highness in your progress towards the goal which you have set before you, I would add only that in these days of stress and change it is of real importance, if arrangements of

this nature are to bear full fruit and to achieve the object you have in view that their adequacy and the smoothness with which they are running should be under constant scrutiny so that such adjustments or such changes as practical working may indicate to be desirable or necessary may admit of being made with the minimum of difficulty or friction

I have listened with attention to Your Highness s remarks on the vital question of Federation and the objects and the ideals which Federation represents and I welcome what you tell me of your attitude towards this great question—an attitude all the more significant when we are dealing with a State of the importance and with the historic tradition of Jodhpur I note too with satisfaction Your Highness s claim in this connection that you and your State can point to a level of administration as high as that of the Provinces of British India. The decision as to accession to the Federation of India is one for Your Highness to take and, neither in the case of Jodhpur nor in the case of any other State will any pressure in regard to that decision be brought to bear upon a Ruler I am glad to think that on the judgment which Your Highness has yourself formed, and to the extent that you feel able at this stage to reach any judgment Jodhpur has no need to shrink from entering the Federation.

Your Highness s assurances of Jodhpur s loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor rest on more than words Your Forces played a most distinguished part not only in the Great War but in the many other campaigns in which their assistance was freely offered to the Empire and gratefully accepted. Your Highness was amongst the first last autumn when a crisis developed which led to the immediate threat of War to offer the assistance of all the resources of your State and I feel no shadow of doubt that should the need arise amongst the foremost to help the Empire in its need will be Your Highness and the State of Jodhpur

42. "AN ILLUSTRIOUS STATE"

Mar 4, 1939 *Referring to the constitutional and general progress in Udaipur State Lord Linlithgow points out that the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight Extracts from speech at the State Banquet at Udaipur on March 4 1939 —*

I am gratified too to hear of the general progress and general advance that Your Highness has been able to achieve in all departments of the State administration during the last few years. In addition to the new revenue and settlement arrangements your Military and Police Forces have been reorganised, your Judicial Department has been overhauled, you now have a High Court under the supervision of a Chief Judge and many new laws and acts have been framed on the lines of those of British India and brought into

use in the State Attention has also been paid to education and public health, while industry has not been forgotten There are now, I understand, several cotton, ginning and pressing factories, a cloth mill, and a sugar factory in Mewar I know that Your Highness takes a keen and personal interest in the administration of your State, and I know, too, of the many hours each day spent by you at your office table to keep in close touch with all that is going on I offer Your Highness my heartiest congratulations upon this and upon all that you have achieved in the nine years of your rule over this illustrious State These are days in which administrative efficiency is of most material importance, and improvements such as those which I have mentioned—a review of revenue and settlement arrangements, the attention which has been devoted to ensuring that your subjects have the benefit of adequate and reliable judicial arrangements, the revision of the Statute Book—are all clear proof of the extent to which Your Highness has the welfare of your subjects at heart I have no doubt too, and the village Panchayat Act which Your Highness has just signed confirms me in this—that Your Highness, in the time to come, will continue to ensure that your people are given all due opportunities of bringing their wants and their troubles to the notice of your Government I take this opportunity to touch upon that point, but I touch upon it in general terms For, as has been made clear by the pronouncements recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and by myself on various public occasions, the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself, and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight

Your Highness mentioned that you had under your consideration the draft Instrument of Accession which has recently been communicated to you I entirely understand your feeling that it would be premature for you to express any view on terms of Instrument until the consideration which you are giving to that most important document has reached a further stage I would only repeat what I think I have elsewhere made clear, that the decision, in this matter of such fundamental significance to the Indian States, and indeed to India as a whole, is one that has of set purpose been left to the free and unfettered judgment of individual Rulers concerned

I much appreciate Your Highness's expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I will convey it to His Majesty at the earliest opportunity I know that your words, which I so greatly value, reflect the long and close connection of Rulers of Mewar who have from time immemorial been so noted for their devotion to the causes they have supported, with the King-Emperor and with his illustrious predecessors

I greatly appreciate, too, the cordial and friendly references which Your Highness has been kind enough to make to the untiring efforts of Mr Chamberlain in the cause of peace, and your assurance of support These are difficult days, in which many anxious problems confront those on whom falls the task of guiding the destinies of Great Britain

and the Empire. We may I think reflect with deep and real satisfaction on the progress which the Prime Minister has been able to make—progress which cannot but be a most helpful augury for the future

Your Highness has but recently taken the momentous step of adopting an heir and successor and it has been a very great pleasure to me during my visit to Udaipur to make the personal acquaintance of Maharaj Kunwar Bhagrati Singhji. I am sure that Your Highness s decision to make an adoption now when you are in a position yourself to take a close and personal interest in the education and the training of your heir is a wise one and one in the best interest alike of your ancient House and of this famous State

I thank Your Highness on behalf of Lady Linlithgow for your most kindly reference to the success which has attended her Appeal on behalf of the King Emperor s Anti Tuberculosis Fund—a reference which she greatly appreciates. And I thank you too most warmly on her behalf and on behalf of my family and myself for your most generous and cordial hospitality Our visit to Udaipur to which we have so keenly looked forward for so long and this first occasion on which we have had the pleasure of meeting Your Highness in your own State, will be an enduring memory for us.

43. RESEARCH IN ANIMAL NUTRITION

Mar 11, 1939

Some lines on which a systematic attempt at improving India s live stock wealth could be pursued were indicated by Lord Linlithgow when he opened the new wing of the Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar on March 11 1939. *Extracts from the speech* —

Knowing my great interest in agricultural and veterinary matters you will realise how glad I am to be here today for this to my mind most important occasion

I was much interested in the account which you Sir Jagdish have just given in your address of the development of the Institute and the expansion of its work. These two buildings which I have come to open and indeed the whole of this estate here and the hilltop buildings in Kumaun which together form the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute represent not so much the maturing of a considered plan as a process of inevitable growth It is a matter of common observation that in the medical profession the progress of attention has been from cure of disease to prevention of disease and then to the establishment of health. This progress does not mean that medical interest is directed towards the latter aim in substitution of the former It merely indicates that with the growth of human knowledge and experience and of a proper understanding and use of scientific enquiry attention which at first is confined to phenomena extends itself to cover causes.

The general trend of veterinary activities presents a good example of this general progress which I have just described. Let me explain. The first point I would emphasise is the vastness of India s

animal population, which is to the student perhaps the most significant characteristic of her veterinary problems

She holds a substantial proportion of the domestic animals of the world Indeed, with an estimated total of 215 million animals, she carries over one-fourth of the world's stock of cattle and two-thirds of its buffaloes In addition, she sustains something like 97 million sheep and goats

It is generally agreed that this aggregate of domestic animals is larger than is required in a properly balanced economy and that it imposes a too heavy demand in terms of fodder and feeding stuffs There can be little doubt that the prevalence of animal disease in India is the main clue to the enormous stock of animals which India houses.

In the past very heavy losses have been suffered from contagious diseases of animals such as rinderpest, anthrax, surra and the like. These losses menaced often the actual carrying out of agricultural operations which, since their timing and rotation is fixed by the cycle of the seasons, must be punctually carried out, and will indeed wait for no man.

In India the bullock is almost the only source of tractive power, and epidemics of animal diseases may deprive the cultivator both of the value of his working bullocks and of a large part of his crop

So long, therefore, as disease reigned more or less uncontrolled, the cultivator and all who depended on the use of animals tended to carry a very large stock of them, since experience had taught that in the event of epizootic disease there would then be the chance of sufficient animals surviving to enable them at least to carry on Clearly, under conditions where these diseases had more or less a free run, numbers were more important than quality and with over-stocking and consequent shortage of fodder, it was unlikely that the average cultivator would maintain animals of substantial value

A first and essential step towards the improvement of the quality of our stock has therefore been the control of animal diseases, and it was to meet this need that this Institute was founded almost 50 years ago The decades intervening provide a record of the success in this most important aim This Institute has established a deserved reputation and if animal disease is no longer the terror in India that it was half a century ago, much of the credit must be given to this and to similar establishments elsewhere which have concentrated on the study of animal diseases and on the production of remedies and preventives for them

The importance of preventive work, which is the second in the sequence I mentioned, was early realised, and those in charge of the Institute set themselves to organising this side of veterinary work The serum products which this Institute has produced and of which it is now so large a supplier are a testimony to the efficiency with which this work has been carried out

The annual production of anti rinderpest serum alone is over 700 000 doses while the figures for other sera are equally of impressive dimensions. The rinderpest vaccine in the development of which this Institute played a distinguished part is an illustration of the results of continued efficient research for it represents a comparatively cheap and easy method of bringing rinderpest under control and the local preparation of this vaccine in a properly equipped provincial laboratory is now quite feasible Advance in economy simplicity and safety are all represented in this effort of research.

You will all appreciate how the climatic conditions of India add to the difficulties attendant on serum manufacture and the preservation of the viability of these delicate products and how in consequence provision of cold storage in the near future at Izatnagar will simplify and cheapen this storage problem.

The third stage in the sequence which I mentioned was the establishment of health which means for veterinary purposes the establishment of animal well being and of the general conditions which will strengthen the animal s resistance and improve its quality This Animal Nutrition building which is before us now represents as it were the realisation in brick and mortar of the full recognition of this important branch of veterinary science. It is not appropriate for me to dilate here on the vital importance of scientific nutrition. The interest in this question is now wide and general and you are all aware of the necessity of food with effective and balanced nutritive value for the proper functioning of the body

What applies to human beings applies with equal force to animals and in India possibly with even greater force. The more I travel round India the more I reflect on the deeper and more intimate problems of her rural economy and the physical well-being of her millions the more am I confirmed in the importance I attach to raising the quality of her cattle and animal population.

To the great mass of the inhabitants good animals mean better and more profitable farming and more nourishing food.

This important—indeed this fundamental—position which animals occupy in India s economy demands that no effort should be spared to see that the resources of science and technical skill are devoted to examining the improvement of animal nutrition and that the resultant knowledge on this subject is made available both to governments and in popular form to the farming community at large

This Animal Nutrition Branch of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute will supply a most important need, and on behalf of all present here today I wish it all success.

The other new building which I have been invited to open represents a direct attempt to cope with a large but till recently curiously neglected side of Indian agricultural and connected activities. It is destined I feel confident to make a most valuable contribution towards the solution of those problems that today beset the poultry

keeper in India The part played by disease as the opponent of quality of production, which I mentioned earlier in regard to animals, applies markedly in the case of poultry in India So long as disease regularly sweeps oft birds in large numbers there can be no sufficient incentive for ordinary owners to go in for quality as against quantity.

It is, I believe, the case that nearly all the poultry diseases which have shown themselves in India can readily be controlled and, if this be so, it is the measure of the opportunity before this Institute, and before those who will place the knowledge which will be acquired within these walls at the disposal of the cultivator and the poultry keeper

In comparison with world figures India's total of domestic fowls and ducks is not so striking as the animal total Nevertheless the gross figure of domestic fowls in India is estimated at 173 million birds—a figure from which the dimensions of the problem and the opportunity can at once be realised A point of great interest is that in this particular departure the Institute is getting to grips at first hand with the commercial problem of the industry. I am convinced that there is great scope in India for the development of the poultry industry. The first requisite for that development is knowledge and it is the object of this Institute to provide it I have every confidence that the Officer-in-Charge, with his staff, will be able at no distant date to render more profitable the business of poultry keeping in this country "

44. HOW TO MEET CRITICISM

Referring to cases of unjustified attacks to which the States had been subjected Lord Linlithgow in his address to the Chamber of Princes on March 13, 1939 pointed to the necessity of the Rulers' close personal interest in the affairs of the State and suggested that there could be "no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts" — **Mar. 13, 1939**

"I am not ignorant that in recent times the Rulers of Indian States have been passing through in many cases a period of stress and difficulty Far be it from me to deny that there have been many cases in which States have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy, or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people But making all allowance for the fact that attacks of that nature have frequently been made, it is, I am sure, as plain to Your Highnesses as it is to me that it is more than ever essential in present conditions and in this changing world in which we live that the authorities of the Indian States should without exception make it their constant care to watch for and to remedy any legitimate grievances that may exist in the administrative field Your Highnesses will agree with me that it is, equally, as clearly in the interests of all Rulers as it is their plain and manifest duty, to ensure by their own close personal interest in the affairs of their State, in the work of their officials, and in the daily life of their subjects, that those subjects have cause for content, that they are not allowed to suffer undue exactions

either on behalf of the State itself or at the call of unworthy officials and that all genuine grievances receive prompt and active consideration It goes without saying that an effective machinery by which the authorities of the States can satisfy themselves that all such complaints can readily reach the ears of the Durbar is an essential necessity in present conditions and Your Highnesses will all agree with me that it is equally essential that the peoples of the States should feel assured that their wants their difficulties and their representations will receive the fullest attention and the fullest sympathy Whatever may be the motives or the causes underlying criticisms of or attacks on the Indian States the vulnerability of Durbars will obviously be increased if any legitimate grievances are left unredressed for agitation to exploit

It is not to be expected even if every care is taken in those respects that the voice of criticism will be stilled. No Government in the world can in these days of ever-increasing publicity of ever increasing public interest in the conduct of administration and in the disposal of the public revenues hope for this. But the importance of stating your cases will not have escaped the attention of Your Highnesses and there can be no more effective method of disposing of unjustified criticism of the administration of a State than publicity designed to set out the true facts. There are many States which publish admirable Administration Reports setting out in detail the true condition of affairs in the State for all to see. Those States in which this practice has not yet been adopted would, I suggest do well to consider the advisability of following the example of their neighbours in this matter

Your Highnesses will have seen the declarations recently made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government declarations which I have myself repeated in public utterances in regard to constitutional changes or developments in the Indian States. Those statements will have made clear the attitude in this matter of His Majesty's Government which is, I may repeat that the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take and that no pressure will be brought to bear on him in this respect by the Paramount Power Nor will any obstruction be placed in his way by the Paramount Power should he wish to give effect to constitutional advances consistent with his Treaty obligations. The actual form of such constitutional machinery as a Ruler may in these circumstances decide to establish in his State must I readily recognize vary according to conditions and it is obvious that full consideration must be given to local circumstances and conditions and that the variation in those local circumstances and conditions may be reflected in a variation in the form of constitutional machinery to be devised or adopted in the case of a particular State But making the fullest allowance for that fact, Your Highnesses will, I am quite certain agree with me that the more personal the form of rule the greater is the need for personal touch He who would be the father of his people must satisfy himself that all classes of his subjects are given their fair share in the benefits of his rule and that an undue proportion of the revenue of his State is not reserved for his own expenditure And the fact that the normal sphere of the activities of a

Ruler lies within the four corners of his State calls for no emphasis from me An absentee Ruler, like an absentee landlord, represents a condition of affairs that has never easily admitted of justification, and that has never been more markedly the case than in the conditions of the present day. That there may on occasion be reasons, over which he has no control, which make it necessary for a Ruler to absent himself for material periods from his territory I of course accept But Your Highnesses, with your long and wide experience, will agree with me that, in such an event, it is essential that the Ruler so obliged to be absent from the personal direction of affairs in his State should satisfy himself beyond any question that those to whom he entrusts the government of his State are fully worthy of his confidence.

As Your Highnesses have lately been assured, the Paramount Power stands ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of its Treaty obligations. That does not, I need not say, for a moment mean the Princes themselves are not the primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious heritage How often has it not been impressed on the Princes of India by those who have had their best interests at heart that they should sink their differences and stand shoulder to shoulder for the good of their States and for their own happiness and peace of mind? Can it honestly be said, looking back as we do today over any period of years, that much has been achieved in pursuance of that advice? There is no class and no community in the world which does not contain its weaker brethren. But it is, as Your Highnesses so well know, the common tendency of mankind to generalise, and one Ruler who ignores the welfare of his subjects is only too apt to be regarded as an embodiment of all his neighbours Is it not possible that the more far-sighted Princes should combine to point out to such a Ruler by means of friendly advice the error of his ways, so that discredit may not be brought upon the entire Princely Order?

In no case is the need for co-operation and combination more patent, more pronounced, and more immediate than in the case of the smaller States Those States whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them I would take this opportunity to impress on the Rulers of such States, with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so far as this is practicable In doing so, they can rely upon receiving all possible assistance and advice from me and from my advisers But the need is urgent and pressing It calls for prompt action on the part of those concerned, and it is, in my judgment, vital in the interests of the smaller States themselves that no time whatever should be lost in taking the necessary steps

Your Highnesses, I have touched in the few remarks I have had the pleasure of addressing to you today on matters of great significance and great consequence to the States and to their Rulers I feel sure that the significance of what I have said will not be lost

upon you at a moment such as the present of crucial importance in the development of the history of India. I do not desire to detain you longer this morning Let me only again thank you for the opportunity of seeing you, and extend my best good wishes to you for a profitable session and for the successful discharge of the business which lies before us.

45. IMPROVING QUALITY OF CATTLE

July 22, 1939

Addressing the inaugural meeting of the General Committee of the All-India Cattle Show Society in Simla on July 22 Lord Linlithgow envisaged the Society s eventual development into a central organisation in India directing and assisting similar efforts in the various provinces and States fostering the highest standards in breeding and management setting the seal of its approval upon the careful conscientious breeder and including in its scope other animals of importance in India's rural economy such as sheep goats and camels and poultry

Lord Linlithgow said —

It is a great pleasure for me to be with you today at this inaugural meeting of the General Committee of the All India Cattle Show Society

It is now some years ago since I first had occasion to apply my mind to the rural economy of India. The more I have studied the problems of the countryside and the life and work of the Indian farmer the more I have been impressed by the urgent need for bettering the quality of India s cattle and for improving the practice of animal husbandry throughout the country It is no doubt true that there are many directions in which the methods of farming and the prosperity of the farmer can be advanced. I am however convinced that no particular line of advance offers prospects more attractive or promises so early and so considerable an economic reward as the improvement of cattle and their better care. Indeed, there is hardly a Province or State in India where the improvement of the indigenous livestock does not hold out possibilities of an incalculable increase in the total wealth of the community For that reason I wholly endorse Sir Jagdish s claim that the all India character of your membership constitutes the happiest augury for the future of your Society

Cattle Shows—or more frequently cattle fairs—are a common feature of Indian life There can be no doubt that these fairs have done much to maintain and stimulate interest in the quality of livestock in India. But the contribution that local fairs or shows can make towards breed improvement, the standardization of breed characteristics and the popularising of successful types is plainly limited.

What is required, if the best results are to follow is an exhibition which presents to the interested public the opportunity of viewing at some convenient centre the best and most typical animals representing as many as possible of the famous breeds of Indian cattle Those

are the conditions which are capable of attracting experts from every part of the country as well as from overseas, and which give to breeders the chance to develop their critical faculty and a keen eye for quality

The first All-India Cattle Show, held in New Delhi in 1938, was admittedly an experiment It proved a substantial success and so also did the Show in 1939. They plainly indicated that they were something that everybody wanted, whether farmer, breeder, dealer or ordinary public To give you one example of a sphere in which they were successful Sales during the Show are, of course, forbidden But it is known that sales of a considerable total value resulted directly from the Show This is eminently satisfactory

I think too I may safely say that these Shows have placed Indian cattle on the world cattle map Apart from the fact that illustrated articles regarding Indian cattle are now frequent in journals throughout the world, enquiries have been received from South America, West Indies, Philippines, the Straits Settlements, East Africa, and Iraq regarding Indian cattle A well-organised show at which the best breeds of cattle are exhibited naturally attracts the attention of agents of purchasers from other countries Public interest has been stimulated and it is wise to lose no opportunity for maintaining it

The experience gained from these Shows gave warrant for the setting up of a permanent organisation whose function is to be the conduct, year by year, of the All-India Cattle Show and the carrying on of activities connected therewith, including the furtherance of cattle breeding and the improvement of stock, and ultimately also the conduct of similar activities and organisation of shows in regard to other animals and poultry

The objects of the Society indicate that for the present your main attention is directed—as indeed I am well aware—to all the activities which in the cattle breeding areas are contributing towards the steady improvement of breeds In this connection, I was particularly pleased to hear from Sir Jagdish Prasad that as a result of the two Shows already held one breed society has already been formed I hope it will not now be long before those interested in other breeds will follow suit I am glad to learn that Provincial Livestock Improvement Associations, District Associations, and Village Improvement Societies are playing an important part in this work in many Provinces and States In the Punjab alone I am told there are 719 Cattle Improvement Societies, with about 15,000 members This is admirable Where such organisations are not available, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research are giving their assistance in the establishment of suitable agencies

The great importance of breeding from selected sires is everywhere recognised, and in this connection you may be interested to hear the present position in regard to the appeal for the provision of stud bulls, which I myself launched in 1936 The number of approved bulls donated in response to that appeal is now estimated at 3,400 In addition, the authorities throughout India have already provided or have approved schemes for the provision in the near future of about

8 000 approved bulls. Needless to say it is not sufficient merely to provide a bull. Money must be found and the necessary attention given to maintain the animal in optimum condition. This I am glad to say has been arranged in all cases. Again this by itself is not sufficient

It is vital to the success of these endeavours that adequate records should be kept of the progeny of approved sires so that a sustained effort may be made to secure that by due care in subsequent matings the improved strain may be used to the best purpose for raising the general level of the breed. The ultimate success of all our efforts towards breed improvement is entirely dependent upon the maintenance of sufficient and accurate records. Without such recording of pedigree and performance the impulse will wane and such improvement as may already have been obtained will be irretrievably lost in the vast aggregate of India s cattle population. It is in matters like this that your Society can do work of the utmost value.

During 1938 and 1939 classes at the All-India Cattle Show have been limited to cattle and buffaloes. That I think, has been a wise decision, but I am glad to see that your constitution does not prevent your extending your activities at a later date to other kinds of livestock. I have no doubt that through the Animal Husbandry Commissioner your Society will be kept in touch with developments in this connection and will be informed when a stage has been reached where you can be of assistance. There are other animals of importance in India s rural economy sheep goats camels and poultry and I have no doubt that as your Society develops you will consider whether it is possible for you to include them also You will not understand me as suggesting that your Society and your Show should immediately undertake these additional activities I am satisfied that you are not yet in a position to do so But it is desirable to bear in mind the immense possibilities for good which are latent in a Society such as yours. It is not unreasonable to look forward to the day when you will develop into the Central organisation in India directing and assisting similar efforts in the various Provinces and States fostering the highest standards in breeding and management and setting the seal of your approval upon the careful conscientious breeder by your selections from the finest animals in the whole country

I do not overlook the fact that the forecast I have made involves the material consideration of finance. You will I think, agree that the Central Government have not been ungenerous. They financed the first Show with a grant of Rs 25 000 and have now placed a lump sum of Rs 2½ lakhs at your Society's disposal. Admittedly expenses in the first year or two are likely to be a trifle inflated by what we should ordinarily call non-recurring expenditure. The financial statement which has been placed before you shows however that you are not likely to bring your annual charges below about half a lakh I am indeed glad to hear of the generous donations both of cups and of money which you have received. You must also be grateful to the Punjab Government which has set aside Rs. 8 000 on each occasion

and has rendered valuable assistance in personnel and material Considering the extent of the problem with which you deal and its immediate interest to almost every part of India, fifty thousand rupees a year is not a large sum divided among all Provinces and States concerned, and I am confident that the appeal for annual contributions, which is being made, will meet with a ready and generous response. Given adequate finance and the continuance of interest—which as long as India maintains so vast a cattle population and her peoples are so dependent on its quality, must continue—I foresee unlimited scope and usefulness for your Society It is my constant conviction that those privileged to minister to the true interests of the cultivator have it in their power to strengthen the very life centres of this great country Therefore I cannot overstate my sense of the value and importance of your mission I trust that the highest success may reward your labours "

46. PROVINCES AND STATES

" Provinces and States are, and must always be, neighbours They have each their own part to play in the progress of India, and the parts must be played in harmony and not in dissonance. The virtues of neighbourliness in ordinary community life need no defining by me. Is it too much to hope that these virtues should be projected into a wider relationship of political units ?"—said Lord Linlithgow at a banquet given at Cuttack on July 31, 1939, *replying to the speech by the Governor of Orissa Extracts·* **July 1939**

" My first duty is to thank Your Excellency for the kind words in which you have proposed my health I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to have been able to pay this visit, the first visit paid by a Viceroy to Orissa since the establishment of Orissa as a separate Province My only regret and one, I know, shared by her is that my wife has not been able to accompany me

The life of Orissa as a separate Province is not yet a long one, but nevertheless I hasten to assure you all that I am fully conscious of the long history and the distinguished traditions associated with this part of India, and of the importance which Orissa now has in the scheme of India's political life

Your Excellency's reminder that the area of Orissa is greater than that of my native Scotland, and that its population exceeds that of the continent of Australia, is a timely one and focuses attention on the fact that when considering a political unit its full significance may be overlooked if it is considered only in comparison with other units possibly of a greater political importance The fact of fundamental importance which has to be remembered is that its problems are problems which concern the lives, the well-being, and the happiness, of many millions of human beings, and of a large area of the earth's surface It is only in this perspective that one can see the responsibilities of those who guide its Government

It is natural that a new Province such as this should be faced with many difficult problems intimately associated with its development and with the place which you consider Orissa should rightfully hold among the Provinces of India. In your speech you touched on some of the most important of those problems. I will refer first to the difficult question of your Provincial Capital. After what I have seen today I certainly appreciate the difficulties facing Your Excellency's Government in deciding where to place the new buildings required for your Capital. Popular feeling as finally expressed in a decision of the Provincial Legislature has selected the historical site of Cuttack, but lack of space on this small peninsula drives you inevitably to look across the Mahanadi for what I may describe—to use a phrase only too familiar in other connections—as living room

But I fear that a major bridge formed no part of the estimates when the grants were calculated which make up the 42½ lakhs to be provided by the Central Government to assist Orissa with her building programme and anxious as I naturally am to lend any possible encouragement in connection with projects the local interest of which is so great, it would be disingenuous of me were I to hold out any hope of further help from Central sources in connection with that programme.

A bridge between Cuttack and Chanduar would not I fear supply a link in any trunk road project envisaged by the Transport Advisory Council and when I tell you that to connect the coastal trunk road from Madras with the trunk road passing through Sambalpur by bridging the Mahanadi and the Katjuri at Cuttack would involve an expenditure in the neighbourhood of Rs. 64 lakhs—nearly three times in other words the annual receipts of a Road Fund Reserve which has to serve the needs of all the Provinces and all the States of India the very great difficulties that stand in the way will be patent to you.

It is never a welcome or a pleasant task to have to remind a Provincial Government that where funds are concerned their claims must be considered in relation to the claims of other parts of India as a whole and no one I can assure you, is more conscious of that than I am. But these are facts that must be faced and as in the case of the Mahanadi bridge I could but wish that I could hold out greater hopes to you in connection with the archæological possibilities of Orissa. The potentialities of Orissa as a field for exploration have long been recognised, but the whole field of archæology in India is of such a magnitude that Government effort must necessarily be confined to areas which are universally recognised as being of the greatest importance. I can assure you, however that the claims of Orissa will not be overlooked.

As one profoundly interested in the well being of the Indian peasantry I feel deeply the annual toll in misery and loss which floods take of the ryot and nowhere in India is the sacrifice demanded of the poor on this account greater or more frequent in its infliction than in Orissa.

I am therefore particularly happy that Your Excellency's Government have so early taken steps to investigate the causes of these periodic disasters and to find a remedy I shall await with much interest the recommendations of the Committee which the Government of Orissa have appointed.

In the meantime you have already received proof of my own practical sympathy and that of my Government in the deputation of Mr Inglis to assist in the work of the Committee Not only has Mr Inglis devoted many years to problems of river control his presence in Orissa carries with it the guarantee of the technical assistance of the well-known Station of Hydro-dynamic Research at Khadakvasla of which he is the head, and which he has himself built up and I feel confident that the Committee will turn to the fullest advantage the expert advice which Mr Inglis and the Khadakvasla Station are so well qualified to give

You have mentioned the need for greater activity in educational, medical and similar development, particularly in the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Koraput There is no need for me to remind you that the primary responsibility for work on these and allied problems falls upon the Provinces, not upon the Central Government But I should like to take this opportunity to emphasize the facilities provided by the Central Government for the co-ordination of information through such bodies as the Central Advisory Boards on Education and on Public Health, and I can assure you that the expert advisers with the Central Government will at all times be ready to lend their assistance in the examination of any schemes which the Provincial Government may have in mind.

I have reserved to the last the first problem to which Your Excellency drew my attention, namely, the relations between the people of the Province of Orissa and those in the neighbouring States. It is only natural that the people of Orissa should take a close interest in their neighbours who speak the same language and are imbued with the same culture The physical boundary between the two is unsubstantial, backwards and forwards across it there flows a daily traffic of family and social intercourse, of business, and of trade I have indeed, as you mentioned, been giving my constant attention during my term of office to the problem of the relation between States and British India and not least to relations between the Province of Orissa and the peoples of the Eastern States It has always been my endeavour, and will continue to be so, to assist the Rulers of these States in advancing the prosperity and contentment of their subjects.

And I am glad of Your Excellency's assurance that the people of Orissa desire to maintain the most friendly relations both with the Rulers of the Orissa States and with their subjects Provinces and States are and must always be neighbours. They have each their own part to play in the progress of India, but the parts must be played in harmony and not in dissonance. The virtues of neighbourliness in ordinary community life need no defending by

me. Is it too much to hope that these virtues should be projected into the wider relationship of political units?

Your Excellency was good enough at the beginning of your speech to pay a very kind tribute to myself and to my work in India. Let me say at once that such success as I may have attained would not have been possible had it not been for the loyal and strenuous co-operation of my colleagues the Governors. I realise to the full the burden of responsibility which they carry—a burden which has at any time in the past been a heavy one and to which in your case Sir John there have been added in the last three years not only the problems inseparable from the introduction of a new form of Constitution but those associated with the creation of a new Province. I should like if I may to pay a well merited tribute to Your Excellency s labours and your skilful handling of the many problems both of the new Constitution and of Orissa.

I have no doubt that Orissa owes and will continue to owe a very considerable debt of gratitude to her first Governor

I would like too to associate in this tribute Lady Hubback. I well know how much her devoted assistance has meant to Your Excellency I know too with how much sympathy and how much success she has played her part in the furthering of all good causes and in the relief of suffering not only in this Province but in the other parts of India in which you and she have served. It gave me the greatest pleasure to present personally to you Lady Hubback, here in this Province the Kaisar i Hind Medal which you have so well deserved.

Let me in conclusion pay a tribute to the Ministers now carrying on the Government

Those who have experienced it will testify that the guidance of the ship of State in these troubled times is no easy task, but I am sure you will agree that the energy and resource with which the Ministry here have tackled their problems is an encouraging augury for the future

I thank you again Your Excellency for your most generous welcome. I take again this opportunity of saying how glad I am to have visited Orissa and I wish yourself Lady Hubback and the Province success and perhaps in these dark days an equally important wish, freedom from trouble. Ladies and Gentlemen I ask you to drink the health of His Excellency the Governor of Orissa coupled with the name of Lady Hubback'

47. VISIT TO FAMINE AREA

Replying to addresses of welcome from the Hissar District Board **Aug. 6**
and the Hissar District Soldiers' Board on August 6, 1939, Lord Linlithgow **1939**
paid a tribute to the Punjab Services for their efficient work during the famine in Hissar District and elsewhere.

" You all know how, as a countryman, I enjoy visiting rural areas and seeing the country people of India against their true and proper background. As an old soldier too it is always a great pleasure for me to meet old soldiers and those who have upheld the great martial traditions of the Punjab in all parts of the world I am grateful for your assurances of loyalty and devotion to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The tradition of loyalty in the Punjab is a great one and I am confident that in these troublous times the Punjab still remains true to this great tradition that it always had

I note with pleasure the appreciative terms in which you speak of the efficiency and generosity of the measures taken by Government to deal with this famine

I would like myself to take this opportunity of paying my tribute also to the measures which they have taken in this connection. To see the efforts of the Government in true perspective it must be realised that the famine was not confined to Hissar District alone and that the Provincial Government had to organise relief on an extensive scale and to incur heavy expenditure in the Rohtak and Gurgaon Districts also I have perused with great interest reports dealing with the steps taken by Government, and I am deeply impressed by their completeness and by the scale and the value of the work which they record

Fodder supplies for the maintenance of plough and milch cattle were guaranteed, and the famous breeds with which this District is associated have been preserved. It is gratifying to note also that the quality of animals has been maintained and that the difference between the 1938 and 1939 prices at the Hissar Cattle Fair has been so small. Owing to the intense activity of the Veterinary Department no contagious disease broke out among cattle.

Let me add that I hope that in future years cattle from this District may compete successfully at the All-India Cattle Show.

The relief works, of which the carefully devised sanitary and hygienic arrangements have been so marked a feature, have been both extensive and useful The sustained efforts which the Medical and Public Health Departments of the Punjab Government have been making to safeguard the health of the population in these famine-stricken areas have been outstanding, and I have noted with particular interest the efforts made to supply the deficiency in vitamins in the ordinary diet by the distribution of carrots and codliver oil.

In paying my tribute to the Punjab Government and especially to the Ministers mainly responsible, I would like, with your permission, Sir Sikander, to compliment also the permanent officials and the technical

officers on their excellent work, and on the energy and the close personal interest they have without exception displayed through a period of such prolonged anxiety It would be invidious to single out individuals but I feel I can without fear of arousing jealousy extend my warmest congratulations on the admirable results achieved to Mr Dobson to Mr Hearn to Mr Brander on whom a particularly heavy burden has fallen, to Mr Bryan who was Deputy Commissioner when the famine work started and to whom great credit is due for its organisation on the right lines and to the Fodder Adviser Khan Bahadur Maulvi Fateh-ud-din. I can pay them no higher tribute than to say that they have maintained to the full the very high standard which we have come to expect to be associated with Punjab Services.

As I mentioned before it is always a great pleasure to meet old soldiers and I was much interested to hear the activities of the Hissar District Soldiers Board It is clear that despite the lack of funds to which you refer the Board has been doing most active and useful work. I note with especial interest the assistance rendered by it in connection with the famine.

You will not expect me to deal at length with the interesting points you have raised in your address which relate to the particular problems of the martial classes to which I listened with the greatest interest. I note with satisfaction your appreciation and gratitude for the extensive famine relief measures introduced by the Punjab Government, and your emphasis on the proof which they constitute of the sympathy for the Hissar District of your Premier and his colleagues. Their constant interest in the welfare of the inhabitants, not only of Hissar but of the Punjab as a whole, needs no comment from me and it is, in my opinion a sufficient guarantee that the interests of the martial classes are in safe hands.

I note with satisfaction the resolution that in the event of war the martial classes of the Hissar District would offer their services in person and place all their resources at the disposal of Government. As I have said before these renewed assurances of loyalty are encouraging in times such as these. I only pray that circumstances should not arise in which you should be called upon to put into effect this resolution

Gentlemen I repeat again that it has been a great pleasure for me to visit Hissar today I have been much interested in all I have seen. I am gratified to hear such sincere appreciation of the efforts of your Government and I am gratified that I have seen with my own eyes that these efforts have been successful and that Hissar has weathered conditions which tested the endurance of its inhabitants to the utmost In taking my leave I wish you all, Gentlemen, the best of good fortune and freedom from the ills which have beset you in the past

48. RULERS FREE TO CHOOSE

While Lord Linlithgow regards the Federal offer as "a fair offer and a well-balanced one,"—otherwise he could not, with clear conscience, have commended it to the Ruling Chiefs—he tells them that the "choice is a free choice of each individual, and it is for him, and for him alone to make up his own mind as to what decision he wishes to take" **Aug. 21, 1939**

A suggestion was prominently brought to his notice, that "a Prince who rejects out of hand the Federal offer will be exhibiting by his action his loyalty to the Crown!" Nothing "could be a more fantastic or a more improper suggestion"

Another suggestion was made that "Imperial" interests were likely to suffer injury from the Federal scheme Lord Linlithgow assures Their Highnesses that all relevant considerations were before His Majesty's Government and Parliament when they approved of the scheme

Speech to the members of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes on August 21, 1939 —

"Your Highnesses,—It gave me great pleasure to accept the suggestion made to me by His Highness the Chancellor that I should receive the Members of the Standing Committee at Simla so that I might appreciate the difficulties of an important section of the Princely Order in regard to the Federal offer, and do what I could to dispel those difficulties, and I extend a very warm welcome to you this afternoon

I think it will be best that I should make at the beginning of these proceedings some general observations I shall, I need not say, be very glad to listen to any general comments which thereafter Your Highnesses may wish to make to me on the situation or on particular difficulties, and I think that when I have had the opportunity of hearing any such general comments should you, at this stage, desire to make any such comments, the best course will be that Your Highnesses should discuss the problems which are in your minds in their more technical and detailed aspects with my Political Department

Let me, in the first instance, say how fully conscious I am of the onerous nature of the decision which it falls to the Princes to take at the present juncture The choice is the free choice of each individual Ruler, and it is for him, and for him alone, to make up his own mind as to what decision he wishes to take I have repeatedly made that clear in public, it has been made clear by His Majesty's Government on various occasions, and it is, I am satisfied, fully appreciated by the Princes, but I think it well to take the opportunity of our meeting today again to place it on record I think it desirable to do so because I have frankly been surprised to learn that the suggestion has been made in some quarters that my officers have been endeavouring to bring pressure to bear on Their Highnesses as to the course which they should adopt So far as I know there is no foundation whatever for

that allegation. That I myself regard the federal offer as a fair offer and a well-balanced one I have never concealed from Your Highnesses or from the public. I could not with a clear conscience have been responsible under the instructions of His Majesty's Government for communicating that offer to the Ruling Chiefs had I not been entirely satisfied in my own mind on that point as I am sure Your Highnesses will agree. That the offer may not in all respects come up to the expectations of individual Rulers that it may in certain respects be unsatisfactory from their point of view I of course readily accept as possible. But that does not affect my main point—that the offer carefully worked out after long and patient discussion and investigation of the legitimate claims of the different Rulers and of the various other factors that have to be taken into consideration represents an honest and sincere endeavour on the part of His Majesty's Government to put to the Princely Order propositions which in the view of His Majesty's Government may be regarded as representing a reasonable proposal. The offer has as Your Highnesses are well aware, been elaborated with the utmost care and I think you will agree that no pains have been spared by His Majesty's Government by my officers or by myself, to give all possible assistance to the Princes with a view to clarifying points and removing misunderstandings which may arise in connection with it

I have been gratified to receive replies which have made it clear to me that the offer is regarded as fair and reasonable by Princes of great importance and representing very varied circumstances. But other of the replies I have so far received have shown me that in the case of certain Princes there are aspects of the offer which they regard as open to exception. The extent to which as my original letter of January 27th made clear any modification is now practicable is very limited indeed. For as Your Highnesses will appreciate our hands are closely tied. But you will find my department very ready to discuss the matters of concern to you in close detail and I shall always I need not say be ready to give my own close and sympathetic attention to any points which you may wish to bring to my notice

Your Highnesses need no assurances from me of my anxiety to further the interests and to meet the difficulties of the Princely Order consistently with the other obligations which fall upon me I doubt if there is very much that I can profitably say to Your Highnesses of a general character today as regards the decision that falls to you. As I mentioned earlier the decision is solely for yourselves to take and I do not know that there are any considerations likely to be of assistance to Your Highnesses in making up your minds that I can lay before you for you are already fully familiar with the field and with the arguments for and against Accession There are one or two points that have always carried weight with me personally in my judgment of the federal offer Though I think you are familiar with them already I might perhaps mention them again.

The first is the federal offer in relation to the full and future security of the States The offer embodies the safeguards which His

Majesty's Government regard as appropriate and sufficient for that purpose. The federation is one in which the Princely Order will carry a very substantial voice—125 seats, or one-third, in the Lower House, and 104 seats, or two-fifths, in the Upper House This has always seemed to me to be a bloc which, if the Princely Order are wise, and hold together, no political party can possibly afford to ignore

Secondly, the situation which arises if the majority, in the terms of the Act, of the Princely Order elect to stand aside from the scheme of federation which has been offered to them by His Majesty's Government, and allow British India to develop on its own. It is not for me to say, or to predict, what lines political development may follow in British India But, whatever may be the form and nature of such political development, it will be contrary to all the teachings of history to imagine that, on whatever basis, and in whatever form, it is not going to come, while in particular the difficulty of conceiving the retention of the present so-called "irresponsible Centre" as at present constituted for any indefinite period, is, I am sure, as present to Your Highnesses as to other skilled observers of the political situation To what extent the form of Government that may emerge from such development as I have referred to is likely to be more, or less, satisfactory from the point of view of Princely India, remaining outside, is for Your Highnesses to judge I have only been concerned to do what I can to secure that injury may not be done by the suggestion that the hopes of a federation of India, and of the welding of India into a single whole, based on the Act of 1935, have been prevented from fulfilment by the abstention of the Princely Order, leading members of which were directly responsible for the emergence of the ideal of a federation of India from the proceedings of the Round Table Conference

Finally, since the anxiety of His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative to defend and support the Princes in their rights and privileges must always be great, I have asked myself whether the scheme of federation is the alternative that will best assist His Majesty's Government and the Crown Representative in that responsible task The conclusion I have myself reached you know, but that is merely my personal point of view, and the decision on this point, as on the several points which have carried weight with me, and on the offer as a whole, must be the free untrammelled decision of the individual members of the Princely Order

There is, however, one point which I ought in fairness to mention to Your Highnesses today, since it has been brought prominently to my notice That is the suggestion that a Prince who rejects out of hand the federal offer will be exhibiting by his action his loyalty to the Crown Nothing, Your Highnesses will agree with me, could be a more fantastic or a more improper suggestion I would not have mentioned it to you today had it not been that in at any rate two replies which I have had from the Princes, I saw what I took to be a reference to it The suggestion has equally been

made to me that what have been described by at any rate one Ruler as Imperial interests were likely to suffer injury from the Federal scheme. Your Highnesses need no assurance from me that His Majesty s Government have all relevant considerations of that order before them today as indeed they and Parliament had in approving this scheme.

Let me finally say that to those who have made up their minds that the scheme of federation is definitely unacceptable there is nothing more to be said. The choice is theirs To those who are inclined to believe that federation is the right solution but who would like their existing objections to be as far as practicable, removed, I would say this

Many years have been spent in considering the idea of federation in protracted preliminary discussions in the preparation and passing of the Government of India Act in the elaboration of the Instruments of Accession with its schedules and limitations and in the presentation of the offer to the States. The time for decision —a decision falling to be taken in his own free judgment by each individual Prince—is drawing to its conclusion. No one can reasonably expect that he will secure everything that he might at any moment wish in this world. British Indian criticism of the probable terms of the offer has already been vocal. It would be too much to hope that its volume will not increase once the terms of the offer are published. Nor is it to be expected as I have mentioned already that every detail of the offer will be entirely welcome to each individual Prince.

There is nothing more I think that I can say to Your Highnesses save that now as always, you can rely on my sympathy for your position and on my full appreciation of the responsibilities that weigh upon you and that you may be certain that so far as I can continue to be of assistance to Your Highnesses, or to any Member of the Princely Order in dissipating misunderstanding clearing up doubtful points, or investigating particular aspects of the many difficult questions that have confronted us in connection with the federal offer all the help that I can give you through my officers is and will continue to be at your disposal.'



PART III

THE WAR

1. CLEAR ISSUES

Sept. 3, 1939

Nowhere do the great principles which stand challenged by the Nazis, mean more than in India. "There is no country that values them more highly than India, and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them"—says Lord Linlithgow in his message to India of September 3, 1939. Full text :—

"You have all heard that early on Friday morning the German armed forces invaded Polish territory. The German Government presented no ultimatum. They gave the Polish Government warning. Their war planes are reported to be bombing open towns, and heavy casualties have already been inflicted among the civilian population.

It is clear beyond any question from what has happened that Poland has had to face the same threat that Czechoslovakia had to face a year ago. Confronted with the demand that she should accept the dictation of a foreign power in relation to her own territory and her own subjects, Poland has elected to stand firm. At this moment her troops are bravely defending the frontiers against the ruthless power that seeks to overwhelm her. His Majesty's Government, and the Government of France, have made it clear that they stand behind the former pledges against aggression which they had given to Poland. It is in these circumstances that we find ourselves at war with Germany today.

The issues that emerge are clear. Acceptance of the policy and the methods which Germany has adopted would make life in the world impossible. It would represent the triumph of aggression and the supremacy of the rule of force. In circumstances such as these there could be no security in the world, and no peace of mind for any of us. The ruthless onslaught of Germany on Poland, without a declaration of war, is in keeping with the rest of her conduct in this matter. What faces us today is the safeguarding of principles vital to the future of humanity, principles of international justice and international morality, the principle that civilised man must agree to settle disputes between nations by reason and not by force, the principle that in the affairs of men the law of the jungle, the will of the strongest, irrespective of right and justice, cannot be allowed to prevail. To fail to take up this challenge would be to destroy for mankind any hope of true progress and true development. So long as this cruel and ruthless thing is in the world, there can be no freedom of the spirit for humanity.

Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India, and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them. His Majesty's Government in entering the war have done so with no selfish aim. They have done so to safeguard vital principles affecting all humanity to ensure the orderly progress of civilisation to see that disputes are settled between nations not by the arbitrament of force but by equitable and peaceful means. They have spared no effort to avoid the calamity that now threatens the world.

I do not propose to speak to you at length this evening Far more important than anything that I can say to you must be the response of each one of you to this tremendous issue. With me I am certain you will feel that in the stern and testing days that lie before us victory—the triumph of the right—will not be secured by arms alone. We shall all of us have to depend upon those inner and spiritual forces which in all the great emergencies of life are the true and unfailing source of strength and fortitude.

In a cause such as this the whole-hearted sympathy and the support of all in this great country whether in British India or in the Indian States, will I am certain, be forthcoming without distinction of class of creed of race or of political party I am confident that on a day in which all that is most precious and most significant in the civilisation of the modern world stands in peril, India will make her contribution on the side of human freedom as against the rule of force and will play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and the historic civilisations of the world.

2. ONE APPEAL ONLY—UNITE

Sept. 11, 1939

No course but armed resistance being open to the civilised world to meet the threat to the great principles at stake in view of Nazi aggression Lord Linlithgow would make only one appeal. My appeal is one for unity he says in his address to both Houses of the Central Legislature on September 11 1939 —

Gentlemen —I have in the first place to read to you a Gracious Message to India from His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor which I have just received, and which I think can most appropriately first be announced in the presence of the Central Legislature. It is as follows —

In these days when the whole of civilisation is threatened the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms has been a source of deep satisfaction to me I also value most highly the many and generous offers of assistance made to me by the Princes and people of India. I am confident that in the struggle upon which I and my peoples have now entered, we can count on sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian Continent in the face of the common danger Britain is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind—the principle that the relations between

cynical disregard for the principles that regulate the intercourse of nation with nation an anxiety to turn to the fullest advantage the absence of preparedness of those nations who had believed in the sanctity and in the sacredness of the undertakings given on behalf of a great nation by the Rulers of that nation.

Now that the decision is taken now that it is clear that no course other than armed resistance will enable us and the countries allied with us to preserve the principles for which we fight I would make only one appeal today My appeal is one for unity In the Message which I have just read His Imperial Majesty has told us of the deep satisfaction caused to him by in his own words the widespread attachment of India to the cause in which we have taken up arms. Our task must be to vindicate the principles at stake to work together in the closest unity for the furthering of our common object. Nothing could be more significant than the unanimity of approach of all in India—the Princes the leaders of the great political parties, the ordinary man and woman or than the contributions whether in offers of personal service of men, of money that have already reached me from the Princes and the people of India. There could be no more striking evidence of the depth of the appeal of the issues now before us. I am confident that however difficult may be the days that lie ahead of us (and the teaching of history shows us clearly the folly of assuming in a struggle of the magnitude of the present that victory will be easy or that the course of the campaign, whatever it may be will be unchequered) India will speak and act as one and that her contribution will be worthy of her ancient name.

Gentlemen in circumstances such as those in which we are met together today you will not expect me to deal with the matters of more ordinary interest which in the normal course would have figured in my address to the Central Legislature. I am certain that I shall be voicing the wishes of all of you if I confine my remarks today to the war and to the issues that directly concern or arise out of war But I feel that it is only proper that I should express my own confidence that whatever may be the tasks that, as the campaign develops may fall to the lot of our Defence Forces whether by sea, by land or in the air the response will be one worthy of those glorious traditions the fame and renown of which are world wide. They are already as you know represented overseas and our fighting forces can claim to be assisting at the very outset of the war in holding posts of vast and critical importance.

To the civil population of the country and to the civil services whether at the centre or in the provinces I would say that past experience has shown the spirit in which we may anticipate their answer to the new call which is being made upon them and to the new tasks which they have to undertake. These are anxious and difficult times in which heavy burdens personal as well as general must necessarily weigh upon all of us whoever and wherever we may be. I am certain that those burdens will be sustained in a manner worthy of our past

Before I conclude my remarks to you today there are two matters, both of them arising out of the present situation, on which I would say a word The first is the acceptance by His Majesty's Government and the Government of India of the conclusions of Lord Chatfield's Committee as expressed in the recently published Despatch That decision marks an epoch in the history of Indian defence The grave problems which confronted us in the matter of defence consequent on changes in the international situation and the development of modern armaments are now in a fair way to solution. They have been the constant concern of my advisers, and particularly of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, for many months past The result of the deliberations which have taken place is, on a broad view, satisfactory in the highest degree In particular I am glad to think not only that the improvements so essential at the present stage of the world's history should be so far advanced, but that, thanks to the most generous measure of help which has been extended to us, the necessity of laying heavy additional burdens on the Indian taxpayer has been avoided The profound significance of the decisions that have been taken lies in the fact that India,—so largely an agricultural country, which could never, save at the cost of a complete disregard of other calls, have hoped to make available the vast sums of money necessary for re-equipment and modernization,—has, thanks to the gift which she has received from His Majesty's Government, been placed in the same position in relation to the modernization of her army as the great industrial nations of the world

I will add only one word more, in regard to our federal preparations Those preparations, as you are aware, are well advanced, and great labour has been lavished on them in the last three years Federation remains as before the objective of His Majesty's Government, but you will understand, Gentlemen, without any elaborate exposition on my part, the compulsion of the present international situation, and the fact that, given the necessity for concentrating on the emergency that confronts us, we have no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connection with preparations for federation, while retaining federation as our objective

Had we met in more normal times, there would have been many other matters to mention to you today,—the position of Indians overseas, the various developments of interest and importance which are under consideration in civil administration, the working of provincial autonomy and of the reformed constitution But, as I have already suggested, I feel certain that at a time when the struggle which is raging elsewhere is uppermost in our thoughts, this is a moment in which that emergency, and matters directly associated with that emergency, must be of predominant and, in a sense, of almost exclusive importance Our trust must be that, under Providence, the forces of right and of justice will triumph, and that we may be able to take up again those interrupted activities on which we have been engaged for the furtherance of the constructive work of peace, and of the progress and the prosperity of India"

3. CLEAR AND POSITIVE POLICY

ct. 18, 39 *In describing Britain's war aims the intentions of the British Government towards India the method by which Indians were to be associated more closely in the prosecution of the war Lord Linlithgow in a statement issued on Oct. 18 1939 repeated His Majesty's Government's clear and positive policy that Dominion Status was the natural issue of India's progress He announced that at the end of the war His Majesty's Government would be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities parties and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to secure their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications in the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 as might seem desirable*

With the best will in the world he continued progress must be conditioned by practical considerations

The situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in India. Full text

Since the outbreak of war and more particularly during the last four weeks I have been in the closest touch with the leaders of political opinion in British India and with representatives of the Princely Order and I have spared no effort to acquaint myself by personal discussion with the trend of feeling to ascertain the views of the different sections of public opinion in this country on the great questions of the day and in particular on this question of the basis on which and the extent to which India could best co-operate in the prosecution of the war, and to satisfy myself as to the extent to which a basis of common agreement exists and as to the manner in which the position so far as it may still remain obscure can best be clarified. Matters have now reached a point at which in my judgment it would be well that I should make a statement designed in the light of the discussions which I have had during these past few weeks to clear the position on the main questions which emerge at the present moment. I would make a preliminary observation I have had the advantage of a full and frank discussion with no fewer than 52 people—with Mr Gandhi with the President and Members of the Congress Working Committee with Mr Jinnah and with representative Members of the Muslim League Organization with the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and with a great variety of persons prominent in the political life of British India.

As was only to be expected conversations with representatives of so many different points of view revealed marked differences of outlook markedly different demands and markedly different solutions for the problems that lie before us. Again and that too was what might have been expected at a time such as the present reservations or demands for special protection on one side have tended to be balanced by proposals for still more marked constitutional changes on another I would ask that these differences of view deeply and sincerely held I have not the least doubt by those who have advanced them to me should be borne in mind when we consider our present problems for they have a very direct and obvious relevance to them

I trust most earnestly that I shall be able to dispel certain misapprehensions which are, I am clear, widely and genuinely held, and that, even if to a degree more limited than has been urged upon me from many quarters, I may be able to clarify the position as regards our hopes and our objectives for India, and to make some little contribution to the removal of the obstacles which existing doubts on that point have caused to that full, generous, and ready co-operation which it is I am certain her anxiety and that of her peoples to give today to a good cause

The essential matters on which a clarification of the position is beyond any question desired are—

First, What are the objectives of His Majesty's Government in the war ? To what extent are they of such a character that India with her long history and great traditions can, with a clear conscience, associate herself with them ?

Second, What is the future that is contemplated in the constitutional sphere for the Indian Continent ? What are the intentions of His Majesty's Government ? Is it possible to define those intentions more precisely and in such a manner as to leave the world in no doubt as to the ultimate status envisaged for India as far as the British Commonwealth is concerned ?

Third, In what way can the desire of India and of Indian public opinion for a closer association, and an effective association, with the prosecution of the war best be satisfied ?

Let me deal with these questions in the order in which I have stated them Let me in the first place consider to what extent in existing conditions and at this stage in the development of the campaign on which we are engaged any positive and satisfactory answer admits of being given to the demand for a more precise definition of our objectives. In endeavouring to answer that question I do not propose to touch on the question of our objectives for India. That is a matter which I will deal with separately in answering the second question which I have mentioned above His Majesty's Government have not themselves yet defined with any ultimate precision their detailed objectives in the prosecution of the war It is obvious that such a definition can come only at a later stage in the campaign, and that when it does come, it cannot be a statement of the aims of any single ally There may be many changes in the world position and in the situation that confronts us before the war comes to an end, and much must depend on the circumstances in which it does come to an end, and on the intervening course of the campaign

The experience of all history shows in these circumstances the unwisdom and the impracticability of precise definition at so early a stage as that which we have now reached But the fact that, for the reasons I have given, precise definition is not practicable does not mean, as I see it, that there is any real doubt, or any uncertainty, in the minds of the public, whether in India or in the United Kingdom or in any allied country, as to the motives which have actuated us in

entering into the war and consequently the broad general objectives which we have before us in the campaign which is now being waged. We are fighting to resist aggression whether directed against ourselves or others Our general aims have been stated by the Prime Minister within the last few days as follows — We are seeking no material advantage for ourselves. We are not aiming only at victory but looking beyond it to laying a foundation of a better international system which will mean that war is not to be the inevitable lot of each succeeding generation. We like all the peoples of Europe long for peace but it must be a real and settled peace not an uneasy truce interrupted by constant alarms and threats. This statement, I think clearly establishes the nature of the cause for which we are fighting and justifies if justification is needed the extension by India of her moral support and her goodwill to the prosecution of that cause.

Let me turn now to the second question which has been put to me—the question of India s future and of the lines of her constitutional development. That is a question I am certain in the light of my conversations, which is of the greatest and most acute interest to all parties and all sections of opinion in this country As matters stand today the constitutional position of India and the policy of His Majesty's Government are governed by the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 Part III of that Act, which provides for the conferment of Provincial Autonomy on the Provinces of British India has been implemented. For nearly 2½ years now the Provinces have been conducting their own affairs under the scheme of the Act. That they have done so on the whole with great success even if now and then difficulties have arisen no one can question. Whatever the political party in power in those provinces all can look with satisfaction on a distinguished record of public achievement during the last 2½ years. The experience that they have had has shown beyond any question that whatever minor problems the application of the scheme of the Act may have presented, whatever difficulties may have confronted us in the operation of the Act from time to time in the provincial sphere the scheme of the Act is essentially sound, and that it transfers great power and gives great opportunities to popularly elected governments dependent on the support of a majority in their legislatures.

The second stage contemplated by the Act was the reconstitution of the Central Government on such a basis as to achieve the essential goal of Indian unity The method contemplated for that purpose was the achievement of a Federation of All-India, in which the representatives of all political parties in British India would, together with the Rulers of the Indian States form a unified Government of India as a whole. I am only too conscious of the severity of the criticisms that have been advanced from many different points of view against the federal scheme and against the arrangements embodied in Part II of the Act. I will say today no more than that, having myself had so close a familiarity not only with the framing of the provisions but with the preliminary work which has been done with a view to putting them into force I have throughout believed that the federal scheme in its operation would have turned out as satisfactorily as broadly

speaking, we can all of us regard the scheme of Provincial Autonomy as having turned out I will not dilate on that subject today, for our work in connection with the federal scheme has been suspended. But in reaffirming as I do my belief in the essential soundness of the federal aspects of the Act of 1935, I do so with the greater emphasis because of the evidence which the federal provisions of the Act constitute of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to achieve, with the minimum of delay, and on the basis which appears to represent the greatest amount of agreement between the various parties and interests affected, the unity of India, and to advance beyond a further and a most important milestone on the road to India's goal

Such being the background against which we are working, what are the intentions and aims of His Majesty's Government in relation to India ? I cannot do better in reply to that question than to refer to the statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and with their full authority, by the late Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 6th February 1935. That statement makes the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt It refers to the pledge given in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, and it makes it clear that it was no part of the plan of His Majesty's Government to repeal that pledge It confirms equally the interpretation placed in 1929 by Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, again on the authority of the Government of the day, on that Preamble, that " the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status " I need not dilate on the words of that statement They are clear and positive. They are enshrined in the parliamentary record They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty's Government today, and of their intentions today in this end, the future constitutional development and position of India I would add only that the Instrument of Instructions issued to me as Governor-General by His Majesty the King-Emperor in May 1937 lays upon me as Governor-General a direction so to exercise the trust which His Majesty has reposed in me " that the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within our Empire may be furthered to the end that India may attain its due place among our Dominions "

That is the policy and that is the position Those are the intentions of His Majesty's Government Let me go on to say another word about the Act of 1935 That Act was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which it was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed It was based, as is well known to all of us, on the common labours of British and Indian statesmen, and of representatives of British India as well as of the Indian States over a long period of years All parties were at one stage or other closely associated with those deliberations And I can speak from personal experience when I bear tribute to the extreme anxiety of all those of us on whom, in the Joint Select Committee, there fell the more particular responsibility for devising proposals for the consideration of Parliament, to ensure that the fullest account had been taken of all interests , of the views of all political parties , and that nothing had been left undone to ensure that the outcome of our labours reflected the

greatest measure of agreement practicable in the conditions that confronted us.

Be that as it may His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State to which I have just referred it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities parties and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable.

I have I trust, in what I have just said made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty s Government is as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty s Government will at the end of the war be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views And I would make it clear too that it will be their object as at all times in the past it has been to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal Let me in that connection add that in the conversations I have had, representatives of the minorities have urged most strongly on me the necessity of a clear assurance that full weight would be given to their views and to their interests in any modifications that may be contemplated. On that I need say no more than that, over more than a decade at the three Round Table Conferences and at the Joint Select Committee His Majesty s Government consulted with and had the assistance of the advice of representatives of all parties and all interests in this country It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh or to modify in any respect any important part of India's future Constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty s Government and with Parliament.

That some even more extensive scheme than I have mentioned, some even more widely phrased indication of the intentions of His Majesty's Government is desired in certain quarters in this country I am fully aware from the conversations I have had during these last few weeks. That that is a desire held with sincerity and that those who hold it are convinced that it is in the manner in question that the future progress and development of India and the expressed intentions of His Majesty s Government can best be fulfilled I fully and readily accept I would utter one word only of caution And if

I say that the situation must be faced in terms of world politics and of political realities in this country, I do so from no lack of sympathy, and no lack of appreciation of the motives that weigh with the people of India and the ideals that appeal to them But I would urge that it is essential in matters of this nature, affecting the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the great communities, affecting the Princes of India, affecting the immense commercial and industrial enterprises, whether Indian or European in this country, that the largest measure of agreement practicable should be achieved With the best will in the world, progress must be conditioned by practical considerations I am convinced myself, if I may say so with the utmost emphasis, that, having regard to the extent of agreement which in fact exists in the constitutional field, and on this most difficult and important question of the nature of the arrangements to be made for expediting and facilitating the attainment by India of her full status, there is nothing to be gained by phrases which, widely and generally expressed, contemplate a state of things which is unlikely to stand at the present point of political development the test of practical application, or to result in that unified effort by all parties and all communities in India on the basis of which alone India can hope to go forward as one and to occupy the place to which her history and her destinies entitle her. I would ask that these words of caution be not taken as indicating any lack of sympathy on the part of His Majesty's Government for the aspirations of India, or any indifference to the pace of her advance and I would repeat that His Majesty's Government are but concerned to use their best endeavours, now as in the past, to bring about that measure of agreement and understanding between all parties and all interests in this country which is so essential a condition of progress towards India's goal.

I turn now to the arrangements to be made to secure the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war India's contribution has already been great, great to a degree which has impressed the imagination of the world At the head of the list I would put the contribution which India has made in spiritual, and not in material, terms—the support of her peoples for a cause which they can regard as a good and a righteous cause In the material field equally her contribution is already most significant, and may be greater still And in the circumstances the desire, the anxiety, of public opinion in India to be associated with the conduct of the war is naturally one with which I personally have throughout felt the greatest sympathy In the circumstances I have described, the desirability of steps to ensure that leaders of public opinion should be in the closest touch with developments is of the first importance

I have discussed with the utmost frankness with the leaders of the various parties who have been good enough to come to see me in connection with the constitutional position, by what machinery we could best give effect to this desire. We have examined a variety of expedients, and there has been no hesitation on the part of any of us in assessing the advantages and the disadvantages presented by each of them I do not propose today to examine those various

alternatives in particular detail. I will only say that in the light of my conversations and of the views (by no means always in accord) of representatives of the great parties and of the Princes I am of opinion that the right solution would be the establishment of a consultative group representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes over which the Governor-General would himself preside which would be summoned at his invitation, and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

This group for practical reasons, would inevitably be limited in size. But His Majesty's Government contemplate that it should be fully representative and in particular that its personnel should be drawn by the Governor-General from panels prepared by the various major political parties, from which a selection of individuals to attend meetings of the group would be made by the Governor General. I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with the Princes on this question. I have no doubt whatever that an arrangement of this nature will most materially contribute to associating the Indian States and British India with the steps which are being taken for the prosecution of the war and with the arrangements that are being made in that connection and I am confident, too that in an association of this nature of representatives of all parties and all interests there lies the germ of that fuller and broader association of all points of view in this country which contains in it the seeds of such advantage for the future of India as a whole.

When I spoke to the Central Legislature a month ago I made an appeal for unity I would repeat that appeal today It is my earnest hope that the explanations I have given will have contributed materially to the removal of misunderstandings. Even if on certain points I have not, to my knowledge been able to give assurances so comprehensive as those which would I know have been welcomed in certain political quarters in India I would urge insistently that this is not a moment at which to risk the splitting of the unity of India on the rock of particular phrases, and I would press that we should continue to aim at the unity of India even if differences of greater or less significance continue to exist. We live in difficult and anxious days. Great ideals are in issue. Dangers real and imminent face our civilization. Those dangers are as real and as imminent in the case of India as of any other member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Those ideals are as precious to India as to any country in the Empire or in the world. At this grave moment in the destinies of nations my prayer to all parties would be not to dissociate themselves from the common effort but to lend their co-operation and their assistance in the prosecution of the war There could be no more decisive proof of India's fidelity to her best traditions than the full use of the opportunities afforded to her by the war for concerted endeavour The ideals we have set before us the objects to secure which we are engaged in the present struggle

are such as to command widespread sympathy and widespread support in India. They are in harmony with her past history and her highest traditions It is my hope that in the grave juncture which we face India will go forward as a united country in support of a common cause"

4. DISCUSSION WITH FIFTY LEADERS

Statement issued on November 5, 1939 :— Nov. 5, 1939

"The discussions which have been taking place between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have not ended in agreement No one can regret more than I do that this should be the case, and I think it is only proper, as the issues involved are so important, to recall the history of the last few weeks

War was declared on the 3rd September In a broadcast that night I appealed to all parties and all sections in India to co-operate in its prosecution On the following day I saw Mr Gandhi in Simla, and I discussed the whole position freely with him I similarly took immediate steps to see Mr Jinnah as representing the Muslim League Nor did I fail to see the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes

Thereafter the general question came for consideration before the Congress Working Committee and the Working Committee of the Muslim League The Working Committee of the Congress met on the 15th of September They condemned Nazi aggression in decisive terms But they postponed a final decision so as to allow for the full elucidation of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future, and they invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what were their war aims and how those aims would apply to India, and be given effect to in the present. Mr. Gandhi, expressing his full agreement with the Working Committee's statement, remarked that he had been sorry to find himself alone in seeking that whatever support was to be given to the British should be given unconditionally.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League on the 18th of September similarly asked, 'if full, effective, and honourable co-operation of the Mussalmans is desired', that 'a sense of security and satisfaction' should be created amongst Muslims, and referred in particular to the position of the Muslims in Congress Provinces, and to the necessity for consulting the Muslims fully regarding any change in the existing constitution and securing their consent and approval

I now again got in touch with Mr. Gandhi, Mr Jinnah and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes I decided that, given the great divergence of view which clearly existed between the two major political parties in British India, I must satisfy myself as to the trend of feeling in the country In pursuance of that object I interviewed over 50 people, representing all parties, communities, and interests. While those conversations were proceeding, the All-India Congress Committee, on the 10th of October, passed a resolution repeating the demand of the Working Committee for a statement by His Majesty's Government

of their war aims and peace aims. They demanded also that India should be declared an independent nation and that present application of this status should be given to the largest possible extent.

I reported my conversations in detail to His Majesty's Government who at a time of overwhelming pressure have been devoting the closest attention to the problems of India. It was in the light of profound consideration and long discussion that on the 18th October I made a Declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government. That Declaration emphasized first that Dominion Status remained the goal for India second, that His Majesty's Government were prepared to reconsider the scheme of the present Act at the end of the war in consultation with leaders of opinion in India third that His Majesty's Government attached importance to associating public opinion in India with the prosecution of the war and that for that purpose they contemplated the formation of a Consultative Group the details of which were to be settled after I had further consulted with Party leaders.

The announcements in my statement are of great importance. Their importance has been belittled but they represent points of real substance The debates in Parliament which followed the publication of my statement brought out another important point —the readiness of His Majesty's Government if certain conditions were secured, to associate Indian opinion in a still closer and more responsible manner with the conduct of the war by a temporary expansion of the Governor-General s Executive Council. But the reception in British India both of my Declaration and of the subsequent debates in Parliament was so far as the Congress was concerned definitely hostile. The Congress Working Committee on the 22nd of October passed a resolution to the effect that my Declaration was entirely unsatisfactory and called upon the Congress Ministries in the Provinces to resign. The Muslim League on the same day asked that certain doubts should be removed, and complete clarification of the Declaration secured subject to which they empowered their President if fully satisfied, to give an assurance of co-operation and support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war

I next invited Mr Gandhi Dr Rajendra Prasad and Mr Jinnah to come to see me on November 1st and I discussed the whole position with them frankly I had already in my previous conversations discussed with them as with almost all my visitors from various aspects the possibility of an expansion of the Governor General s Council I now told them that if in regard to association at the Centre we had been unable to go further than the Consultative Group it was because of the lack of prior agreement between the major communities such as would contribute to harmonious working in the Centre I added that the manifestoes issued on 22nd October by the Congress Working Committee and the Muslim League had shown only too clearly the gulf that existed between the attitudes of these two great parties

I begged my visitors in these circumstances to meet and to have discussions among themselves on the provincial position, with a view thereafter to putting forward in agreement proposals which could be considered for some expansion of the Governor-General's Council at the Centre I told them that I saw no necessity for every detail of the differences between them in the Provinces to be resolved What was needed was a sufficient resolution of those differences to make the devising of a scheme for harmonious co-operation at the Centre practicable I begged them in the most earnest manner to spare no endeavour to reach agreement, and I emphasized that this was essentially a question affecting Indians on which agreement between Indians themselves was what I was anxious to secure I repeated the profound anxiety not only of myself but of His Majesty's Government to leave nothing undone which would contribute to achieve that agreement

The discussions which I suggested have taken place But the result to me has been a profound disappointment. There remains today entire disagreement between the representatives of the major parties on fundamental issues All I will say now is that I am not prepared to accept this failure I propose in due course to try again, in consultation with the leaders of these great parties and the Princes, to see if even now there may still be the possibility of securing unity During all the time I have been in India there is nothing I have been more anxious to secure than unity And unity matters far more to India than is perhaps always realised Unity, too, means that Indians, whatever their community or whatever their party allegiance, and whether they dwell in British India or in the Indian States, must work together in a common scheme It is worth a great deal to try to bring that about I may have been unsuccessful so far But I will try again And when I try again I would ask India to remember my difficulties, and give me credit for an earnest goodwill and an earnest desire to assist We are dealing with a problem that has defeated the united endeavours of the greatest organizations in this country. There are grave differences of view which have to be taken into account, which should be bridged There are strong and deeply-rooted interests which are entitled to the fullest consideration and whose attitude is not a thing lightly to be brushed aside. There are minorities which are great in numbers as well as great in historic importance and in culture Those, are all factors to which full weight has to be given. But complex as the problems are, I refuse to regard them as insoluble, and I prefer to believe that, like other human problems, they will yield to patient discussion in a spirit of goodwill In this belief I am encouraged by the friendly feeling which has pervaded my discussions with the leaders of parties I would ask the country, and I would ask the leaders of the great political parties and their constituents, who I know have faith in those leaders, and are ably led by them, to give me the help which I so much need if there is to be any hope of overcoming our difficulties and reaching the result which I am sure that we all of us desire"

(The correspondence with party leaders will be found in Part IV)

5. "LIFE IS A BRIDGE"

Nov 5, 1939 *With profound regret Lord Linlithgow announced in his broadcast of Nov 5 1939 that the differences and difficulties which threatened to retard even to reverse the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal had not been resolved as a result of the conversations inaugurated at his instance between leaders of the Congress Party and the Muslim League. But he was not prepared to accept this failure and proposed to try again to see if even now there was the possibility of securing unity Text of the message*

It is with profound regret that I have to announce that the conversations which at my instance had been inaugurated between the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League have so far not achieved what I had hoped. The country is entitled to know in a matter of such moment and at a time of such gravity what the nature was of the proposition which I invited my friends in those two organizations to consider I shall tomorrow publish correspondence which will make the position perfectly clear Let me only say that my object has been in these discussions to bring together the leaders of the great parties and to endeavour to secure as a result of personal contact between them and with what personal assistance I could myself give that measure of agreement in the Provinces which in their view would enable them to put forward proposals for constructive advance at the Centre for the period of the war such as would be represented by some expansion of the Governor General's Executive Council and by the inclusion in it of political leaders.

My Declaration of 18th October contemplated a consultative group It offered an arrangement relatively so limited as that group only because of the marked divergences of view between the great communities divergences the existence of which held out no hope of harmonious working at the Centre on the basis of joint membership of my Executive Council at a time when harmonious working was of the first importance. Nevertheless I am persuaded that that group holds great possibilities for the future possibilities, I feel sure greater than are commonly realised.

It is I need not say a profound disappointment to me after so much endeavour on the part of His Majesty s Government on the part of those leaders with whom I have conferred and of their friends as well as on my own part that we have no more to show and that in so many Provinces we should be left with no choice but to use the emergency provisions inserted for that purpose in the Government of India Act. As for those provisions let me emphasize that they are an expedient not a sanction. My own strong feeling in regard to their use I cannot better convey than by a paraphrase of the quotation that appears in Arabic characters upon the great Gateway at Fatehpur Sikri. That quotation says

Life is a bridge a bridge that you shall pass over
You shall not build your house upon it.

Nor in the wider field do I propose to take this disappointment as final, or to abandon the efforts I am making to bring about the friendly adjustment of differences in this country to the end that we can continue to co-operate over the achievement of our common objectives Differences and difficulties such as those which now threaten to retard—even to reverse—the course of constitutional development in India and the earliest attainment of the common goal, will not disappear spontaneously, nor will they be conjured away by any refusal to recognise their existence They will be resolved only by negotiations carried out in a spirit of mutual accommodation and trust and with a firm resolve to succeed

I will say no more than that tonight But I would ask for patience and for the goodwill of the Indian people, and of the great political organizations, whether of the members of those organizations or their leaders, in the efforts I propose to continue to make The difficulties are great. How great they are has been most clearly revealed by the events of the last six weeks But the attempt to reconcile them is one which it is imperative to make and in which, whether I fail or I succeed, I shall spare no effort to bring about the result which is I know at the heart of all of those who care for India and for her future "

6. "EVERYBODY'S KING"

" During the reign of His late Majesty, that most ancient of our institutions the Throne, gaining immeasurably in power and prestige, was proved as never before to be not only the head and heart of a great democratic constitution but also the keystone of the living arch of the Empire"—Lord Linlithgow in unveiling a statue of His late Majesty King George V in New Delhi on November 14, 1939 *Text of the speech* — **Nov. 1[4] 1939**

" We have assembled today to honour the memory of a man who was our King and Emperor for twenty-five years. That quarter of a century was not only a generation in our lives, it was an era crowded with great events, and great issues, with great suffering and great joy, with perils and with the triumph of perils overcome

During the reign of His late Majesty, that most ancient of our institutions the Throne, gaining immeasurably in power and prestige, was proved as never before to be not only the head and heart of a great democratic constitution but also the keystone of the living arch of the Empire

During his reign that Empire passed through its constitutional adolescence, and India advanced by two great stages towards her destined goal of full and equal partnership with the Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

But the great office which His late Imperial Majesty filled was more than a constitutional symbol, and more than an abstract expression of the unity of the Empire. It was to a Throne enriched

by the personality of a good and wise man that all people instinctively turned in time of danger and of rejoicing as to the human and visible focus of their emotions.

To a high conception of private duty and public service King George V added the virtues of patience and impartiality of industry and of courage of the wisdom which is born of ripe experience and sound commonsense. Such a combination of qualities precious enough in any man, were of incomparable value in a King His personal knowledge of and interest in all the peoples of his Empire were unrivalled and his people in their turn, were drawn to him by this conscious bond of sympathy and by the recognition in him of homely tastes and standards which they could share

The King was everybody s King

More particularly can we who are gathered here be sensible of this personal relationship with the Sovereign who 28 years ago announced his decision to restore Delhi to its ancient birthright and who laid the first stones of his Imperial Capital.

The Memorial which I am about to unveil represents the tribute paid to a beloved Sovereign by his people in India. To its construc tion rich and poor princes and peasants alike contributed according to their means. Its dignity and beauty worthily enshrine their homage and their love. It is in the fitness of things too that this Memorial to His late Majesty King George V should stand near that other Memorial raised to the glory of brave men, who in a spirit of service and unwavering devotion which matched his own answered his call and gave their lives for their country Beyond that Archway our late King Emperor's Statue will look for ever towards the columns and the domes of the Capital which is so peculiarly his own with the founding of which he associated his hopes for the unity prosperity and happiness of the people of his Indian Empire.

Once in his lifetime and in ours the foundations of the civilised world were shaken. In the task of rebuilding and strengthening those foundations his share was not a small one. Now that the test has come again, it is heartening to recall the exhortation which the King Emperor who led us to victory through the dark days of the last Great War addressed to his people a few days before he died

United by the bonds of willing service he said, let us prove ourselves both strong to endure and resolute to overcome And with God s help so we will.

7. WORLD INTEREST IN INDIAN STATES

"In these days, an ever-increasing interest is being taken by the world at large in the affairs of Indian States", says Lord Linlithgow in a speech at a banquet given at Rewa in his honour on December 12, 1939. "I am confident that Your Highness is well aware how important it is, in these circumstances, that Rulers should not only devote themselves to the redress of any legitimate grievances that may be brought to their notice but should be ready to prove that any undeserved criticisms are not founded on facts" Extracts: **Dec. 1939**

"There is no need for me to add to what Your Highness has said on that subject which, in these days, touches us all so closely —the war. If I may say so, Your Highness has admirably expressed that sense of confidence in the outcome of this tragic conflict, in words which will find an echo in the hearts of all loyal men. Our cause is just and it will prevail.

It is heartening to remember at such a time the traditional loyalty of the Princely Houses of India, and more particularly the splendid traditions of the Rewa House.

Your Highness' forbears have proved themselves again and again to be staunch allies and trusted friends, in illustration of which it is fitting to recall how in 1914 Your Highness' father sent a memorable telegram to enquire what were the orders of the King-Emperor for himself and for his army

These traditions are being worthily upheld by Your Highness today.

I have been much gratified to learn of the satisfactory progress recently made in the training of the Rewa State Forces and in particular of the high standard of efficiency reached by the Rewa Transport Corps, which is now ready for mobilization For this state of affairs Your Highness, ably assisted by your Chief of the State General Staff, is responsible, and I know from what I have seen that the loyal assurances which we have heard tonight are ready to be translated into vigorous and effective action as soon as the necessity may arise.

Your Highness was kind enough to refer in appreciative terms to what I have endeavoured to do for the development of improved methods of agriculture and stock-breeding in this country. My interest in these matters is indeed profound, and I am aware that, although there are in Rewa very considerable industrial resources, both developed and undeveloped, it is agriculture which has always been and must always be the mainstay of this State.

I am therefore confident that Your Highness and your advisers will always be prepared, so far as local resources may permit, to afford to the agriculturists of the State opportunities to benefit by the new methods and schemes which have been evolved by the Central organization set up for this purpose

But, for the agriculturist improved methods of production are not the whole story. No less important is the existence of adequate

means of communication and transport for the conveyance of his produce to the most profitable markets and I listened with close attention to what Your Highness had to say on this subject. In a State of the size of Rewa, with its 13,000 square miles of territory which is still as Your Highness has pointed out ill-served by railways the development of roads is a matter of vital importance and I congratulate Your Highness for the keen interest which you have consistently taken in this problem and for the very large measure of success which has already attended your efforts.

I am very glad to hear that the Central Road Fund was able to assist these efforts materially and that the money which was available from that source has been spent to the best possible advantage.

I trust that Your Highness ambition to see a new railway built through this State may not be too long delayed.

There are undoubtedly difficulties to be overcome and Your Highness has mentioned one of the greatest of these—the present exigencies of the war But I fully realise the importance of this matter and I am interested to learn from Your Highness that a project is actually under consideration and that some surveys have been carried out. I will gladly repeat the assurance which was given to Your Highness by my predecessor Lord Willingdon that any project of this nature which may be presented to my Government in a final form will be most carefully and sympathetically considered.

Lady Linlithgow has asked me to thank Your Highness for the very kind references you have made to her and to her work in India.

We are delighted to learn that as a result of the Anti Tuberculosis Appeal, a sum of over Rs. 29 000 is now available for fighting this scourge in Rewa.

The question of how this sum can best be utilised is I know under the immediate consideration of Your Highness, and my wife and I will be interested to learn in due course the form which Your Highness decision will take. We sincerely hope that it will be to the lasting benefit of the people of Rewa

Before I conclude, I should like to take this opportunity of complimenting Your Highness if I may on the energy and ability which you have applied to the administration of your State. In these days an ever increasing interest is being taken by the world at large in the affairs of Indian States. I am confident that Your Highness is well aware how important it is in these circumstances that Rulers should not only devote themselves to the redress of any legitimate grievances that may be brought to their notice but should be ready to prove that any undeserved criticisms are not founded on facts

8. THE LATE LORD BRABOURNE

Speech at the dedication of the tablet to the memory of the late Lord Brabourne on December 24, 1939 **Dec. 24, 1939**

" Most Reverend Father in God,—Before asking you to dedicate this tablet to Lord Brabourne's memory I would wish briefly to recall the record of his service to his country, and the qualities that so greatly endeared him to all who knew him and that made his early death so acute a loss to his friends

Educated at Wellington and at the Royal Military Academy, Lord Brabourne served with great distinction in the European war, in the course of which he was thrice mentioned in despatches, in addition to receiving the Military Cross.

Elected in 1931 to the House of Commons, his high quality and his great promise drew attention to him from the first. He served with Sir Samuel Hoare, then Secretary of State for India, during a period of the first importance in the shaping of the future constitution of India. In 1933 he was selected for the high office of Governor of Bombay, and the work he did as Governor of that great Presidency until he resigned his Governorship in 1937 on becoming Governor of Bengal, fully vindicated the wisdom of the choice. In Bengal, though he had served there for little more than a year at the time of his premature death, he had already confirmed, and if possible enhanced, the distinguished reputation he had early established

So much for the record of his public work, a record sufficiently striking in the case of a man of 43, a record which clearly shows that there is no distinction and no eminence in the service of the Crown to which he might not have hoped to rise. But no picture of Lord Brabourne would be a complete one if it did not touch on his personal qualities He united, in a peculiar and unusual degree, great capacity for work, a marked quickness of apprehension, wide sympathy and an outstanding personal charm His readiness to spare no effort in any good cause, his anxiety at all times to give to his country and to his friends the best that was in him, are known to all of us who had the honour and the privilege of working with him Those qualities, combined with a solidity and a balance of judgment, rare at any time, noteworthy in particular in a man still so young, held forth the greatest hope for future years Whether on public or on personal grounds, his loss is one that cannot be replaced to his country or his friends His record, and his work remain an encouragement and an inspiration to us all

Most Reverend Father in God, on behalf of his relatives and the people of this Province, of which he was the much loved Governor, I request that you will graciously dedicate this tablet to the memory of the late Michael Herbert Rudolph Knatchbull, Baron Brabourne."

9. OBLIGATIONS OF THE NOBILITY

ı. 4, *Lord Linlithgow commends to the Rajkumar College (college for*
10 *the boys of ruling families of Indian States) the Sanskrit motto The King has honour in his own kingdom but the wise man has honour everywhere Extract from speech at the prize giving ceremony of the college on January 4 1940*

I was particularly struck with that part of the speech of the President of your General Council the Raja Bahadur of Sarangarh, in which he explained that there had been a tendency in recent years to abandon the old idea that a highly exclusive school is necessarily the best for boys who belong to Rulers families. The question of the best kind of education is probably one of the oldest subjects of debate among schoolmasters and philosophers. It can perhaps never be finally answered—and fortunately so for it is a matter which we should constantly be turning over in our minds and approaching from fresh angles. In any case I do not intend to produce any ready made answer of my own today but this much I should like to say that I most cordially agree with those of the Governing Body and the Ruling Chiefs who believe that the change which has opened the gates of the College to boys of other than Raj families cannot fail to be one of immense and mutual benefit to all who are educated here.

One of the obligations of nobility whether of class or character is leadership which in India as anywhere else in the world is not worth the name and may even be a positive danger if it is not inspired by sympathy tolerance and understanding and these virtues are not plants which can be raised in the shelter of a green-house but in the open fields. Your College has a Sanskrit motto which might be translated thus The King has honour in his own kingdom, but the wise man has honour everywhere. That is a good motto and an appropriate one and as applied to this College and to the boys who are trained here for the outside world its meaning I should think is clear A wise ruler will aim at earning respect beyond the boundaries of his State, and a young man who wishes to make his mark in the world, whether as a good ruler or as a good citizen, will be fitted for it by training in a College such as yours is planned to be which eschews exclusiveness and concentrates on broadening the mind and enriching the character

I listened with close attention to what you too Mr Principal, had to say on the subject of first-class schools for first-class boys and I think we can all accept without hesitation your definition of what such a school should be. I am extremely glad to hear that the conditions which you described are those which the Governing Body and Staff of the Rajkumar College have set before them to attain. Your definition and the objects of which you spoke might equally be those of any great British Public School and I for my part am happy to know that the Rajkumar College is not the only college in India which has embarked on a process of conversion

to a Public School model. No matter what criticism may be levelled against the Public School system, there is no doubt whatever that the Public Schools of Great Britain have been at least as successful as any other educational system in the world in producing the qualities of leadership and initiative, a sense of responsibility and of public duty, all qualities which are to be found, and must be developed too, among those who are to lead India forward to her rightful place among the free and self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations

A great many prizes have been distributed today Those who have received them have their recognition and their encouragement to do still better, and to those who have not been awarded prizes I have this to say. Do not be disappointed, but do your best always and another time you will succeed And remember that you will be lucky, I may say unique, if after you have left school you find that your good work, even your best work, invariably wins a prize Your reward, as you will come to understand if you do not understand it now, lies in your endeavour and in your work itself

We are living in troubled times None can see far into the future, or can pretend to guess what new order, social, political or economic, may emerge for the world in the next few years. At such a time individuals, communities, nations, and all mankind are in desperate need of the virtues of courage, self-confidence, mutual trust and understanding, which alone can lead the peoples of the world to build again what has been shattered, and bind themselves together more strongly in a spirit of unity, brotherhood and goodwill. These virtues, I believe, the Rajkumar College is doing its best to instil and to evoke, and India will have cause to be grateful to it and to all likeminded institutions "

10. CONTENTMENT OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Speech at a dinner given by His Excellency Sir Francis Wylie at Government House, Nagpur, on January 5, 1940. Extract **Jan. 5, 1940**

" I do not propose to make a speech tonight nor I am sure, do you expect me to do so But I would like to thank you sincerely for your very kind references to the work which at one time or other it has been my privilege to do, or to try to do, on behalf of India—references which I deeply value Let me say, too, how great an encouragement, and how great a satisfaction, it was to me to hear from you tonight that the servants of the Crown in the Central Provinces and Berar are satisfied as to the closeness of my concern for the safeguarding at all times of their legitimate interests None of us on whom the burden of administration has fallen will ever under-estimate the importance to good government of the contentment, and the confidence, of those public services on whose efficiency and whose experience, so much must in the last resort at all times depend.

I thank you most warmly too on my wife's behalf for the reference you have made to her appeal for aid in combating the scourge of tuberculosis. Nothing has been closer to her heart during all the time that she has been in India than the alleviation of the misery and the distress inseparable from its ravages. She is happy indeed to think that the response to her appeal should have been so generous and so spontaneous and that there should be so good a prospect in the result of a contribution of real value to the prevention and the treatment of tuberculosis in India.

11. THE WAR AND INDIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS

Jan. 6, 1940

Keen regret that the outbreak of war should have resulted in even the temporary interruption of the harmonious working of provincial autonomy and of the orderly progress of India as a whole to the goal of Dominion Status was expressed by Lord Linlithgow replying to Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy's speech at a dinner party given by the latter in honour of His Excellency at Nagpur on January 6 1940. His Excellency also indicated briefly the nature of the difficulties which beset the path of constitutional progress in India Extracts

"I had always hoped that I should be so fortunate as to visit the Central Provinces at a time when general pressure was less acute and when conditions alike in the local political and in the international sphere were happier and likely to give me more opportunity of visiting the outlying parts of this province and of seeing with my own eyes the various directions in which it is moving forward of examining the agricultural problem on the spot and, if possible of paying a visit to some of those industrial enterprises to which you have referred. Fate has ordained otherwise and my visit has fallen at a time when as you have rightly reminded us not only in the local political sphere but in the sphere of international affairs we are confronted by grave problems calling for the closest attention and for the anxious consideration of all of us on whom any burden of responsibility for the handling of the affairs of India and of every part of India rests today

You have alluded Sir Maneckji in feeling terms to the war situation It is only too present to all of us. It is indeed a situation which can never for a moment be out of our thoughts and the existence of which must for the time being dominate all others. It is a situation which as I recently remarked elsewhere is of profound and lasting importance to India.

India cannot but be concerned in the most vital degree whether in the material or in the political sphere in the success of the Allies. The realisation of the ideals and of the aims which the Allies have set before themselves in entering into this war and in its prosecution are equally of profound significance and concern to a country which, whatever internal political differences there may for the moment be has never hesitated to make clear in the most unmistakable manner the whole-heartedness of its support for the objectives which

animate the Empire and the Allies in the struggle in which we are now engaged. Nothing could be more encouraging to me than to feel that there is so little difference of opinion—indeed I should have said so marked a unanimity of opinion—in India as to the justice of our cause, and as to the compelling nature of the motives which have actuated us in entering the war.

It is with all the greater satisfaction in those circumstances that I am able to pay a tribute tonight not only to the material assistance which the Central Provinces and Berar have in one way or another so readily lent to India's war effort; but to the assurance you have given me, speaking as one of the most respected and most eminent citizens of this province, of the readiness of all concerned to spare no effort to play their part and to lend the utmost aid in their power to the realisation of the aims which we have set before us.

You have reminded us in the speech which you have just made that difficulties confront us today, difficulties not merely in the international, but also in the internal Indian sphere I am only too conscious of that fact I could wish that things had been otherwise, fully as I accept the sincerity of the approach to this question of participation in the war of those who have felt doubts, doubts which it has not so far been wholly possible to resolve, as to the position of His Majesty's Government

You have truly remarked that it has been to me a profound disappointment that the outbreak of the war at the juncture at which it happened should have resulted in even the temporary interruption of the harmonious working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy, and that, too, it should have been responsible for the interruption of the orderly progress of India as a whole through the stages indicated in the Government of India Act of 1935, to that goal of Dominion Status, which it has always been the wish of His Majesty's Government that she should achieve at the earliest possible date and which it is today still their wish to see attained at the earliest possible moment that circumstances render practicable

We find ourselves as I speak to you tonight faced with a situation marked by many anomalies India is whole-hearted in her support for the ideals for which His Majesty's Government are fighting the war. She is making a great contribution whether in men or in materials, to the prosecution of the war. She is ready and anxious to make a contribution greater still—indeed not the least of the problems which have presented themselves to me since the outbreak of the war has been the difficulty, given the turn which the war has taken, of making the fullest use of offers so generous as those which I have received from every province and every State in India.

Yet internally we have had to face in so many provinces, including this province in which I speak tonight, the temporary employment of the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935, and a reversion, as you have indicated, to a form of government resembling far more closely in very many ways that which operated before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms than can be regarded with

equanimity by any of us who are anxious to promote the political development of India and the achievement of her full status in the Empire.

Speaking recently I ventured to remark that there were times when silence was better than speech so far as constitutional development was concerned and while I am aware that that view has in certain quarters been criticized nothing has happened in the last three weeks to lead me materially to alter it, or to feel that much more may not stand to be lost than to be gained by an over-emphasis in public on the difficulties that may lie before us real as they are or by too much discussion on the public platform of those difficulties and of the means by which they can best be solved. The difficulties themselves are only too present to all of us.

The complexity of the factors that have to be reconciled the importance of the communities the parties and the interests concerned the necessity for applying a balanced view to a situation of such intricacy the careful planning and the foresight called for in devising solutions of problems the roots of which lie so deep and the consequences of the answer to which carry us so far into the future, need no emphasis from me. The more strictly political side apart, the communal problem to which you have referred in impressive words and the importance of which I accept as fully as I deplore its existence, is not the least of those matters.

In circumstances such as these, I would only repeat my own anxiety to co-operate in every possible way in finding a solution and my confidence that given its vital necessity to the prosperity the progress and the contentment of India, a solution must be found and a solution consistent with the unity of India, a solution which will bring together not only the great communities inside British India, but the Indian States with the marked, if different contribution which they are in a position to make and which it is so necessary that they should make to an Indian Dominion.

I know too —as you are aware I have spared no pains to familiarize myself with the outlook and with the point of view of representatives of all communities and parties, and of the Indian States—how many conflicting elements remain to be harmonized.

But I cannot feel that it should be beyond our capacity however great the difficulties to bring about their harmonization even if the process of harmonizing is less rapid than we could have wished. Had we but been able to pursue the course devised over so many years with the assistance of the representatives of India, I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that we should by now be within reach of the goal. That has not been possible and we must make the best of the situation as we find it though in dealing with that situation we can be thankful that over a period of years provincial autonomy has given an opportunity to Indian political leaders of handling great problems of exercising real power and of enhancing that political experience the importance of which is so immense in relation to the ultimate constitutional position of this country

I will say no more tonight than this—that differences exist as we all know too well · but that we should do better, as I have ventured to urge in a different connection before, to concentrate on points of agreement rather than on points of difference that we should be wise to think at all times of India as a single whole, and to have in our minds the desire to do what in our power lies to hold her together, and to see her progress on the path of political and constitutional development In the efforts which I made to help her in that direction I have had great assistance from the most eminent political leaders in this country I hope and I am confident that I shall continue to receive that assistance I would only urge the importance—if I may without giving rise to misunderstanding say so—of avoiding in these delicate political matters too unbending a rigidity . of keeping an open mind, of a readiness to compromise; of that courage and that sense of responsibility to one's country and for its future, that readiness to make adjustment with opposing interests, whether the degree of that opposition be great or small, which are the true test and the true sign of the deeper political wisdom.

The sinking of differences, the preparation of those conditions and circumstances which bring about the establishment of Dominion Status, is, as you, Sir Maneckjee, have remarked tonight, the course of wisdom in present circumstances, and any help that I am capable of affording to achieve that ideal will be forthcoming in the greatest measure practicable

Let me turn from the political field to another matter vitally affecting the life and the happiness of the inhabitants of this country on which you have touched tonight I refer to the appeal for funds and for an organization to deal with the problem of tuberculosis No words can overestimate the significance of that problem in its relation to the daily life, the happiness, the contentment, the physical well-being, of millions of human beings, men, women, and children, throughout India

Lady Linlithgow has asked me to say how deeply she appreciates the generous reference which you have made in your speech to her own work in this connection She has asked me to say, too, how greatly she has valued the ready response to her appeal in the Central Provinces and Berar—and as you know, 95 per cent of all sums raised locally are applied for tuberculosis work in the province itself —and the interest which has so clearly shown itself in many parts of the province in the prevention and the treatment of a disease which represents so great a scourge "

12. A NEW HIGH COURT

6, *Justice administered without fear or favour is a true index of the freedom of the land in which it flourishes It is the foundation on which freedom builds and where it is lacking material prosperity disciplined patriotism or military might are facades of lath and plaster, worth nothing at all declared Lord Linlithgow in opening the Nagpur High Court buildings on January* 6 1940 *Of this we can today recognise only too clearly the tragic proof in those parts of the world whence justice as we know it has been driven forth* ' *Proceeding*

Here in Nagpur however a new and worthy House of Justice has been built and here the laws of India ancient but vital institutions, will find new space for living and growing, through interpretation by your judges, and the precedents established in your courts.

I listened with much interest to your account Sir of the history of judicial administration in this Province. It is over three quarters of a century since the first Judicial Commissioner was appointed, but for the greater part of that period, during which there were developments of the utmost importance in the legislative and executive machinery of the administration, and in the territorial and commercial expansion of the Province, the judicial administration made little advance. The Letters Patent of four years ago were conferred in response to a very intelligible demand for an independent judiciary A chartered High Court is symbolical of the King's Majesty as the fount of justice, and it is easy to sympathise with a public opinion that demanded this valuable safeguard.

You have described the building Sir as a poem in stone. If its beauty has as great a functional value as it is satisfying to the eye—and your description leads me to believe that it has—it is indeed a work of art, and the architect, the builders and craftsmen and the material itself of which so great a part comes from your own Province, should have our most sincere congratulations.

It is perhaps in keeping with that tradition in Eastern art which holds that the work of man should not presume to rival the perfection of God s handiwork and therefore should be incomplete in some detail, that the building as we see it now should be without its dome. The feature has been delayed, I understand, for the very sensible reason that in its original design it was too heavy for the supporting pillars. Let justice be done though the heavens fall as you, Sir have reminded me but if the dome were to have fallen while you were engaged upon your business I doubt if the most imperturbable judge, lawyer or litigant among you could have quoted as calmly as a headmaster of my old school when a map of the world collapsed about his head

Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinae

13. THE ORIENT CLUB SPEECH

A declaration that the British Government's objective for India had been made clear as full Dominion Status of "the Statute of Westminster variety," an assurance that their concern was to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing constitution and Dominion Status, and a fervent appeal to the "leaders of the great political parties of India" to help to end as early as possible the present state of affairs, were made by Lord Linlithgow in a speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, on January 10, 1940 *Text* · **Jan 10, 1940**

"The first thing, and the thing that must be the most prominent in the minds of everyone of us, is the outbreak of war, with all its consequences for good and for evil of every kind

So far as India is concerned, there has indeed been a noble response

I have been inundated with offers of men, of money, of material assistance of every kind, and the fullest advantage practicable in the circumstances in which this war is being fought has been taken of those very generous offers It has been a great happiness to me to know how widely and how fully they have been appreciated at home and throughout the Empire, and I am glad to think that the magnitude of our war effort should be so fully recognized

We have, I suspect, a long way to go yet We may have to face many very difficult and awkward situations It may well be that the real test still lies ahead of us. But we may be thankful that all the preparatory work done in our own restricted field in India has proved to have been on the right foundations · and every day that passes makes the position of the Allies stronger, as it makes, I believe, that of the enemy weaker Every day, too, makes clearer to the world the inevitability of the decision which we took at the beginning of September, and the vital necessity of our attaining our objectives, and of our protecting and securing the position of those high ideals for which we are fighting today.

When I had the pleasure of meeting you a year ago, I spoke of the working of Provincial Autonomy, and the success which the scheme of provincial autonomy under the Act of 1935 had achieved in this great Presidency I said, too, that Provincial Autonomy was only one part of the scheme

I emphasized the importance of bringing into effect without any delay the scheme of Federation which was the coping stone of the constitutional structure embodied in the Act I said that it was all the more important that we should secure Federation with as little delay as practicable because of the deterioration in the international situation, and I urged that we should press on with it with all the energy in our power, since, whatever its shortcomings, the federal scheme was the scheme that held out the best hope of swift constitutional progress and of the unity of India

We meet today in very different circumstances

To my deep regret there has been in this province a temporary interruption in the normal working of the scheme of Provincial Autonomy We have no longer in power Ministers backed by a majority in the legislature and the administration is perforce being carried on under the emergency provisions of the Act of 1935 No one regrets I am sure more than you do yourselves that this should be the case or that at a time when the burdens and the responsibilities to be carried on behalf of the public are greater than they have ever been Ministers should not be in power to assist in carrying those burdens. We can but trust that this interruption will be temporary and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the constitution in the provincial sphere will before long be practicable.

But in the provincial field we have at any rate been able to bring into being and to test by practical application those portions of the Act of 1935 which devolve great powers and responsibilities on elected Ministers. We had not reached that point in the Centre when the war broke out, though our preparations were being pushed on with all possible energy

At the beginning of the war which we had every reason to believe would develop on lines which would make it immediately necessary to concentrate every atom of our energy on the prosecution of the war to the exclusion of all other matters the course of wisdom much as all of us might regret it was clearly for the time being to suspend the preparations afoot for the establishment of the Federation of India.

I deeply regret myself that that should have been necessary since whatever criticisms on one ground or another have been levelled against the scheme of federation in the Act could it but have been brought into operation it would have provided us with the solution of almost all the problems that confront us today—the presence of Ministers at the Centre the association of the Indian States—a point of such vital importance to British India—in a common government the representation of all minorities on the lines elaborated after a full consideration of the claims and proposals of the minorities themselves and the unity of India.

You know only too well how things have gone since September I do not propose to dilate on that today

As you know in response to requests for a clarification of the aims of His Majesty's Government and of their intentions towards India, His Majesty's Government have made it clear both through statements issued by myself and in Parliament that their objective for India is full Dominion Status Dominion Status too of the Statute of Westminster variety that so far as the intermediate period is concerned (and it is their desire to make that intermediate period the shortest practicable) they are ready to consider the reopening of the scheme of the Act of 1935 so soon as practicable after the war with the aid of Indian opinion that they are prepared in the mean time subject to such local adjustments between the leaders of the great communities as may be necessary to ensure harmonious working

and as an immediate earnest of their intention, to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders and that they are ready and anxious to give all the help they can to overcome the difficulties that confront us and that confront India today

But those assurances have not, to my profound regret, dissipated the doubts and the uncertainties which have led to the withdrawal from office of the Congress Ministries, and which have made it necessary in seven provinces to make use of the emergency provisions of the Act

The pronouncements made on behalf of His Majesty's Government since the beginning of the war make clear, I think, beyond any question whatever, their intentions and their anxiety to help

The federal scheme of the Act was itself designed as a stage on the road to Dominion Status and under that scheme, devised, I would remind you, long before there was any question of a war, very wide and extensive powers were to be placed in the hands of a Central Government representing the Indian States as well as British India, and constituted on a very broad basis indeed

There can be no question of the good faith and the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in the efforts they have made to deal with the constitutional future of India

I well know that there are many people who press for swifter and more radical solutions of the problems before us

I do not question the sincerity or the good intentions of those who feel that way

But all those of us who have to deal with problems of this magnitude know only too well how often we are attracted by apparently simple solutions, how often those apparently simple solutions, when more closely investigated, reveal unexpected difficulties, and difficulties, too, of unexpected importance, anxious as we may all be to take what seems to be the shortest course

Short cuts, as many of us know to our cost, are too often prone in experience to lead to a considerable waste of time Nowhere I fear is that truer than of the political problems of India, for there are difficulties, and real difficulties, of which we are all aware, and which we all regret But they will not be avoided or disposed of by ignoring their existence

The wise course is to face up to those difficulties and to try to find a solution of them that will result in the subsequent co-operation of all the parties and interests concerned We are, after all, dealing not with one political party only, but with many

Nor must we forget the essential necessity, in the interests of Indian unity, of the inclusion of the Indian States in any constitutional scheme

There are the insistent claims of the minorities

I need refer only to two of them—the great Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes—there are the guarantees that have been given to the minorities in the past the fact that their position must be safeguarded and that those guarantees must be honoured.

I know that you appreciate the difficulty of the position of the Viceroy and the difficulty of the position of His Majesty's Government faced as they are with strong and conflicting claims advanced by bodies and interests to whose views the utmost attention must be paid, and whose position must receive the fullest consideration. Justice must be done as between the various parties, and His Majesty's Government are determined to see justice done.

But I would ask my friends in the various parties to consider whether they cannot get together and reach some agreement between themselves which would facilitate my task and the task of His Majesty's Government in dealing with this vital question of Indian constitutional progress and I would venture again to emphasize the case for compromise the case for avoiding too rigid an approach to the problems such as those with which we are dealing today

As to the objective there is no dispute. I am ready to consider any practical suggestion that has general support and I am ready when the time comes to give every help that I personally can. His Majesty's Government are not blind—nor can we be blind here—to the practical difficulties involved in moving at one step from the existing constitutional position into that constitutional position which is represented by Dominion Status. But here again I can assure you that their concern and mine is to spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the achievement of Dominion Status.

The offer is there. The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one and one of which they are, I know fully conscious. They have helped me in the past. I ask today that they will help me again and help India and I ask for their co-operation and their assistance in terminating at as early a date as possible a state of things which all who have faith in the virtue of constitutional progress must deplore a state of things which every lover of India—everyone who is concerned to advance her interests—must feel today to be a bitter disappointment.

14. ARTS EXHIBITION

12, *Speech at the opening of the Annual Exhibition of the Bombay Arts Society on January 12 1940*

I thank you most heartily for your cordial welcome and I can assure you that I am very sensible of the special distinction of being the first Viceroy to have opened this Exhibition. I have several times seen fine reproductions of the exhibits shown here in recent years and this made me all the more anxious to come and see the Bombay Arts Society's Exhibition for myself

It is a well-established institution which last year celebrated its Golden Jubilee. What changes the world will have seen by the time this Exhibition has reached its Diamond Jubilee it would be rash to prophesy, but if history is any guide there is reason to hope that Indian Art will by then be rising to, will perhaps have reached, a new peak of excellence, greater than any previously attained in her long artistic tradition.

Art, as Sir Cowasji has told us, requires patronage and encouragement, and therefore an atmosphere of prosperity in which to flourish. To this I would add that a period of great art must also be a period of confidence, unity and ordered progress, when high hopes and great achievements quicken the imagination and lift up the spirit.

Art never thrives, though its seeds may continue to live, during a period of intellectual complacency or of political chaos, such as, those which followed the disintegration of the Roman Empire and the end of the Moghul Period. Greek Art of the Periclean Age and the Art of the Italian Renaissance rose out of a trough of conventionalism on the upsurging of a great wave of fresh ideas and new values, of bold and courageous experiment. India, in this first half of the twentieth century, stands, I believe, on the threshold of just such another period, and this is reflected not only in a revival of interest in art and artistic appreciation, but also in the new vigour and creative impulse which are apparent in Indian Art today.

Moreover, I am optimistic enough to believe that out of the struggle in which we are engaged today a new world will be born, a world of security, confidence, prosperity and co-operation; a world in which the arts of peace can flourish. Let us hope so, at any rate, for, paradox though it may seem, that is what we are fighting for."

15. INDIAN UNITY—H.M.G.'s AIM

The fact that His Majesty's Government had been obliged to suspend the preparations for initiating Federation in India did not mean any abatement of their desire to secure Indian unity, was emphasised by Lord Linlithgow speaking at a banquet in his honour at Baroda on Jan. 17, 1940. Nor could that unity be complete without the co-operation of the Indian States. Extracts **Jan. 17, 1940**

"The postponement of my visit to Baroda last year caused me great disappointment which was followed by profound sadness when I learnt last February of the demise of His late Highness. I realised fully how great must be the loss to Baroda State. Your Highness has rightly said that his life was dedicated to the service of his people, who loved and revered him, and his death has left a void that can never be filled.

I know that in your personal grief you must feel the loss irreparable, but with clear foresight His late Highness took pains to ensure that his successor should be well versed in the intricacies of administration and fully equipped to build on the foundations of wise and sympathetic rule which he had so firmly laid. It must therefore

have been a solace to him in his last days to know that in Your Highness he had a successor able immediately to take up the reins of Government. I am fully confident that with his life as an inspiration Your Highness will in the course of time fill in the hearts of your subjects that void to which you have referred.

In this anxious time of war it must give great comfort to His Majesty to receive such constant evidence of the devotion of the Princes of India. Your Highness offer placing all the resources of your State at His Majesty's disposal was one of the first of its kind I had the pleasure of receiving and conveying to His Majesty the King Emperor and I know that when the need arises Baroda will not be found wanting in any respect.

I listened with much appreciation to Your Highness remarks on the question of Federation and I am glad to think that Your Highness shares the view of that sage and experienced statesman, His Highness the late Maharaja as to the soundness of the line of constitutional advance represented by the federal section of the Act and the importance and significance of the federal scheme in its relation to the unity of India—a consideration that has at all times been present to His Majesty's Government.

It was to me regrettable that the outbreak of war and the impossibility of judging on what lines the war was likely to proceed should have left us with no option but to suspend our federal preparations but the fact that those preparations have been suspended does not for a moment mean that His Majesty s Government have in anyway modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if in the constitutional arrangements of the future the historic Indian States with their great and special traditions take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy

I have noted with satisfaction the constitutional and fiscal reforms to which His late Highness gave effect in recent years and which are being actively implemented by yourself. May every success attend Your Highness efforts in this direction.

I congratulate Your Highness on the conditions of prosperity and happiness which obviously prevail in your State and I note that in effecting reductions in your Civil List Your Highness has set a personal example of that prudent economy which enables resources to be conserved for the provision of improvements in the State which the masses of your people may enjoy

In addition to the improvements your Highness has mentioned which are of great importance I have been impressed by the broad minded policy adopted in Baroda in the matters of education, public health agriculture, women s franchise infant welfare cottage industries and other beneficial activities too numerous to mention now but of which I have seen evidence during my stay in the State and in all of which Lady Linlithgow and myself have been deeply interested.

Baroda State has over 2 500 schools 109 medical institutions, including a very advanced General hospital a mental and leper

asylum, a justly famous library with its ancillary system of rural circulating libraries and a fine museum and art gallery These public services are available gratis and have been provided concurrently with reduced taxation The fact that in spite of such reduced taxation the gross revenue has actually increased clearly demonstrates that prudent economic policy is increasing the wealth of the State and its subjects

I was grieved to learn of the distress caused in some parts of the State by the partial failure of the monsoon, but I have heard of the speedy measures of relief adopted and that this was rendered possible as a result of wise husbanding of the State's resources over many years by means of which a considerable Reserve Fund has been built up from which expenditure on such emergencies can be met without disorganising the normal functions of Government I have in the past, impressed upon my Political representatives the desirability of encouraging such prudence in the Indian States with which they are in relations and I trust that the example set by Baroda will be widely followed "

16. PRINCES' PLEDGE

Mar. 11, 1940

After dealing with the " most significant and the most important event " since the Chamber of Princes had met the previous year, the event of " overwhelming concern " to all, the outbreak of the war, and expressing his genuine appreciation of the Princes' support in the emergency, Lord Linlithgow expressed the earnest hope that Their Highnesses would not cease to give their continual and close attention to the perfecting of their administrative machinery The value of administrative reform remained as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles where they had for the time being subsided would not recur He again drew Their Highnesses' particular attention to the desirability of the creation of joint services where small States in the same group were unable individually to maintain an adequate standard of administration A beginning had been made in the direction And it was of vital importance that progress should be made in that direction Text of speech to the Chamber of Princes on March 11, 1940

" The most significant and the most important event since we met a year ago, the event of overwhelming concern to all of us here today is the outbreak of the war His Majesty's Government continued till the last moment to spare no effort to resolve the difficulties that had arisen in the international sphere by peaceful means If in the result their efforts were unsuccessful they can at least feel that they had left nothing undone and that no share of the responsibility for plunging the world into a conflict, the disastrous effects of which must last for many years to come, can fairly rest upon them.

The impact of the war has found the Princes of India, true to their traditions, staunchly loyal to His Majesty the King-Emperor. They have placed their forces, their personal services, and all their

resources at the disposal of the Crown and they have contributed in every way open to them to the Empire s cause. Those offers have, I can assure Your Highnesses, been most deeply and genuinely appreciated and as you are aware in every case in which it has been possible to accept them they have been accepted with deep and real gratitude. Many of the Rulers of the Indian States have expressed the utmost eagerness to be allowed to serve personally in the theatre of war I sympathise sincerely with them in their disappointment that it has not as yet been found possible to take advantage of these offers of personal service. Your Highnesses will be aware that so far the course of hostilities has differed very materially from that of the last war up to the present there has been no substantial call on the manpower of India. If conditions alter in this respect Your Highnesses may rest assured that your offers so deeply valued will be remembered.

Since our last meeting many of Your Highnesses have had to face difficult problems consequent on the succession of poor monsoons which has visited so many parts of India and among those areas which have been particularly affected have been large tracts of Rajputana and Kathiawar In the steps they have taken to meet this calamity the Governments of all the important States concerned have made full and liberal use of their reserves and they have devised widespread and well-organised plans for the relief of suffering It is my earnest hope that this year the States affected will receive a timely and sufficient rainfall, and that the sufferings of the people and the anxiety of the States Governments will be brought to an end.

As Your Highnesses are aware His Majesty's Government felt on the outbreak of war that in the conditions then prevailing and on a review of the probable course of hostilities they had no option but to hold in suspense however reluctantly the work in connection with the preparations for Federation while retaining Federation as their objective. But the suspension of those preparations does not mean that His Majesty's Government, to repeat the words which I used a month or two ago at Baroda, have in any way modified their own view as to the necessity for securing Indian unity—a unity which can only be complete if in the constitutional arrangements of the future the historic Indian States with their great and special traditions take the place which we have always looked forward to seeing them occupy

Your Highnesses are well aware of my views on the question of Federation, and of its many advantages from the point of view not only of the Indian States but of India as a whole and in particular of the unity of India. I am confident that you will appreciate the importance of continuing to apply your minds to this vitally important problem and to the questions that arise in connection with it.

When we last met I spoke very frankly and very directly to Your Highnesses on the subject of setting the houses of the States in order I do not wish to repeat all that I said then My view of the profound importance of action on the lines which I then indicated remains unchanged. Indeed if anything I regard it in the

light of developments over the last twelve months, as of greater importance now than I did when I addressed you in March, 1939 I gratefully acknowledge that many Rulers have of late made earnest endeavours to improve their administrative standards, that various admirable reforms have been introduced, and that measures have in many cases been taken to ensure that all legitimate complaints on the part of State subjects receive due consideration. But I earnestly hope that Your Highnesses will not cease to give your continual and close attention to the perfecting of your administrative machinery The value of administrative reform remains as great and as present as ever, and it would be rash to assume that troubles, where they have for the time being subsided, will not recur.

That the Crown is anxious to give such help as it is properly incumbent upon it to give is clearly shown by the assistance rendered to various States in different parts of India, and by the establishment of the Crown Police Force, the object of which is, as you are aware, to assist the States Governments should the situation pass beyond their control. But I am sure that it is fully present to Your Highnesses that the maintenance of order in the territories of Indian States is primarily the responsibility of the Rulers concerned

17 THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

5, *A reference to India s constitutional problems was made by Lord Linlithgow in the course of his speech at a State Banquet at Kapurthala on March* 15 1940

The anxiety of His Majesty s Government to see a solution of these problems said His Excellency consistent with the unity of India consistent with the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned and worthy of this great country and of its historic past needs no emphasis from me If our endeavours have hitherto not met with success it has not been for want of trying or for want of goodwill and there is no one as you know who is more concerned than myself to see the difficulties that have prevented the achievement of our wishes surmounted Extracts

I am grateful to Your Highness for the references which you have been kind enough to make to my endeavours to contribute to the solution of the great constitutional problems of India. The anxiety of His Majesty s Government to see a solution of these problems consistent with the unity of India consistent with the legitimate rights and interests of all concerned, and worthy of this great country and of its historic past needs no emphasis from me If our endeavours have not hitherto met with success that has not been for want of trying or for want of goodwill and there is no one as you know who is more concerned than I am to see the difficulties that have prevented the achievement of our wishes surmounted.

I have also to thank Your Highness on behalf of Her Excellency for the kind remarks you have made about her She has the welfare of India s millions very much at heart and is delighted with the generous support she has received from Your Highness in her campaign against the terrible scourge of tuberculosis.

I have been impressed during my visit with the progress made by Your Highness administration in the nation building depart ments and in particular with the success of your efforts to improve the breed of cattle and the standards of cultivation animal husbandry village hygiene and rural reconstruction generally Your Highness is I am sure well aware that the prosperity of your predominantly agricultural State depends to a great extent upon a loyal and contented peasantry

I am glad to learn that the Tika Raja is taking a prominent part in the administration on Your Highness behalf. I feel sure that he is acquiring a first hand knowledge of State affairs which will one day stand him in good stead.

The Empire is passing through a most critical phase of its long history and the loyalty of the Princes of India was never more valuable or more appreciated. It is clear in this war as in that of 1914 18 that Kapurthala is second to no State in its loyalty and devotion to the Crown and that Your Highness martial subjects by rallying to the Empire s call are once more proving themselves true to the glorious traditions of the past. Under the able guidance of your gallant son Major Maharajkumar Amarjit Singh, the State

Forces are being brought up to the required standard of efficiency and are at any moment ready to answer any call that may be made upon them In this connection I would like to congratulate Your Highness on your wise decision to accept the 1939 State Forces Scheme, the outstanding advantages of which you and your advisers evidently appreciate

I deeply appreciate the reference which Your Highness has just made to the tragic events of two days ago (the shooting outrage in Caxton Hall, London) This dreadful outrage has met with universal condemnation in India from every party and every class In Sir Michael O'Dwyer, India and the Empire lose a great and distinguished administrator whose interest in India remained unflagging to the end and who over the many years since he left this country was well known as a ready adviser and a warm friend of young Indians of whatever class or community who while in London turned to him for help. The deep sympathy of all of us will go out to Lady O'Dwyer and her family in the irreparable loss which they have suffered I need not say how profoundly I share the relief which Your Highness has expressed at the providential escape of Lord Zetland, Lord Lamington and of Sir Louis Dane, all of them old and tried friends of India I am glad to be able to say that the latest news I have of all the three is reassuring Lord Zetland has sufficiently recovered to have returned to work, while Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane, according to the latest reports, are progressing favourably "

18. RED CROSS SOCIETY'S WORK

Satisfaction at the progress in the activities, greatly expanded on account of the war, of the St John Ambulance Association and the Indian Red Cross Society, was expressed by Lord Linlithgow at their annual general meeting on March 26, 1940 Text of the speech **Mar. 2[6] 1940**

" YOUR EXCELLENCY,* SIR ERNEST BURDON, GENERAL JOLLY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is always a great pleasure to me to preside over this Annual General Meeting of your two Societies, and to welcome this gathering of delegates from all parts of India, so many of whom have demonstrated their enthusiasm for the work which the Societies represent, by giving up their time and undertaking a long and troublesome journey to the Capital

India has not escaped the infection of the discords and rivalries which have disfigured the world's history and retarded its progress of late Amidst all these, and in contrast to them, it is heartening to see two Societies, both of which had their beginnings in the strong desire to relieve the toll of suffering caused by war, going steadfastly forward, hand in hand, without competition, confusion or discouragement, jointly dedicated to the service of humanity, which so sorely stands in need of it today

---

* His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Robert Cassels.

The work which your Societies have done in peace is admirable but inevitably it is in time of war that the test and the strain is heaviest It was therefore with particular attention that I read the reports and listened to the interesting summaries which have just been presented to us by Sir Ernest Burdon and by General Jolly of the work that has been accomplished during the year in which we have been living partly under the shadow of imminent war and partly in a state of war itself.

There is every cause for satisfaction with the work that these reports reveal and especially the report of the Central Joint War Committee. It was no small task to bring the Mobilisation Plan so smoothly into operation and those responsible for it both at Headquarters and on the Provincial Committees fully deserve the compliments which have been paid to them in the speeches we have heard. I am happy to feel that the work so well prepared and begun is continuing with the smooth efficiency we should expect under the able guidance of the Red Cross Commissioner

The work of the Joint War Committee involves a close co-operation with Army Headquarters and it was in that sphere that the willing help and counsel of General Tabuteau whose loss we mourn today made itself particularly felt. I will not add to the tributes you have already heard paid to him except to say that no one more richly deserved the honour recently conferred upon him of admission to the rank of Commander of the Order of St. John.

It is a matter of regret to all of us that this is the last Annual General Meeting which Sir Ernest Burdon will be attending Three years ago the first of these meetings over which I presided was also the first at which Sir Ernest was present as Chairman of the St. John Ambulance Association and as a Knight of Grace. In those three years the St. John Ambulance Association and the Brigade no less than the Indian Red Cross Society have advanced in India with great strides. It is no exaggeration to say that Sir Ernest s share in the responsibility for this development is a very large one The quality of his work and of his enthusiasm for the welfare of your two organisations, with which he has been intimately associated for the last nine years is well known to all of you but no one I think can realise quite how hard Sir Ernest has worked who has not been constantly and closely in touch with the activities not only of the Red Cross and St. John but of the various other charities funds and benevolent institutions with which Sir Ernest has been associated for a much longer period of time. His help has been invaluable. His energy his balanced judgment and his ripe experience have combined to make him the ideal Chairman and Chief Commissioner We shall miss him very much.

Mr Badenoch whom I have nominated to succeed him as Chairman needs no introduction either to you or to the work and responsibilities which await him. As Honorary Treasurer of both organisations he has already to his credit much valuable work and I am sure that he will prove an able successor to Sir Ernest Burdon

I feel sure, too, that you would wish me to welcome today, on your behalf, General Jolly, to this his first General Meeting as Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society, having succeeded General Bradfield in that capacity last September General Jolly's ability and energy have already been tried and proved in several fields, and you need have, I think, little doubt that the direction of the activities of the Indian Red Cross Society is in safe hands

You have listened to the speeches of the Chairman, and you will have opportunity to study the reports of both organisations There is no need for me to comment in detail on the activities of the past year, but there are one or two points among them, which particularly struck me and which I should like to mention Dealing, first, with the St John Ambulance Association and Brigade, I was delighted to hear that 1939 had been a record year of achievement, both in the field of instruction in First Aid and Home Nursing, and in increase of membership of the Brigade, 8,000 members does not sound a large number in this country of hundreds of millions, but it represents a leap forward in membership by 60 per cent in one year. For this the war is no doubt responsible, but war or no war, let us hope that this increase will have set the standard for the years to come, for India has and will always have need of as many trained workers as she can get, of the type that are found in the St John Ambulance Brigade It is a matter of great satisfaction that the organisation of the Brigade on a territorial basis coinciding with Provinces, under the control of heads of Civil Medical Departments, has been completed This arrangement, I am sure, will greatly assist to maintain the efficiency of the Brigade in India

We may hope that there will be no call in India to put into practice A R P and anti-gas training provided by St John Ambulance, but the importance of having ready a supply of volunteers skilled in such measures needs no emphasis from me I have myself witnessed in Simla and been impressed by a demonstration of the results of this training On that occasion so realistic was the air-raid arranged to try the mettle of the workers that it was necessary to warn the citizens of Simla beforehand, by beat of drum, to be of good cheer since the raid was not the real thing

The Mobilisation Plan and the formation of the Joint War Committee made it inevitable and proper that the Red Cross and St John Ambulance should share the burden of and the credit for much that has been accomplished during the past year In particular I would like to mention the Women's Auxiliary Corps in Bombay, the numerous work parties that have been formed up and down the country, typical of which is the party that works so zealously here in Delhi under the guidance of Lady Cassels, and the organisation of a Voluntary Aid Service of Nurses to supplement the Nursing Branch of the Army Medical Services These are all solid achievements of great value, within the scope of both organisations

Let me mention now some matters which pertain more particularly to the Indian Red Cross Society I was most interested to

hear of a Blood Transfusion Service in Bengal. This is an example which I hope will spread.

I hope too that the donation from the British National Institute for the Blind which has been spent upon education work on the prevention of blindness, is a seed that will multiply a hundredfold. My appeal for funds for St. Dunstan's Hostel and Sir Clutha Mackenzie's recent tour of India (though St Dunstan's of course works only for the war blinded) have I think roused interest in the grave problem of blindness in this country and have perhaps inspired the hope that much might be done here by way of prevention cure and after care in co-operation with the great institutions which already exist outside India for the purpose.

The growth of the Indian Red Cross Society is clearly a healthy one. Perhaps the clearest evidence that it is destined for still greater service in the India of the future is the continued development and expansion of the Junior Red Cross This is in my opinion one of the aspects of Red Cross activities which deserves the greatest attention—so that the principles for which the Red Cross stands should be planted firmly in as many as possible of the youth of the country

It is gratifying to note that the Society in India has been able to extend help to other parts of the world, which stood in need of it and that two nurses in India have been awarded by the International Red Cross Committee the distinction of the Florence Nightingale Medal. This and the fact that the war has not yet curtailed the normal peace-time activities of the Red Cross in India betokens good organisation and reserves of strength. But there is no doubt that those reserves still need most urgently to be built up both in members and in funds against a severer testing time which may yet be in store The response by the public to my appeal for funds for the Red Cross and St. John Ambulance—which was greatly assisted by the willing co-operation of the Press—has been generous especially considering the claims of other War Funds. But there can never be too much generosity in such a cause and I feel sure that if and when the greater need arises it will be found that the springs of public support in India have barely yet been tapped.

Ladies and Gentlemen once again I thank you for coming here today and I wish you every success in the arduous and responsible duties which you have to perform. Your work is full of the greatest significance for the future of the world and of our civilisation. 80 years ago the sight of the dying and wounded lying uncared for on the bloody field of Selferino so impressed one man that he set in train the international conference which ended in the signing of the Geneva Convention and the birth of the Red Cross. 700 years before that in Jerusalem in the midst of the Crusades the Poor Brotherhood of the Hospital of St. John was established as an Order of Knighthood, of which it was said that amidst the noise and clashing of swords and with a continual war upon their hands it was capable of joining the peaceable virtues of religion with the most distinguishing courage in the field.

War is an evil thing, but out of war have arisen such symbols as the Red Cross of Geneva and the eight-pointed White Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, the arms of which represent the virtues of prudence, temperance, justice and fortitude. These are ancient symbols, and they have undoubtedly helped to lead the world along the paths of humanity and progress The shadow of another symbol, not so humane, is now brooding over our civilisation. When it has passed, mankind will still need the services of those who work under the Red Cross and the Cross of St John, they will not be found wanting, and they will come to their work, I know, with strength renewed and with their chivalry untarnished "

19. "IN UNITY LET US FIND STRENGTH"

" In unity let us find strength," urged Lord Linlithgow in a broadcast to India from Simla on May 26, 1940 **May 26 1940**

Declaring that the watchwords were Unity, Courage and Faith, His Excellency said what India most needed now was selfless service for the people as a whole, without regard to class or creed

" India, whether British India or the Indian States, has already made a great and generous contribution, in men, in money and in material, to the conduct of the war and to the attainment of ideals which have found the strongest support from all classes in the country—a contribution the magnitude and importance of which has been recognised on every side "

Text of the broadcast :—

" I would like to say a few words at this difficult moment when the military position in France is grave

I cannot give you more news of that position than is already available to you in the public press and over the wireless Nor can I attempt to forecast what the immediate military consequences may be. But I would like to say that I am proud, as I am sure that you are proud, that we have certain detachments from the Indian Army serving with the B E F in this hour of supreme trial We may be sure that in carrying out their duties they will nobly sustain the highest traditions of Indian armed forces, whose reputation for courage and devotion is second to none

I said a moment ago that I am not able to foretell the immediate military consequences that may flow from the present strategical position in Northern France I can, however, and with all the confidence and conviction of which I am capable, assure you of this, that no difficulty, or loss, or disappointment, at this initial phase of the active campaign will turn us from our purpose of waging war against the enemy until the objects for which we drew the sword are secured Let me remind you of the Prime Minister's speech delivered to the House of Commons only last week —

' We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many many long months of struggle and suffering ..

You ask what is our aim. I can give the answer in one word—it is victory—victory at all costs victory in spite of all perils, victory however long and hard the road may be.

Those were brave words Let us then face the stark truth that we are now only at the outset of a long and arduous campaign to be waged unceasingly by land sea and air a campaign which may indeed last as long as the Great War of 1914 1918 which will strain and test all our resources both moral and material but a campaign the outcome of which so long as we are true to ourselves is going to be the triumph of right against the dark forces that threaten to overwhelm our civilisation.

You and I are far away from the scene of those events that at present hold the attention of the world. Most of us desire to help—to do all that in our power lies to aid those who are bearing themselves so bravely in face of danger India whether British India or the Indian States has already made a great and a most generous contribution in men in money and in material to the conduct of the war and to the attainment of ideals which have found the strongest public support from all classes in this country—a contribution the magnitude and the importance of which has been recognised on every side She I know will continue in circumstances such as those that now confront us to lend all the aid in her power to the triumph of a just and righteous cause.

In the field of Defence in particular you will have seen that in face of these grave happenings immediate steps are being taken to secure the maximum expansion of our Defence Forces and Services (including the Indian Air Force) which may be practicable having regard to the limitations of our indigenous resources in material Nor I can assure you shall any other effort be spared to respond to the anxiety so widely and so generally felt to contribute to the outcome of the war

Let me tell you how in respects other than material our contribution can best be made and let me appeal to each one of you tonight to make such a contribution

First of all let us be steadfast in our faith that a cause such as ours cannot be beaten. None can subdue for long or throughout the world the spirit of man for that spirit draws its ultimate impulse from God. Therefore let us take comfort and confidence every one of us from those profound beliefs which throughout the ages have been the unfailing support and inspiration of mankind.

So fortified let us resolve to strengthen and steady those with whom we come into contact. Let us warn them against believing or repeating to others idle rumour or panic tale both probably emanating from enemy sources.

Above all let us count in these testing times a sacred duty to the land we love to suppress all differences that divide us. They may be real enough those differences and in the fulness of time we may have once more to discuss policies designed to remove them. In that event we shall all of us whatever our opinions be free to

use our influence in accord with our consciences Meantime, let us frankly recognise that this is no time for internal difference our dispute Let us rather put away these things and give our minds and hearts to the service of the common weal In unity let us find strength Above all, let us guard and support public order and internal peace, which in these times are indeed our most precious possessions

Lastly, let me say a word, as man to man, to each one of you Fear is the most potent of all foes, for it destroys not only the mind but also the spirit. Therefore set fear aside Put away, too, all vague and shadowy doubts—those haunting demons of the mind that are the advance-guards of fear India is an ancient land, and she has witnessed many storms From her steady gaze, if you will look into her eyes, you may take this comfort, and learn against this age-old truth, that the fiercest storm must in the end abate, and that darkest days give place in due season to clear skies and to light

I have been amongst you now for many moons, both in good times and in heavy No difficulties or disappointments have diminished my faith in the future of this great country, and that faith is as firm today as at any time What India most needs now is selfless service for the people as a whole, without regard to class or creed I will not spare myself in that cause That will be easy for me, for I shall be labouring to the best of my capacity for those who have long commanded my respect and who now hold my affection I know I shall not call in vain upon you for the best and truest service of which each one is capable

Remember that, until I speak to you again—the watchwords are Unity, Courage, Faith!

Goodnight, and may God be with you each and all!"

20. CIVIC GUARD FOR INDIA

Text of Lord Linlithgow's statement issued on June 5, 1940 — **June 5, 1940**

"In my broadcast of May 26, I made it clear that no effort would be spared to respond to the anxiety so widely and so generally felt to contribute to the outcome of the war. Details of the expansion of our Defence forces were given on May 25 The Commander-in-Chief, in his broadcast of May 31, has further explained the steps that are being taken to this end, and the help which India has given to the Allied cause Details of the supply effort of India, which we are doing all in our power to increase and to develop still further are being released to the press On June 4, details were published of the National Defence Savings Movement

This is a grave moment in our history and the emergency which faces us is real and serious It is of vital importance that every effort should be strained to give the maximum assistance that we can It is for that maximum assistance, that maximum co-operation, that I would like to appeal today

I well know how strong is the desire to help in every way possible and the Governors of the Provinces and their Governments are as anxious as are the Government of India and I myself to do all we can to respond to that desire.

I have been in touch with all Governors on this subject. We are all agreed as to the desirability of setting up at once District War Committees in each district Those District War Committees will be designed to afford the primary means by which the public will receive guidance and assistance in every aspect of war conditions by which they are affected, and will be enabled to organise themselves to contribute in a variety of ways to the common safety and the war effort

Their scope would among other objects include the dissemination in connection with the war and assistance in matters such as recruitment the support of the National Defence Savings Movement and the like. Immediate steps are being taken by the Governors of the different provinces to establish these Committees.

I am anxious too to take the fullest advantage of the widespread anxiety to give personal service of a voluntary character in connection with internal defence measures an anxiety which I deeply appreciate and value.

I have been in consultation with provincial governments as to the forming of a body of a voluntary character which would be affiliated to the regular police and which could render service in connection with the maintenance of public order A.R.P anti sabotage and various other important aspects of internal defence There is agreement on all sides as to the desirability of establishing such an organisation without delay

I propose that it should be called The Civic Guard and that it should be organised provincially This will make it possible for it to adapt itself to the differing conditions of the different provinces Provincial Governments are actively engaged on the details of the proposed organisation the conditions of its membership and the work which it will be required to undertake and an early announcement may be looked for in each province

I am confident that the Indian States whose contributions to the prosecution of the war have already been so generous and to whose attention the steps which are being taken in British India are being brought will welcome the opportunity still further to manifest the warmth of their support for the common cause by action on similar lines to the extent that circumstances permit.

Let me again on this occasion renew the appeal I have already made for unity for the sinking of differences and for the concentration of our endeavours on the effective prosecution of the war The value of the help that we can render in a cause support for which in this country is so great is inestimable. The sincerity and the spontaneity of the response that has been made on every side are indeed encouraging and heartening features at the time of great gravity

India has made a great effort in the months that have passed. The help that she is anxious to give and that she can give in the difficult days that lie before us is greater still, and I feel sure that the contribution she will make will be one worthy of her attachment to the ideals for which we are fighting and of her ancient name"

21. VICEROY URGES COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE

In a dark hour for the cause of the Allies, Lord Linlithgow broadcasting from Simla on June 19, 1940, re-affirms the determination of His Majesty's Government to fight on until their ideals are achieved, and urges the people of India to maintain their courage and confidence unimpaired **June 19, 1940**

"When I last spoke to you nearly a month ago I said 'until I speak to you again, the watchwords are Unity, Courage, Faith'

Tonight I speak to you again at a time of trial heavier still The situation in the West is still obscure We do not yet know the precise turn events are taking But it is clear that our gallant ally, France, has on her own territory had to meet a strain which has been greater than her resources enabled her to cope with

What are our intentions in this grave situation? I can put them in a word. The withdrawal of our allies, if that withdrawal is confirmed, does not in the very least degree affect the settled determination of His Majesty's Government to continue the struggle to defeat the enemy and to achieve the ideals for which we have been fighting Save by the defeat of the enemy there is no hope of the achievement of those ideals, and no hope of survival of modern civilisation, for the protection of which we have been prepared to make so many sacrifices

I am confident that the people of India will wholeheartedly endorse the determination of His Majesty's Government to prosecute this war until the safety of all those things for which we are fighting has been secured The struggle will be a long and hard one We must expect in its course to meet severe reverses, to undergo great sacrifices, to pass through many dark and difficult moments of doubt and apprehension But the grave situation that confronts us is one that must be faced in the same spirit of resolute endeavour, of calm confidence, as has always been shown by us in grave emergency. So faced, it will be overcome, and victory will be won. We must bend every effort, all of us, each in our own way, to bring about that victory, to achieve the ideals for which we are fighting

What of our preparedness in India, and what of the effect on India of these new developments?

No effort has been spared to bring our defence arrangements to the highest pitch You have heard yesterday of the programme of defence expansion on which we are engaged—a programme which I can assure you shall be urged on and developed to the utmost practicable limit, with all the personal help and interest that I can

give it. We are actively pursuing possibilities of reinforcing our equipment in this country by purchase from outside

You have heard that India is now sending a representative to work with the Greenly Mission in the United States We are discussing with His Majesty s Government all possible methods of expanding our output and of lending greater assistance still to the common effort. You may feel certain that nothing is being left undone to secure in the highest degree possible the safety of India against aggression.

What message have I for all of you in these dark days? My message is—courage and confidence. There is no reason for any undue alarm still less for panic. All of us in India can best serve the country s interests by going about our business in the ordinary way mindful at all times of the great events that are happening and of the contribution direct or indirect that we can make to them. There is no way in which harm can more easily and more unconsciously be done to India and to her interests than by yielding to the panic fears against which I uttered a warning when I spoke to you last month those panic fears that once admitted so swiftly undermine the spirit not only of the individual man and woman but of country side.

I know the anxiety of the ordinary citizen to do all that he or she can to contribute in their own way to maintaining public order within this country The Governors and I have tried to respond to that desire by setting up recently organisations with which you are familiar

Let me only say to-night that I had always thought of these organisations as being wholly non political and wholly non-sectarian. I am quite certain that that is what they will in practice prove to be and that it is only on that basis that they can render the service for which they are designed. I trust that any misunderstanding there may have been in that regard will be removed by this assurance. My appeal was and is still to the individual citizens of every community to come forward and to make their contribution towards the greater security of their motherland.

I would urge you all once more to consider the importance of unity Let me again appeal for the temporary sinking of political differences in this time of trial and for united effort in which all parties can join for the common good. That political differences exist we all know only too well that there are deep differences of outlook, based on honest and sincere conviction.

But at a time of trial such as the present I would hope that we could all of us come together in a way which would not take account of those political differences and which would admit of the disputes regarding them being put aside by common consent until happier times. My own anxiety to see that consummation is well known to you. I have always been and I remain today ready and anxious to lend any help I can myself towards it

Before I leave you, let me reaffirm the watchwords which I gave you when we were last together—Unity, Courage, Faith Those are the pillars on which our house must stand—those are the vital things in which we must repose our trust "

22. ARMY EXPANSION

That nothing would be left undone that could be done towards the expansion of India's armed forces or their equipment was the assurance given by Lord Linlithgow addressing the Madras Provincial War Committee on July 30, 1940 **July 30, 1940**

" I am delighted that I should have this opportunity of meeting you this evening, of hearing how quickly you have got to work , what you have accomplished so far, and what you intend for the future

This is the first occasion on which I have been privileged to meet a Provincial War Committee and I am grateful to you for the clear proofs you have given me of the patriotic and loyal co-operation, the energy, the keenness and determination with which the people of this Presidency and the citizens of this city have united to lend their services to the common cause

I congratulate you on the admirable manner in which your Committee appears to have been organised It is broad-based, I am happy to observe, and representative , and this is exactly what I had hoped , for, as I said not many days ago, I am sure that it is only when such organisations as yours are wholly non-political and non-sectarian that they can truly and efficiently render the service for which they are designed

It is only to be expected that Madras, in this as in other fields of war effort, would be in the front rank , but it is none the less a great encouragement to one to know that such a fine example has been set by you , and if in other parts of India similar Committees have organised themselves and set about their duties with the enthusiasm that you have shown, we are already a long way on the road to achieving that greater security of the motherland, which is our goal

The reports of your Sub-Committees contain a number of important points which, in the short time available this evening, you will not expect me to discuss in detail Every one of the proposals which you have made is evidence of that spirit which I find so heartening, that determination on your part to contribute your utmost to the winning of the War The precise manner in which some of your proposals are to be met is not altogether free from controversy, but I can nevertheless assure you that they have all received and will receive the fullest and most sympathetic consideration from my Government

I have arranged that Mr Dow, the Vice-President of the Supply Board, and Mr Puckle, Director-General of Information, should pay a visit to Madras coinciding with my own, and I hope that you will take the opportunity which this affords of personal discussion with

them of problems of common interest in the field of supply and the mobilisation of industries and of publicity

I know how keenly you desire that this Presidency should have its full share in the present expansion of the Armed Forces of this country a desire which does honour to the people of South India. That expansion is going forward as fast as the temporary limitations of equipment and training establishments will allow

Meanwhile it is a source of great satisfaction to me as I am sure it is to you to observe that recruitment to the Army in Madras in the last nine months has been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency Two entirely new battalions—one Territorial and one Pioneer—have been raised in addition to a new Mechanical Transport unit and there will certainly be further large demands on your manpower for Sappers and Miners for Pioneers for Signallers and for more Mechanical Transport units—all of them branches of the fighting Services in which I can confidently say that the people of this Presidency are second to none

The doors of recruitment to the Indian Air Force on an all India basis stand wide open and Madrassis are as eligible for all ranks of it as young men from other parts of India. The standards of selection are necessarily high and I hope and trust that Madrassis will be well represented among those who are chosen.

Before I turn from this subject let me assure you again in the most emphatic manner that nothing will be left undone that can be done in connection with the expansion of the Indian armed forces or their equipment.

It is as necessary to make provision for the munitions required in modern warfare as it is to raise the necessary forces. We are making every effort possible to make India as self-sufficient as may be and we shall continue to do so

It is not sufficient to raise great forces we have to be able to train them and to train them by skilled personnel which itself takes time to train. In the field of supply you are many of you gentlemen familiar in connection with your private businesses with the extreme difficulty in present conditions of securing skilled technical labour machine tools and technical machinery Those factors have to be borne in mind.

Nor finally can we overlook altogether the question of cost. It has been already stated that the expansion on which we are already working is to cost twenty crores it is a matter of multiplication to gauge the cost to India of an expansion on the scale that many of us would like to see and that so many of us have asked for

I have mentioned these difficulties for it would not be fair not to touch on them But let me assure you again that we are ready to grapple with them and that they will not diminish our anxiety to see India in a position to play a part worthy of her history and adequate to the dangers that confront her today

Your Finance Sub-Committees and your District Committees are energetically engaged in raising funds for War Purposes I am sure that their approach cannot fail to achieve very considerable results.

I am the more confident of this when I consider that, in nine months, donations to my own War Purposes Fund, quite apart from those which have been made directly to the Indian Red Cross Society and St John Ambulance Association, to St Dunstan's, and to the various Funds which have been opened in the Provinces, have exceeded the sum of rupees one crore

As you know, I have not made any direct appeal for these contributions I announced the opening of my Fund, and its existence has been advertised from time to time. But this remarkable result has been achieved by the entirely spontaneous gifts of loyal men and women from every class of His Majesty's subjects in this country; from the richest as well as the poorest in the land How much more then, surely, can your Committee and your District Committees achieve by a more direct and active approach to the generosity and the patriotism of the people of the Madras Presidency

I wish to thank also your Propaganda Sub-Committee, which is preparing and issuing information in the form of pamphlets and posters

It is engaged in work of which I cannot too strongly emphasise the importance iteration and reiteration is the secret of success in this field of your work . the truth cannot be too often repeated I assure you that you can rely on the utmost co-operation in this work from my Director-General of Information, and you should not hesitate to use to the full the organisation which he controls.

I cannot end my remarks to you without mentioning. the importance of your Civic Guards

I have told you that I know full well how anxious the ordinary citizen is to do all that he or she can to contribute to the safety and to the maintenance of public order in this country The raising of a Civic Guard provides that opportunity.

Our defences are sound and let us hope that we have no enemy within our gates But our defences have to be protected, and recent events in Europe have shown us that against the 'fifth column' a nation that values its liberty can never be too well prepared

We have our army and we have our police, but the more assistance they can get the more effective will be the shield that they provide I am sure that a trained and disciplined body of voluntary workers such as your Civic Guard should be, can give that assistance to a degree that is beyond measure valuable

It remains for me only to repeat how happy I am to have had this opportunity of meeting and speaking to you I need not say that I shall watch the progress of your work with the keenest interest May God speed your endeavours and may every success attend them "

23. EXPANSION OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

8, *Steps to reinforce the Central Government by the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council were announced by Lord Linlithgow in a statement on August 8 1940 His Excellency also assured the country of the British Government's sympathy with India's political aspirations and indicated the manner in which those aspirations might be given practical shape Text of the statement*

India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India which would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity In that hope they have authorised me to make the present statement

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of the Governor General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the Provinces between the major parties was a desirable pre-requisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible

During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this they do not feel that they should any longer because of these differences postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorised me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear however that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points that have emerged On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out That remains the position of His Majesty's Government It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government

The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree

Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself

They trust however that for the period of the war (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council) all parties communities and interests will combine and co-operate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament

24. WHAT BOMBAY SAYS TODAY, INDIA SAYS TOMORROW

13, *Extracts from speech to the Bombay War Committees at Bombay on August 13 1940*

In the short time that your Committees have been organised you have already achieved a great deal and I find it most encouraging to observe the spirit with which you have applied yourselves to your important tasks. I was particularly glad to hear from Your Excellency of the most valuable work which is being done in the districts

I am delighted to notice the representative character of your Committees. The work on which you are engaged is of vital national importance—no less than the defence and security of this great country Let us not under-estimate the task before us but rather pledge ourselves to devote all our resources spiritual as well as material, and all our energies to the high purpose of victory Here in India we may all of us take heart and courage from the certain knowledge that the whole of this country—with a degree of unanimity which is immensely significant—is with us in our determination at all cost to preserve India from the malignant influence of Nazi power You will have read in the Statement which I was authorised to make last Thursday of the desire of His Majesty's Government to promote in India that unity of national purpose which will enable India to make in full measure the great and worthy contribution to the common cause which it is in her power to make and of the steps which I propose to take to that end. I am convinced that all who serve on War Committees here in Bombay City in the districts and elsewhere throughout India must lay aside all political and sectarian prejudices if they are well and truly to perform the task for which the Committees are designed. They must work, as I am sure you are working united by a single purpose—the defence of the Commonwealth by the winning of this war

There is one matter which I should like to mention—a matter which is of very great concern to all of us—I refer to the expansion of the Indian Armed Forces and of India's war effort in the production of munitions and equipment and in the field of supply We would—most of us—like to see an army of a million men called into being to defend these shores as it were at a word of command. Your impatience to see this accomplished is natural and the desire of this Presidency

to bear its full share in the expansion does you credit Bombay Presidency has already supplied nearly 10,000 recruits since the outbreak of war, and I know that the supply of manpower is far from exhausted. I assure you that everything possible is being done and will continue to be done, not only to recruit and train the forces which the country needs as quickly as temporary limitations of equipment will allow, but to make India as self-sufficient as possible to arm, equip and supply those forces I have myself seen factories in this country, where the lathes are turning and the machines working night and day, and thousands of men are engaged in turning out munitions and other material of war in ever-increasing quantities. It is an inspiring sight, and it is only a beginning. One cannot produce modern armies, springing fully armed and equipped from the ground, by a simple order to the recruiting sergeants. Their equipment and their training takes time. Equipment is the limiting factor, and in this field we are still short of machinery and of skilled men to use it. But we are in process of overcoming these difficulties Once they are removed, expansion will be possible to the full measure of our requirements

Let me turn now to the work of your various Committees I am exceedingly glad to learn that His Excellency the Governor's War Gifts Fund is making such good progress, and I trust that the energetic approach of the Committee which is in charge of this Fund (generously assisted as it is by the Press) will secure a contribution commensurate with the size and the importance of this Presidency

The main object to which you have decided to apply the money you raise—a fighter squadron for the Indian Air Force—is well-chosen to appeal to the public imagination, and one which is clearly and directly related to the defence of these shores As you know, arrangements are in train to make aircraft available for the expanded Indian Air Force, and let us hope it will not be long before one of the new Squadrons is proudly carrying the name of this Presidency A fighter squadron, with reserves, costs nearly 34 lakhs of rupees, and a single fighter plane costs nearly a lakh and a half Let each town and group of villages see whether it can produce the means to supply a fighter plane . let Gujarat vie with the Carnatic to see which can first produce a flight or more of aircraft, and you will soon have one squadron, if not two or three.

I trust that the figures of investment in Defence Loans will soon be more encouraging, and I shall certainly see that the suggestions which you have made for improving the position in this respect are at once carefully considered Investment to assist war effort should appeal not only to the rich man, but to the man of more moderate means who cannot afford to give his money for the cause as freely as he can lend it Spontaneous gifts from all classes of people, ranging from several lakhs of rupees to a few annas, have amounted, in the case of my own War Purposes Fund to a remarkable total of over one crore of rupees in less than 10 months, the donors were those whose ready patriotism needed no appeal to make their offering to the common cause This city and the districts of the Presidency can claim

many wealthy citizens and I am encouraged to believe that when they are reminded by your appeals that a loosening of their purse-strings for gift or loan will hasten the ultimate victory they (and not only the wealthy but every man according to his means) will respond in a manner worthy of your traditional liberality

Your War Publicity Committee has been very active. I think if I may say so that your idea of installing a loudspeaker system to convey to the public a continuous supply of straight news is an admirable one and I have arranged that it should be commended to the attention of Committees in other parts of India. Lies and alarmist rumours will only prevail if people do not hear the truth often enough. There is no discouragement in the truth and it is important for India that it should be told in Bombay again and again for I need hardly remind you, Gentlemen that what Bombay says or what Bombay believes today has echoed right round this sub-continent by tomorrow

25. LAWRENCE MILITARY SCHOOL

Sept. 14, 1940 *Speech in presenting new School Colour to the Lawrence Royal Military School Sanawar on September 14, 1940* —

Mr Principal, Members of the Staff Boys and Girls of the Lawrence Royal Military School,—I count it a great honour to present to you today this newly consecrated colour When colours were first presented to the School by Lord Dalhousie nearly 88 years ago our grandfathers at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century were facing the future with a certain degree of complacency and self-satisfaction, which the onset of war in the Crimea and of troubles in this country was soon to disturb

In 1922 when those first colours were replaced by new ones the British Empire with its Allies had recently emerged victorious from the greatest test to which it had till then been subjected and now for the third time you are receiving a new school colour in a year which will prove I believe to be one of the greatest landmarks in our history—in the history of civilisation itself.

From this crisis too we shall emerge victorious I have no doubt and, please God we shall have shed all complacency and be purified in spirit and strengthened in our resolve to build a new and better world.

For this purpose the world will surely need young men and women imbued in full measure with that strength of character which it was the object of your School s great founder to produce. It will call for hard and unremitting work, great faith, steadfastness of purpose discipline and loyalty loyalty not only to an earthly ruler but to the principles for which we are now fighting and to God. Of such loyalty this colour is the emblem and in the spirit in which we have just prayed may it ever inspire you and those who will come after you to prepare yourselves for service in the cause of justice and righteousness.

26. THAILAND GOODWILL MISSION

Speech welcoming the Thailand Goodwill Mission led by H. E. Captain Luang Dhamrong Navasvasti, at Simla on October 3, 1940: **Oct. 3, 1940**

"It is my pleasure and privilege this evening, on behalf of the King-Emperor, to welcome you, Captain Luang Dhamrong Navasvasti and the other Members of the Thailand Goodwill Mission, to the summer capital of the Government of India.

My Government would have liked to have been able to entertain you themselves at the winter capital of Delhi, where it would have been easier to show you things of greater interest than can be seen here in the Himalaya Mountains, but the exigencies of your programme made this impossible

None the less I am profoundly gratified to learn that you intend to visit Delhi, where you will find, gathered in proximity to the buildings of India's new capital, the monuments of many centuries of Indian civilisation and history, and where I know that the Head of the Delhi Province will endeavour to give you such insight as is possible into the workings of the administration of the Imperial capital

I hope, too, that you will find your visit to the North-West Frontier of India and to Bombay interesting as well as pleasant On the North-West Frontier you will be able to see something of India's problems on her land frontier, and in Bombay and Calcutta two of the great ports of Asia You may be certain that you will receive from the people of the provinces you visit the warmest and most sincere of welcomes.

I could only have wished that time had permitted of your undertaking a tour still more extensive, for I can assure you of the depth of the interest which your friendly visit has called forth throughout India, and of the anxiety of the people of this ancient land to do all honour in their power to the representatives of your famous State, so closely joined with India by so many historic and cultural links

It is not often that we have the privilege of welcoming a Cabinet Minister of another Government to India, and I can assure you that the peoples of India are proud of the opportunity of showing some of the sights and problems of their great country to the emissaries of a State with which the whole British Empire, as well as India, have always enjoyed such happy relations.

The most recent proof of this lies in the Non-Aggression Treaty between Great Britain and Thailand, from which we may draw renewed confidence that the well-established traditions of friendship and goodwill between Thailand and the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations will stand firm through these difficult times The heritage of Thailand, which I know means the land of the free, is one of peace and neutrality, and we in India cannot but

regard the visit of Your Excellency's Mission as offering us fresh assurance that the heritage will not be forgotten.

I can only hope that when Your Excellency's Mission leave India, you will carry with you the memory of a great and hospitable people whose history and aspirations in common with those of Thailand, will always incline them to seek and maintain that spirit of peace and goodwill towards friendly neighbours which your Mission is so admirably designed to promote

27 EASTERN GROUP CONFERENCE

Oct. 25, 1940

The countries of the Eastern Group of the British Commonwealth of Nations had it in their power working together to make towards the common cause a contribution which was destined to be of the greatest value and which might indeed prove to be decisive said Lord Linlithgow in his speech at the opening of the Eastern Group Conference in the Council Chamber New Delhi on October 25 1940

This Conference said His Excellency was almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth It represented the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole and it implied that those parts of the Empire lying east and south of Suez were about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities which would lighten the burden of the Mother Country

Text of the speech

The need for a Conference such as this has long been apparent to those who have studied the organisation of the British Common wealth of Nations for a protracted war and from the ready response to the invitations which I was recently authorised by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to send out I judge that other Empire Governments in this part of the world are as eager as the Government of India to make the Conference a living part of our war effort

India may congratulate herself on her fortunate geographical position for her the occasion is historic, and on behalf of my Govern ment and the people of India I extend a very cordial welcome to the visiting Delegations. I also welcome the Ministry of Supply Mission whose opportune arrival in India will enable the Conference to benefit by the advice of Sir Alexander Roger and his colleagues. I am glad, too to think that we shall have available to us the advice of the strong and representative body of non-official advisers from India who are present here today

I would not have it thought here or elsewhere that the holding of the Conference implies any failure of the members of the Eastern Group of Empire countries to help one another in the war effort. Indeed we in India have been much impressed by the eagerness of other Empire Governments to help us and we hope that we for our part have done our best to meet such demands as they have made upon us.

What the Conference does imply is something very different—a determination not merely to help one another, but to pool our resources so that we may as a group of Governments and countries put forth the greatest material war effort that we can.

The idea underlying the Conference is by no means new; it arises from the Imperial Conference of 1937. But its urgency has been borne in upon us more particularly during the past six months. Many of the countries represented here played a great part in the War of 1914—18, contributing without stint men, money and material. In that war, however, material resources, though of great importance, were considerably less important than they are today, and it is probably true that the outlying Empire countries concentrated very largely upon manpower and the simpler forms of equipment, relying upon the highly organised industries of the United Kingdom and her Allies to do the rest.

When the present war began we knew that conditions would be very different, but we could not foresee the fall of Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, and the destruction of France as a military power and ally in Europe The British Empire now fights alone, and must not only find the men and material to defend the United Kingdom against invasion, but provide for the defence of her outlying members, and for the equipment of the remnants of the forces of her conquered Allies.

This Conference therefore, while having a precedent in the Imperial Conference of 1937, nevertheless falls into a category almost unique in the political experience of the British Commonwealth

It represents the active collaboration of a part of the Commonwealth in the interests of the whole, it implies that those parts of the Empire which lie east and south of Suez are about to investigate the assumption of new responsibilities, which will lighten the burden on the Mother Country at a time when she is preoccupied with difficult problems peculiar to the present phase of the war, and it reflects those qualities of resiliency and adaptability which are a characteristic feature of our political institutions, for it means that those units of the Commonwealth which are situated in the Eastern hemisphere are ready and willing to associate themselves with policies in which self-interest and self-assertion are relegated to second place in face of the menace that is confronting the Commonwealth as a whole

The spread of the war in the direction of the Middle East cannot disrupt the political integrity of the Commonwealth, because that integrity is rooted in freedom and justice which are component elements of that political philosophy which imbues all sections of the Commonwealth A threat to any part of the Commonwealth is a threat to the whole and the immediate danger is being faced at present in the Mother Country

In this situation our first plain duty is to relieve the United Kingdom of such of her burdens as we can bear ourselves, and I suggest that we can best do this by preparing a joint scheme showing clearly

how far viewed not as individual Governments and countries but as a group we are capable of meeting our own war needs and of supplying in increasing measure the war needs of the United Kingdom.

The task of the Conference is in brief the preparation of such a scheme and my Government and I are under no illusions as to the complexity of your deliberations. All or almost all the countries represented here are producers of raw materials some are fortunate in possessing more or less highly organised industries and some are able to manufacture munitions of war on a fairly large scale. It will be for the Delegations to declare the strengths and weaknesses of their respective countries and for the Conference as a whole to say how far the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the actual or potential surplus of another

It is possible that in respect of certain items of supply no planning may be needed but there will I believe be room for planning and rationalization over a very wide field The Conference clearly cannot stop short at recommending a comparatively easy exchange of raw materials and manufactured articles it will have to consider the position of the participating countries as a group and the best methods of making the group self-supporting

You may find when you come to consider the establishment of new manufactures that it is convenient that one or more countries within the group should concentrate upon particular items and that some general allocation of industrial responsibility will be inevitable. Again you may find that all the countries in the group are short of certain essentials and the means of securing these will have to be planned.

The procedure by which the Conference will approach and solve these important problems is of course for the Conference to decide. Many of the problems to be discussed are in their detailed aspects a matter for experts and I should like to make it clear that my Government intends to make available to individual Delegations and to the Conference as a whole all the expert assistance at its command whether of an official or non-official character

India is frequently described as a bureaucratic country but we rely greatly both in peace and in war on the co-operation of organised industry and I acknowledge now with gratitude the readiness and generosity with which Indian industry has responded to our wartime needs.

The services of experts engaged in industry have been at our disposal from the first and I am glad to think that so many of the gentlemen who have devoted so much time and thought to production problems since the war began have come to New Delhi to advise the Conference and its various Committees Our own official experts are also available particularly on the more specialized side of Munitions Production and I am sure that I am speaking for Sir Alexander Roger when I say that his very capable team will give all the help they can.

It would be idle to expect that the scheme to be drawn up by this Conference will be so complete and detailed that it will leave nothing to be settled by the participating countries. It will, we all hope, be a clear enunciation of policy and principles, but there will inevitably be a great mass of detail to be settled after the Conference disperses

One of the objects of the Conference is, therefore, to consider the establishment of a Standing Committee to see that the Conference policy is acted upon with promptitude and energy. Whether this Committee can be of real use, as my Government believes, what countries should be represented upon it, and when it should be established, are matters for the Conference to consider

What I have said so far relates entirely to war supply, and the Conference will doubtless deal with war supply and nothing else We know, however, that some visiting Delegations desire to make use of the facilities available here for the discussion of wider economic issues, and my Commerce Department will be most ready to undertake such discussions with them

Before I leave you to your deliberations, let me add that if the members of any Delegation desire while they are here to see something of this great country, with its great resources of raw materials and its growing industries, my Government will be only too glad to provide the necessary facilities. This is not an occasion for salesmanship or advertisement, and there is serious work ahead of us all But some of those present may, as the deliberations of the Conference proceed find it necessary to acquire at first hand some knowledge of India's capabilities, and others who can spare the time may wish to carry away with them impressions not limited to the restricted circle of New Delhi

I have said that there is serious work ahead of us all The brunt of the war has so far fallen upon the United Kingdom, and our hearts go out in sympathy and admiration for the steadfast courage of its people, and of those who have been called upon to defend its shores

If this Conference enables us to do more than we have yet done to protect the life of the Commonwealth, if within the next few months we are able to feel that our united efforts are enabling us to exert our undoubted strength to the full, then we shall not have laboured in vain

I am satisfied that we have it in our power, working together, to make towards the common cause a contribution which is destined to be of the greatest value, and which may indeed prove to be decisive But if results of the highest value are to flow from our joint endeavours, it is evident that our contribution must be timely as well as sufficient, for, in war, speed is near to victory

As I have already indicated it is a new conception of our Commonwealth ideals which will be reflected in your deliberations here There is something significant, even dramatic, in the thought of Great Britain bravely bearing the brunt of the enemy's attacks while her kinsmen

and associated peoples in the East are marshalling their forces for that ultimate victory which will bring an end to aggression and to that depravity of the soul which accompanies totalitarianism.

Those Empires of the past which have fallen have generally fallen from some inherent defect from within. That is not likely to be the fate of the comity of peoples represented by the British Commonwealth The British elements within that comity have a common heritage to defend and the sister peoples associated with it also derive their aspirations from the traditions we seek to uphold.

Together we represent varying degrees of that political philosophy which permeates the whole but the common denominator of all is faith in freedom and a belief in those things of the spirit which make peoples truly great Thus what we seek to do here is not something that will redound only to our credit as individual units of a worldwide Empire rather should it reflect the firm expression of our living faith in the splendid heritage which we enjoy as members of an association of liberty loving peoples.

The Prime Minister asks me to convey the following message from him to the Eastern Group Conference —

The Assembly of Representatives of all our Governments in the Eastern Hemisphere to plan more effective mutual integration of their resources is a remarkable event. In defence of our common freedom you are indeed building up a new world of armed strength to redress the balance of the old. We here will find fresh encouragement in your labours and look to the day when forces created by our efforts both East and West advance together for final overthrow of the powers of evil.

28. IRRIGATION RESEARCH IN INDIA

7 4, *The engineers who built and maintained India s irrigation works*
0 *are among the foremost benefactors of the Indian cultivator says Lord Linlithgow opening the eleventh meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation in Delhi on November 4 1940 Text of speech*

I am most grateful to you for having invited me once more to open your annual meeting My interest in agriculture and in the welfare of the Indian cultivator in particular is keen and abiding and it therefore gives me a very special sense of pleasure to have this opportunity of meeting and speaking to those on whom in this country the fruitfulness of the land so largely depends

When I last had the privilege of addressing you four years ago your Board was six years old. This month sees its tenth birthday and the thriving youngster seems if I may say so to have maintained its early promise of healthy development and useful activity

On your Board are represented engineers from all parts of India, in whose able hands rests the administration of one of the greatest systems of irrigation in the world. In the building and maintenance of that system you and the engineers who have gone

before you must be numbered among the foremost benefactors of the Indian cultivator. The return on the vast capital investment of Rs 154 crores, which has so far been spent on irrigation works in India, is not to be measured in terms of revenue, but in the more precious currency of human life and prosperity, and, thanks to the irrigation works which you have made, not only has the threat of famine been removed from wide areas of the country, but, year after year, the irrigated fields bear crops of which the value in a single year is not far short of the whole capital cost of the great barrages, canals and distributaries which harness the waters and guide them where and when they are required.

Since I last addressed you, a great deal of water has flowed under the bridges and down your canals With the coming of provincial autonomy the responsibility for the maintenance of the great Indian irrigation systems has now devolved upon Provincial Governments. Although she is divided into many Provinces and States, it must never be forgotten that India is essentially one country. The experience gained in one part of India may prove of the greatest value in another, and I can imagine no field of engineering science in which it is more desirable that experience and knowledge should be pooled than in the study and practice of irrigation. It is therefore most important that there should be machinery to make the best use of this pooled experience and to serve as a clearing house of information and advice

There are numerous problems which are constantly assuming practical importance, not only for you as engineers but for those responsible for the administration of vast agricultural tracts To mention only a few of them, there is the question of reclaiming deteriorated land within the bounds of important water-yielding catchment areas, the control and equitable distribution of all the flow available, the economical use of flow and the storage of surplus flow These are some of the problems which call for solution, and it is in this sphere that the Central Board of Irrigation serves so important a purpose at the present time

I was impressed when I read your agenda by the amount of valuable work which has been achieved by the various Irrigation Research Institutes and Divisions, and particularly by those at Poona, Lahore, in Sind and in the United Provinces Your research officers meet twice a year, and I understand that their deliberations are most carefully recorded and disseminated, not only in India but also throughout the British Empire In happier times they are still more widely circulated throughout the world

One of the great tragedies of war is the interruption which it entails in the spread of beneficial knowledge which, in times of peace, is stimulated by the international contacts of scientists and research workers of all countries, and the sharing of experience valuable to mankind which is encouraged by all civilised Governments In this direction I am happy to know that the part which India has played is an important one and that testimony is frequently received

from distant parts of the world to the value of the work of your research organisations.

Among these I must refer particularly to the Central Irrigation and Hydro-Dynamic Research Station near Poona which has done first class work and which I was greatly disappointed not to be able for reasons outside my control to visit when I was recently at Poona though I was able to study its records and see photographs and plans of its models. I have also in mind the Irrigation Research Laboratory at Lahore working in conjunction with the river training and model station at Malikpur which I had the satisfaction of visiting earlier in my Viceroyalty

I am delighted to see from your Secretary's annual report that the Bureau of Information for Irrigation attached to the Board and formed as a result of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture over which I had the honour to preside is proving to be of value The Bureau s large and carefully selected library is a source of extensive and reliable information of which I am glad to think that good use can be and is made by irrigation engineers in India

I am particularly glad to observe that you have on your agenda a revised constitution designed to admit Indian States to membership of the Central Board of Irrigation In some of the States there are fine irrigation systems and the participation of some of the Chief Engineers of the States in your deliberations will I feel sure be a source of added strength to the Board.

Before I end I must touch upon another matter closely connected in modern times with irrigation. I refer to the development of hydro-electric systems Your predecessors erected works by which the waters of the great rivers of India, instead of running waste to the sea, were collected and distributed to increase the fertility of the soil. Their great work you are now continuing but a feature of the present age is the harnessing of these great waters to perform at the same time another task.

Modern engineering has found in the great rivers of India not only a source of life-giving water but also of electrical power This power is not only employed in industry but also assists the irrigation engineer by driving the pumps of his tube-wells So closely related are the two uses of the same element as a source of irrigation and as a source of power that the time may not be far distant when some organisation may become necessary to secure the closest possible co-ordination between the two.

And now I will leave you to your deliberations for the success of which you have my warmest good wishes. You who are irrigation engineers are privileged to an extent which few of us are to see materialise in your time and before your own eyes the fruit of your labours. You have the satisfaction of knowing that the work on which you are engaged is of incalculable benefit to millions of souls. It is a great service to the land in which you work and live and a service of which India is justly proud.

29. UNFORESEEN DEVELOPMENTS

None could have foreseen a year before, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the two Houses of the Central Legislature on November 20, 1940, that in the interval, the Empire would be bearing single-handed in the war a burden so heavy as it was bearing, that of its Allies, Poland and France would have been conquered, that Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium would have been added to the list of Nazis' victims, that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on gallant Greece **Nov. 1940**

But we would have been well-content had we been able to foresee, too, the valour and the success of the resistance offered India's war effort had struck the imagination of the world His Excellency's confident hope that India would live up to her highest traditions, had been fulfilled in the highest degree

In view of the fact that the major political parties were not prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them by his announcement of August 8, 1940, which would have placed real power and real responsibility in Indian hands and would have made for the preservation of Indian unity and agreed constitutional settlement for the future, His Majesty's Government had decided that His Excellency would not be justified in proceeding with the enlargement of the Executive Council or the establishment of the War Advisory Council at the moment But His Majesty's Government did not propose to withdraw the proposals and were prepared to give effect to them as soon as they were convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support was forthcoming Text of the address.

" GENTLEMEN,

I am very glad to meet you all again today

The fourteen months that have elapsed since I last addressed you has been a period of great events, events of profound significance both in their immediate effect and in their ultimate reaction on the fortunes of civilisation and the history of the world I warned you in September 1939 that we should be ill-advised if we thought that victory was easily achieved or that the course of the conflict would be free from reverses to our arms. I expressed at the same time complete and entire confidence in the outcome of the war I emphasised how vitally important it was to India, the Empire, and to the world's civilisation that that outcome should be satisfactory, and I added that I felt certain beyond any question that the response which India would make in a conflict for ideals so dear to her would be one of the utmost value and importance, and one worthy of her traditions and her ancient name

When I spoke to you we could none of us have foreseen that fourteen months later the Empire would be bearing single-handed a burden so heavy as it bears today, that of its allies at the beginning of the war Poland and France would have been overrun and conquered, that unprovoked Nazi aggression would have added to its victims Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium; and that Italy would have made an equally unprovoked attack on the gallant people of Greece,

whose superb resistance commands our admiration today But we should have been well content fourteen months ago had we with any foreknowledge of the events which have happened of the vastly increased burden placed upon the Empire of the intensification of the *most ruthless and unprincipled forms* of attack on human life and human property by air and sea of the singular disregard with which our enemies have continued to treat international obligations and treaties so long as they could derive a temporary advantage in doing so had we I say been enabled to foresee too the valour and the success of the resistance offered. The work of the armed forces of the Crown by sea by land in the air in every theatre of war whether they are drawn from India from the Dominions and Colonies or from the Home country is such as to fill us with pride with thankfulness and with confidence for the future.

While the war lasts its implications its consequences are such that it can never for a moment be out of our minds that in everything that we do it must always be present to us But I do not propose today nor would this be the place to enlarge in this speech on the detail of India s war effort on the splendid work which Indian troops have done and are doing in the fighting line or on the magnificent achievements of India whether British India or the Indian States in the provision of men of money of materials. No praise could be too warm for that achievement. It is one that has struck the imagina tion of the world one for which the whole Empire is I know deeply grateful. And substantial as that achievement already is no pains are being spared to enable India to give still further effect in all the ways I have mentioned and with as little delay as may be to the universal desire in this country to help the Allies and to see the triumph of the ideals for which they are fighting The confident hope that I expressed a year ago that India would live up to her highest traditions have been fulfilled in the highest degree You may be confident Gentlemen that in this vital matter I and my Government are fully alive to the importance not only of responding to India s desire to help but of making her in the matter of defence as self-sufficient as possible and to the necessity of bringing her defensive equipment to the highest practicable pitch of adequacy and efficiency

I said Gentlemen that the war must be continually in our thoughts and must be related to everything we do Of the matters on which I shall touch in the remainder of my speech the great bulk arise out of or have some connection with war activities or the war situation. There are one or two which I shall also mention which are not so directly connected. But in their case the interest taken in them by the general public is sufficiently great to justify me in making a reference which I should not otherwise have made

It was with much regret that I learned of the refusal of the Legislative Assembly to take into consideration the Finance Bill designed to facilitate the financing of India s war effort. It will I think be very generally appreciated that it would be impossible for me to acquiesce in the decision of the Assembly and I have made a recommendation which will be placed before the Assembly this afternoon.

The work of the Department of Supply, which as you will remember was established shortly before the outbreak of the war, has been of great value in connection with India's war effort; and I should like to pay a tribute to the importance of this work, and to the work of the Ordnance factories (which were not until recently brought under the Department) I should like to associate with that tribute the business community in this country, whether Indian or British At a time of considerable strain the Department has had the most valuable assistance from business firms, and I am glad to think that that friendly collaboration and patriotic assistance, so readily given, has led to some remarkable results. In the field of munitions, the Ordnance factories since the beginning of the war have been able to export to His Majesty's Government about one hundred million rounds of small arms ammunition and nearly four hundred thousand rounds of gun ammunition On the stores side, Indian industry has made contributions on the largest scale to the war effort in the shape of engineering stores, jute goods, and many other manufactured products I and my Government have been at pains to endeavour to secure that such changes should be made in the organisation of the Department as practical working showed likely to produce still better results You may be confident that the lessons of experience will not be lost upon us, and that such further modification of the supply organisation as experience may dictate will be made without hesitation or delay. As I speak today, indeed, further changes in the Supply Department are in view, designed further to speed up work, and to ensure that the organisation as a whole is as compact, and as economically run, as is consistent with the magnitude and the character of the operations which fall to be performed

It was with the greatest satisfaction that I recently welcomed to India the Members of the Eastern Group Conference, and the Mission from the Ministry of Supply headed by Sir Alexander Roger. Much as may have been done, much still remains to be done if India is to make her full contribution to the war effort; and the importance, whether to India or to the Empire as a whole, of the labours of the bodies to which I have just referred cannot be over-estimated. I should like to take the opportunity to express our deep gratitude to the non-official Advisers from India who have, with such public spirit, placed their services at the disposal of these bodies

The need for harnessing India's economic resources to the task of making her a great centre for supplying the requirements of the military forces engaged in the war must take first place in our attention But the Government of India are in no way blind to the pressing problems that war conditions have brought to Indian trade and industry. The dislocation of our export trade by the cutting off of nearly all European markets has been receiving the closest attention not only of my Government but of the Export Advisory Council, in the hope of dealing with the problem of surplus production and of reducing the size of any surplus by finding new outlets for our products and manufactures. This last attempt is being pursued in various ways, of which mention may be made, in particular, of the exploratory

mission of Dr Gregory and Sir David Meek to America, and of the decision to increase the number of our Trade Commissioners in continents other than Europe beginning with Australia. On the other side of the picture the cutting off of many supplies which normally came from abroad has created many gaps not only in India itself but also in neighbouring countries which Indian industry can hope to fill. I am glad to note that business and industrial interests in the country have not been slow to undertake enterprises designed to fill these gaps while my Government have done their best to mobilise technical skill for their assistance by setting up the Board of Industrial and Scientific Research, which through its numerous Sub-Committees and in collaboration with the Director of Research, has already produced valuable results.

The war has thrown a considerably increased burden upon the Provincial police forces for apart from their normal responsibility for law and order they now are under obligation to undertake the safeguarding of places of vital importance to the internal defence of the country such as power plants major installations and a number of protected places in addition to affording an enhanced degree of protection to railways and to watch and ward against sabotage That burden has been materially eased by the establishment in all Provinces of the Civic Guard, and by the assistance given by that body in maintaining internal security The response to the call for volunteers has been most encouraging The Civic Guard has on many occasions already given practical proof of its usefulness and efficiency and I am confident that it will, as its training progresses play a most valuable and important part in India s war effort.

Though immediate danger to India from enemy air raids may not be apparent at the moment he would be a wise man who could accurately foretell the development of the war and we must be prepared for all eventualities For this reason Air Raid Precautions in India have been initiated in a manner designed to form a solid basis on which further expansion can take place Close liaison exists on this most important matter between the Central Government and the Provinces and its expert advice and substantial grants-in aid have been placed at their disposal. Good progress has been achieved in the past year a progress made possible by the willing co-operation and voluntary effort of the people of India. There is however still much to be done and I need not remind you Gentlemen, of the value of the help which you can individually give to stimulate interest and co-operation on the part of the public and of local bodies in the areas from which you come

Since the last meeting of the Legislature compulsory national service has been introduced in India for European British subjects. For the smooth working of the machinery for enrolment I gratefully acknowledge the work of the National Service Advisory Committees—all of it voluntary and the spirit of willing service has been evident on every hand. The European community in India have yielded to none in the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice which they have shown in the common cause

In the treatment of enemy aliens the policy of my Government has been guided by the desire not to disorganise the good work of missionary institutions, and to avoid imposing unnecessary hardship on innocent and harmless people. Although, as a result of events in Europe last summer, reinternment, or restriction to parole centres, was necessary for most of those who had earlier been released on the recommendation of a special Committee, the case of some priests and missionaries, of certain Jews of enemy nationality, and of other enemy aliens who can show that they have consistently and publicly opposed the Nazi or Fascist régime, is receiving special consideration

The outbreak of war found many Indian students in the United Kingdom. Arrangements were promptly made through the High Commissioner in London to repatriate those desiring to return to India, and to maintain a register of those who preferred to continue their studies overseas To both categories the High Commissioner was authorised to make financial advances where necessary. In the case of students returning to India the Universities have all, I am glad to say, agreed that the period already spent at a British University should be recognised for the purpose of enabling them to complete their degree courses in India Special arrangements have also been made, under the general control of the Chief Justice of India, for holding Bar Examinations in this country.

Realising as I do the importance attached by the Muslim community to the performance of the sacred duty of pilgrimage to Mecca, I am happy that, in spite of wartime difficulties, it has been possible to arrange shipping facilities,—at Calcutta, this year, as well as at Bombay and Karachi,—and with the collaboration of His Majesty's Government, to prevent fares for the sea passage soaring beyond the reach of the classes from whom the pilgrims are mainly drawn Indeed I understand that, thanks to a substantial reduction in charges announced by the Saudi Arabian Government, and to our being prepared, even in wartime, to permit the taking of gold sovereigns out of India by the pilgrims, to enable them to overcome exchange difficulties in the Hedjaz, the minimum cost to the pilgrim will be substantially lower than it would otherwise have been. In fact it will be lower this year than last

The greatly increased burden which has fallen on the Government of India in connection with war preparation and war work has inevitably necessitated some expansion of staff and some additional expenditure It would clearly be a shortsighted policy to reject expenditure which, on a broad view, would assist in the mobilization of the economic resources of the country and further the successful prosecution of the war But I would take this opportunity to say that I am fully alive to the vital importance of economy in the civil administration, and of eliminating all forms of avoidable expenditure at a time when we have no choice but to spend large sums of money on defence and to augment the revenues of the Government by additional taxation

In spite of their immediate pre-occupation with questions arising out of the war my Government continue to keep a vigilant watch on

the interests of Indians overseas. In the Union of South Africa the Broome Commission which was appointed in May last to enquire into alleged penetration of Indians into predominantly European areas in Natal and Transvaal commenced its labours last month The ban on the assisted emigration of unskilled labour to Malaya continues while questions of the wages of Indian labourers and of the status of the Indian community are still under discussion with the Malayan Governments. In regard to Burma my Government are awaiting the results of Mr Baxter's enquiry into the facts concerning Indian immigration into that country and they are also watching with close attention the course of certain recent legislation which may directly affect the Indian community An experienced officer was sent to Mauritius to ascertain recent developments in that Colony so far as they affect Indians. I regret that the recent conversations between my Government and the representatives of the Government of Ceylon should not have had more satisfactory results.

In the field of foreign affairs my Government s relations with Nepal continue to be most cordial. The friendly attitude of His Highness the Prime Minister of Nepal and of his Government is evident from His Highness offer of two Brigades of Nepalese troops for the defence of India and from the generous donations of money made by His Highness and the members of his family This attitude of ready and friendly co-operation is greatly appreciated by the Government of India.

His Holiness the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933 and his incarnation was discovered towards the end of 1939 The installation ceremony of His Holiness the new Dalai Lama took place in February last A mission headed by Mr B J Gould, who is responsible for the Government of India s relations with our friendly neighbour Tibet was deputed to Lhasa to attend the ceremony on behalf of His Majesty s Government and the Government of India.

In October I and my Government had the pleasure of welcoming to India a Mission of Goodwill from Thailand. The Mission were the guests of the Government of India. During their visit they were able to make wide contacts and to cover much ground. On their return to Thailand they took with them precious Buddhist relics from Taxila presented to the Thai Government by the Government of India, who also arranged, at the request of the Mission for earth from certain sacred Buddhist places in India to be placed on the aeroplane on which they returned to Bangkok. I am confident that the visit of this Mission will help to cement still further the bonds which already exist between India and Thailand.

From China we are glad to welcome Dr Tai Chi Tao an eminent Buddhist scholar and Chairman of the China Public Service Commission

His Excellency the Governor of the French Establishments in India issued an announcement in September last identifying French India with the cause of free France.

It gives me great satisfaction to be able to inform the House that the relations between India and Afghanistan continue to rest on a firm and friendly basis, and that there are signs that the bonds between our two countries are being drawn even closer in the cultural and commercial fields. I am glad, too, to say that in spite of the disturbance of men's minds by a period of war and intensive rumour the Frontier tribes have on the whole remained remarkably steady. The whole tribal belt from Chitral to the sea has been entirely quiet save in Waziristan, and there are many signs that the tribesmen are in sympathy with the democratic front And in Waziristan, largely as the result of measures undertaken to control portions of tribal territory which had served as harbourage for the collection of gangs, a better spirit prevails, and the peace of the Districts of the North-West Frontier has recently been less disturbed than at any time during the last few years.

Since I last addressed you Labour in India has not been without its problems ; but I am happy to say that owing to the good sense of all concerned there has been no major dislocation of work since the war began, and I believe that Indian labour will continue its substantial contribution to the war effort. When disputes have arisen, the influence of my Government has always been thrown in favour of adjustment and conciliation rather than dictation Complaints of inadequate wages in the circumstances of the war situation have always received careful and anxious consideration an examination has already been made of the cost of living in the coalfields and an enquiry has also been instituted into the claim of railway labour for a dearness allowance

My Government has taken steps to obtain skilled labour for those industries which are engaged on war production, ensuring at the same time that the interests of the artisan are safeguarded Under the Technical Training Scheme, in the operation of which I have to acknowledge the willing assistance of Provincial Governments, we have planned not only to meet the immediate needs of the war effort, but by providing well-equipped and competently staffed institutions for training thousands of our young men to be skilled technicians, we have kept in view the needs, when peace is at last restored, of India's expanding industries

Let me turn now to the constitutional field I will not detain you with any detailed recapitulation of the discussions with political parties that have taken place since the outbreak of war. As you know I have had discussions at various times with all the leading political figures in this country, and with representatives of all major parties and communities , and I can, I think, claim to have spared no effort to bring the parties together, and to reach an accommodation in the constitutional field which would be generally acceptable. It is a matter of profound disappointment to me that those endeavours should not have been more successful than they have been, and that the differences which have stood in the way of that constitutional advance which His Majesty's Government have been so anxious to see should still persist

The latest and the most important of the endeavours made by His Majesty's Government is represented by the statement which I was authorised to issue three months ago

On August the 8th I published a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government That statement reaffirmed the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament In order to remove all doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal it declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-government should—subject to due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain s long connection with India has imposed on her—be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social economic and political structure of Indian life At the same time it emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in the framing of that scheme and it made it clear that His Majesty s Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India s national life The method by which these two indispensably linked objects were to be secured was the setting up on the basis of friendly agreement of a body representative of all the principal elements in India s national life to devise the framework of the new constitution. This body was to be set up immediately after the war but His Majesty's Government expressed their desire to welcome and promote in the meantime every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves that could prepare the way for agreement upon its form and procedure as well as upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself Meanwhile in order to associate Indian public opinion more closely with the Government of India at the Centre and in the hope of promoting the unity of India by the creation of new bonds of under standing through practical and responsible co-operation in the task of governing India and directing the Indian war effort I was authorised to invite Indian political leaders to join my Executive Council as well as to establish a War Advisory Council containing representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

Outside India these proposals both in their immediate and in their larger ultimate aspects have been welcomed as liberal in conception and as representing the best practical solution of existing differences In India itself too they have met with the support of a large body of opinion in their more immediate aspect however namely the expansion of my Executive Council, I have not secured the response that was hoped from political leaders in India. The reasons for which they have been unable to accept the proposals of His Majesty's Government are conflicting and indeed in some ways mutually destructive However that may be the effect is that the

major political parties concerned are not in present circumstances prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them.

His Majesty's Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future. His Majesty's Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council, or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment.

Gentlemen, I do not wish to conceal from you the deep disappointment which I feel at this failure to secure, within the framework of the constitution, due expression of that ultimate and essential unity in which the hope and the labours of so many of us have been founded, and upon which must depend the future position and influence of India in time to come Nevertheless I would counsel you not to be cast down by the immediate difficulties that beset the path of political advance in this great country For, indeed, stress of war may well in the end come to strengthen and extend that very process of unification, and to hasten the achievement of those constitutional changes implicit in self-government with unity, which at this moment it appears to obstruct Meanwhile in the circumstances of the world today the duty of my Government is clear It is to press forward with all speed and in every field of activity those preparations upon which rests the capacity of this country to wage war with ever-growing strength and successfully to overcome the hazards that confront her Many things may happen before I address you again , but whatever the trials and anxieties that lie before us, however sharp the tests to which we may be subjected, we may have faith in the capacity of India to continue to play a glorious part in this righteous war against the forces of darkness and oppression With all faith and confidence in your resolution and affection, I invite you and all men and women of goodwill throughout this land to support in this critical hour, with all strength of body and spirit, the cause of India and the Empire"

30. COAL MINING IN INDIA

Speech to the Indian Mining and Colliery Owners' Associations and the Indian Mining Federation at Dhanbad on December 14, 1940.— **Dec. 1940**

"The coal mining industry of India dates back to the time of Warren Hastings Permission to work coal mines in Bengal was first granted in 1774, and the important total of about 100 tons were delivered to Government in 1775 For various reasons this adventure did not succeed No further attempt was made for nearly 40 years until 1814, when mining was commended in Raniganj

The first systematic geological survey of the field was made during 1845 46 and a more detailed examination was made during 1858 and 1860 by which time some 50 collieries were already in existence. The development since 1868 has been rapid. In 1868 the output of the coal mines in India was only about 500 000 tons The present output exceeds 28 million tons annually

During these years with the growth of public consciousness in such matters there has also been a gradual but marked development in the measures taken for the safety of those who work under ground. We who look back may at times feel that progress has been too slow but it would be a mistake to think that what is clear to us was equally obvious to our predecessors. Moreover as in so many other industries the question has been complicated by the participation in the industry of those who can barely afford to make it pay The problem of adapting the requirements of safety to the capacity of all owners to shoulder the financial burdens involved has not been easy But in this work Government have been assisted by the concentration of the various interests concerned with coal mining into the three Associations whose guest I am privileged to be this afternoon. In your Chairman s speech a reference has been made to the measures undertaken for the improvement of safety in mining during my term of office In such measures the co-operation which my Government has received from the industry through your three Associations has been of the utmost value This collaboration has become closer with the growth of understanding between the industry and my Government and of this collaboration the most fruitful result in recent years has been the passage of the Coal Mines Safety Act of 1939 I think that in the years to come this Act will be regarded as one of the turning points in the development of the coal mining industry in India. The steps taken under it will ensure that coal miners are safe from many of the dangers to which they were previously exposed, while stowing as a safety measure will do much to conserve our available resources of coal. This morning I have seen some of the work which is being financed by the Coal Mines Stowing Board set up under this Act In the course of the last few years the fires in the two areas which I have visited have resulted in several million tons of coal being burnt underground and they have also threatened the safety of a large number of coal mines in the district The Mines Department under the extended powers which they now possess do what they can to see that in all mining operations due care is taken. But there is the further question of prevention and it is that which the activities of the Stowing Board are designed to ensure I am glad that the Board, while settling the necessary preliminaries before granting assistance towards stowing have devoted their attention to dealing with these fires and I am satisfied by my inspection this morning that the work of bringing them under control is being energetically and successfully pursued.

31. INITIATIVE IN CONSTITUTIONAL FIELD

In the constitutional field, the twelve months of 1940 were " a history of continual initiative on our side," but it was sad that no advantage was taken by the parties of the genuine, sincere and most generous offer made on behalf of His Majesty's Government on August 8, said Lord Linlithgow in reviewing the year's problems at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce on December 16, 1940 — Dec 1940

" Gentlemen,—I am very glad to meet you again today This is the fifth occasion on which I have had the honour of opening the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and I deeply appreciate your kindness in again inviting me to be present I well know the importance of the body of opinion which you represent —an importance greater than ever when the business community is making so magnificent a contribution to the prosecution of the war

I would like, Sir, before going further, to thank you for your reference to the providential escape of Their Majesties from harm. We know the unsparing and self-sacrificing work of the King and Queen, and the deep affection and real gratitude that they have earned for their inspiring leadership That they should have escaped these deliberate and repeated attacks by the German Air Force is a source of the deepest relief to us all.

I would like, too to associate myself, if I may, with the tribute you have just paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and to Lady Mary Herbert I know how much the great war effort of Bengal owes to their unfailing and active help and interest, and how much the Governor's extensive touring in his first year of office has been appreciated

Gentlemen, your Chairman in his speech this morning concentrated on matters affecting the war, and in my reply I propose to do the same At a time when everything we do must be tested in its relation to the war and to its effective prosecution, we can well be proud of the help that India has given since the war began, whether in men (and I would pay a warm tribute to the response of the European community), in materials, in money, or in gifts such as the magnificent gifts for the purchase of aircraft which have come from so many Provinces and States

Much as we have done, there remains still more that we can do, and the obligation upon everyone of us is to see in what way we can still further contribute to the successful termination of the war and the attainment of the ideals for which it is being fought The great organisations which you, Gentlemen, represent here today have spared no pains in their power over the last fifteen months to organise the war effort. I most deeply appreciate their help I ask you, so far as it is in your power to do so, to increase it. I know that in making that appeal I shall get from you, and from those you represent, the answer that I want.

You, Sir in the speech you have just made have reminded us of the great events that have taken place since we met here a year ago The last twelve months have been a period of profound and significant change. None of us a year ago would have anticipated the collapse of France Some of us may have anticipated the un provoked German attack on the Scandinavian Countries on the Low Countries and the equally unprovoked and wanton attack made by Italy with such little success we are glad to think today on her friendly neighbour Greece. But there has been a cynical opportunism about the policy of the Axis Powers in these wanton aggressions in these renewed and aggravated breaches of international law and of the sanctity of treaties for which few of us would have been prepared. Equally while a year ago we had much reason to anticipate the violence of the German attack on the United Kingdom, the intensification of submarine warfare and of the air offensive we can today be proud and happy that that attack pressed home in disregard of every accepted convention of international life backed by all the military might of a country that for years had been preparing in secret to take advantage of the trust of others in treaties and agreements should have produced so little effect Great material damage has been done though little of it very little indeed of any real military significance or importance Immense hardship and suffering has been caused. Before us as I speak there lies the probability indeed the certainty of many months more of warfare of the sternest character before the looked for decision can be reached. At home our people are bearing today not merely the brunt of the German attack but the strain of the inclement season of the year For all that they are as everyone of us knows carrying their burden with a serenity a confidence a will to resist and to conquer a readiness to respond to any call that may be made that has never been sur passed in the whole history of our race The toughness of spirit the unity of purpose of the mother country has commanded universal admiration and the inspiring and courageous telegram that you Sir have just read to us from the Federation of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire and the contents of which we all so deeply appreciate is eloquent testimony of the resolution with which she looks to the future

How can we best help those who are carrying so heavy a weight and who carry it to so large an extent on behalf of India? That is my constant thought Ever since the war began I have lost no opportunity of making plain to the Secretary of State and to His Majesty's Government the anxiety of India to make the fullest contribution that she can in whatever way His Majesty's Government consider most helpful to themselves. Our wish to do so they well know and, I can assure you deeply appreciate They are well aware of our readiness to raise men as many men as His Majesty's Government desire and as we can equip—and I am glad to be able to tell you today that in those brilliantly conceived and executed operations which are taking place in North Africa Indian troops have shown themselves worthy of their highest traditions and

have borne themselves with the utmost distinction His Majesty's Government are aware of the immensity of our natural resources, the extent of the assistance that we can give both immediately and in the future by the provision of raw materials and in manufactured materials. They know, too, how ready we are in this country to relieve them if they so desire, of some of the burden of the manufacture of warlike goods and stores, of aeroplanes and of organised supply to the whole of the Eastern area in such a way as to secure the results most conducive to victory. But clearly it must be for His Majesty's Government, who alone can see the whole picture in its true perspective, to set the pace, to decide for themselves how we can best help them, to let us know at any time whether they want men, whether they want particular stores, whether we can assist them by establishing factories and the like in this country, whether if so they can help us to set them up by the provision of the technicians, the machine tools, in certain cases the materials and machinery requisite for their operation If there are ways in which greater use can be made by His Majesty's Government of the immense manufacturing potentialities of India, of her great resources in men and in material, India is ready and anxious to help, and His Majesty's Government well know it.

How best to assist industry in India engaged on war production has been under constant scrutiny The National Service Ordinance recently enacted aims at securing that the skilled labour at present available in this country shall be put to the most efficient use, and the technical training scheme that we have devised (and which is estimated to cost very nearly a crore of rupees) is designed to increase in a year our supply of such labour by no fewer than 15,000 men. Those measures are designed not only to assist war effort They have in view also the avoidance so far as possible of dislocation in those industries which in the main subserve civilian needs Speaking to you, Gentlemen, with your great experience of industrial undertakings, I need not emphasize the difficulty of the problem of finding suitable instructors for so large a number I hope that by far the greater proportion of the instructors we need will be found in India But this country cannot meet the whole demand, and I appealed therefore to His Majesty's Government to help us by lending us a small number of men trained in the latest methods now in use in the United Kingdom, who could work with and assist instructors locally recruited Though their own need is so very great, they readily agreed to comply with our request They have indeed gone further Thanks to the imagination and the generous help of Mr Bevin, the present Minister of Labour, His Majesty's Government have given facilities for the training of a number of Indian artisans in factories in the United Kingdom I have every hope that that experiment will prove a great success I need not add how great will be the importance of the added experience which these men will bring back from their training in the United Kingdom both in the furtherance of our own technical training schemes to which the Bevin scheme is complementary, and to industry generally

In your remarks Sir you touched on the contraction of export markets due to the war The policy of economic warfare followed by the Government of India in the closest association with His Majesty's Government and the Dominions Government entails unquestionably hardships and real hardships on the commercial community and the only justification for it can be as I know that you will all of you agree with me that that policy is calculated and is designed to expedite the termination of the war But while pursuing that policy in collaboration and in the closest liaison with His Majesty's Government my Government are concerned to mitigate as far as possible the injurious effects which it inevitably involves. It is with that object that the Export Advisory Council has been established. I am glad to hear that you should lend your approval to the constitution of that body and that you should feel that it can play a useful part in the solution of the difficult problems that in present circumstances must constantly arise

My Government have had under the closest investigation the possibility of alternative markets for products the export of which has been curtailed and for increasing India's exports to countries with which normal trade relations continue A Trade Commissioner has been appointed for Australia and New Zealand and that appointment will I am sure assist the growing trade between India and those two Dominions both now and in the post war period Consideration is being given to appointing Trade Commissioners elsewhere and to deputing Trade Missions to some of the countries in which there is a prospect of increased trade either in raw products or in finished goods. The impetus given by the necessities of the war has I am glad to say resulted also in the establishment of certain new industries and I trust that we may look as time goes on for still further development in that direction. The researches of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, with which leading scientists and industrialists are associated have, I understand already borne good fruit and the problem of utilising their results so as to enable industries to be started is under active examination. I do not propose today to go into the detail of this industrial development. But I might touch on one industry which being a key industry is expected to be in full production very soon. I refer to the aluminium industry The raw material is available in large quantity in this country The facilities that are now being afforded by my Government are calculated to result in early production of a commodity which is most necessary and important for purposes of the war and which will be of equal value after the return of peace And the aluminium industry is only one of many of which I trust that it will be possible to say the same

I listened Sir with the closest attention to the references you have made to the work of the Department of Supply and I realise and appreciate the spirit in which they are offered. Dissatisfaction with the performance of the Department is to a very great extent based, I think I am right in saying on the feeling that it has failed to plan forward and to put industry into continuous production.

I would suggest, however, that that dissatisfaction arises to some extent from the fact that the functions and powers of a supply organisation, in India, as in any other country, are limited in certain obvious ways No Supply organisation decides or can decide for itself what articles are required for the Defence Forces Its function is to meet the demands placed upon it That, I am glad to say, we can claim that the Supply Department has at no stage or time failed to do. But many of the demands placed upon it come from abroad, many of them a stream of small orders, some of them demands very substantial indeed and as you, I know, appreciate, it is not open to the Government of India to dictate terms to overseas authorities who desire to procure supplies (which we are only too glad to let them have to the maximum of our capacity) from this country. All that we can do is to urge as vigorously as we can on those authorities the need for a forward programme of production, and I am very glad indeed to let you know today that within the last few weeks our representations have borne fruit, and that the Department of Supply will now be able to go ahead on a firm and substantial forward programme for General Stores, while on the Munitions side, in the same way—munitions, incidentally, required in great part not for ourselves but for overseas—the indications are that we shall shortly be making a very heavy demand indeed on industry.

Could we have reached that position at an earlier stage in the war, nobody would have been more happy than I myself But that is an issue closely linked up with the relations between the overseas authorities who require our goods and ourselves Large orders, on the chance of their being taken up later, but for which no authority was prepared at the moment to pay would not, I am certain, have been welcome to any business man, and it goes without saying that progress on a massive scale can be made only when there is a purchaser who is prepared to pay, and to pay for forward production

For all that, and despite the admitted limitations upon many of the activities of the Department of Supply its record since I addressed you a year ago stands scrutiny As you, Sir, have just reminded us, the business done by the two purchasing organisations under the Department amounted in the first year of the war to no less a figure than 56½ crores By the end of 1940 we shall have supplied for war purposes 280,000 tons of Indian timber, at a cost of just over Rs 273 lakhs, cotton canvas and cotton jute union canvas valued at Rs 270 lakhs, 12 million garments costing something like Rs 700 lakhs, and tents costing over Rs 500 lakhs. The labour force employed on the making of Army clothing (to take one item alone) has risen from 750 before the war to about 18,000 today. These are a few typical figures on the General Stores side On the Munitions Production side, we have supplied to His Majesty's Government 120 million rounds of small arms ammunition, nearly 400,000 filled shells of various calibres, large quantities of explosives, and very large quantities of engineering stores We are also procuring naval craft at an estimated cost of Rs 74 lakhs

I have tried to deal Gentlemen (and I know the importance that you attach to this matter and that is my apology for devoting so much time to it) with the basic criticism that there has been a failure to plan and to make full use of industry But there are as I know from conversations with many of you many complaints too about the working of the Supply organisation in matters of detail. Many of those complaints are justified and the Government of India will do their best to remove their causes We will welcome too at any time any suggestions for improvement and any specific complaints and you may be certain that I shall see myself that any such suggestions and any such complaints are most fully and speedily investigated.

War Supply administration whether in India or in the United Kingdom is not easy administration Those responsible for it like those responsible for war industrial effort have to deal with conditions which change very rapidly and with problems which present themselves without warning and which demand immediate solution I make no attempt to justify any failure there may have been to keep pace with the requirements of the situation But I know how disturbing in many ways war inevitably proves to commerce and industry and I can assure you that the difficulties are not confined to your side of that partnership on which all War Supply depends. I hope and believe that as both the Department and Industry settle down to the programme of forward production which we have throughout been so anxious to secure, the complaints I mention the importance of which I fully accept will disappear and you may take it from me that no effort is being spared, as I speak today to remove their causes.

Before I leave this vital question of War Supply I should like with your permission to touch on one or two matters in the field of higher policy Since I last addressed you there have been two events of great importance for both of which I am glad to say India can claim to have been very largely responsible The first was the arrival in India of the Ministry of Supply Mission under Sir Alexander Roger which will I am confident, enable us to make much more rapid progress in the supply of munitions. The idea that such a mission should be sent to India originated in India many months ago and although I should have been only too happy had it come to fruition earlier than it did and in the spring of this year I am most grateful to the Ministry of Supply for their acceptance of it at a moment of critical importance.

The arrival of the Mission preceded by a few weeks the opening of the Eastern Group Conference. This Conference as you know was called to consider the war supply problems of the Empire countries east of Suez. The suggestion that it should be held was sent from India, again many months ago and I feel that it was not held too soon. Some of you gentlemen here today took part in the Conference as Advisers and I should like to pay a public tribute today to the great service done by the Advisers both in placing their experience at its disposal and in collecting and arranging the available facts for final consideration by it For reasons that you will appreciate I cannot today enter into the conclusions and the recommendations of the

conference. But it was generally agreed by the visiting Delegations, the Ministry of Supply Mission, and the Indian Delegation, that the Conference accomplished what it set out to do, and laid the foundation of a sound co-ordinated War Supply policy. The Government of India had no hesitation in accepting its recommendations, and I hope that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the other participating Governments will find it possible to do the same; and that we shall be able to settle down without delay to give effect to its proposals

So much for India's contribution to the war in terms of labour and supply. I would add only that, while my Government is fully alive to the necessity of maintaining and developing industry in this country as part of the war effort, as a corollary, it is most desirable that the off-take of manpower for the fighting services should not deprive industry of personnel vital to its existence. While we are pressing forward with our schemes of expansion of the armed forces of the Crown, and development of supply, the requirements of Indian industry in manpower are never absent from the mind of my Government

Let me turn now to the political field As I speak to you today we are faced in this country, to my deep regret, with a movement, supported by the Congress Party, which is open to grave misunderstanding outside Leaders of the Congress Party have publicly stated that they do not desire to embarrass His Majesty's Government in the conduct of the war But they have claimed, at the same time, in the interest of the creed of non-violence, the right to urge the country not to help Britain's war effort with men or with money You will have seen, Gentlemen, the correspondence that passed between Mr Gandhi and myself last September in that connection I made it clear that we in this country had no desire to suppress legitimate criticism within legitimate limits, and I referred to the limits set by His Majesty's Government in the case of conscientious objectors at home Broadly, the effect is that while a conscientious objector is absolved from the duty of fighting and is allowed even to profess his faith in public, he is not permitted to carry his opposition to the length of trying to persuade others, whether soldiers nor munition workers, to abandon their allegiance or to discontinue their effort But Mr Gandhi was unable to accept this as adequate in the conditions of India, and when I asked him if he desired to be in a position to dissuade labour from working on war equipment he told me, as you will remember, that while he would not preach to workers at the actual works, in the endeavour there to dissuade them from working on war equipment he thought it essential that Congressmen and non-Congressmen should be free to deliver addresses and otherwise to call on people throughout the country to refrain from assisting India's war effort in any way that would involve India's participation in bloodshed

That is clearly not a position that we can acquiesce in. I have every respect for genuine conscientious objection , and none of us in the world today can wish to see violence supreme, or wantonly resort to arms. But to arms taken up armed defence is the only answer,

deep and sincere as is the hatred of all of us for war And we have a duty to this country to see that India s war effort which I am certain has India behind it is not in any way impeded that not a single sepoy is deprived of the arms and ammunition that he needs whether by speeches or by more active forms of opposition I regret all the more that we should have to deal with a movement of this character at this moment since I do not believe that it corresponds in the very least degree to the true feelings of this country India, I am convinced, remains as united in its detestation of Hitlerism and of all that it stands for as it has been from the very beginning of the war a detestation to which the utterances of political leaders of every party have borne eloquent witness

Let me say a word now about the constitutional position When I spoke to you a year ago I was fresh from my discussions with the principal political leaders. To my great satisfaction I had been able to bring Mr Jinnah and Mr Gandhi together for the first time for many years I knew too the minds of the leaders of political India on the constitutional position. But I had to admit that the efforts which His Majesty s Government and I on their behalf had made were so far abortive and that the problem which confronted us and confronted India remained unsolved.

I was for all that full of hope. I knew the anxiety of His Majesty s Government to help to solve that problem I trusted that the stress of war the growing appreciation of the attitude of His Majesty s Government and of their sincerity would produce its effect. Again I have to confess to failure and to disappointment I will not weary you with the history of the last twelve months in the constitutional field. You know it only too well. It has been a history of continual initiative on our side. Everything possible has been done to remove misunderstandings to set out in detail the proposals of His Majesty's Government to bring home to Indian political leaders and parties and communities that His Majesty's Government were only too anxious for their collaboration in the Central Government in the prosecution of the war only too anxious to transfer real power and real authority to them. I will say nothing of the numerous discussions I had throughout the year time after time with one prominent leader after another But I will claim that the final proposals of His Majesty s Government embodied in the statement I made on their behalf on 8th August represented a genuine a sincere and a most generous offer and it seems to me a sad thing that at a time such as this no advantage should have been taken of it by those for whom it was designed.

Suggestions have been made that we may have not made our intentions clear For that suggestion Gentlemen I can see no sufficient basis. Our intentions—our proposals—are crystal clear No form of words could have made them clearer They have been set out in my statement of 8th August They have been debated in Parliament The Secretary of State on various occasions in speeches of the utmost lucidity has analysed and described them I cannot believe that they have not been accepted because those to whom they were made did not understand their meaning

Let me, at the risk of weighing unduly on you, again remind you of their terms They reaffirmed first as the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament the attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth.

To remove all doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government as to the method and time of progress towards that goal, they declared the sympathy of His Majesty's Government with the desire that the responsibility for framing the future constitutional scheme of Indian self-Government should, subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her, be primarily that of Indians themselves , and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic, and political structure of Indian life

They repeated (and I can assure you from the conversations I have had with political leaders that this is a point of great importance) the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing that scheme

They made it clear, too, that His Majesty's Government could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority was directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. (You, Gentlemen, need no emphasis from me as to the importance and the necessity of that guarantee It would be foolish to imagine for a moment that any solution of the problems of India can be found by ignoring or burking the problem of the minorities They are one of the most important things in this country today)

To devise the framework of the new constitution immediately after the war, His Majesty's Government were ready to see a body set up representative of all the principal elements in India's national life. (We cannot clearly in the midst of a struggle for existence get down to the niceties of constitutional discussion . nor can we, with the pressing claims of the war on our attention hope to do justice to the intricate and complicated problems that the framing of a constitution involves)

Pending the conclusion of the war, His Majesty's Government repeated that they were only too anxious to welcome and promote every sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post-war body ; and about the principles and the outlines of the constitution

And, in the meantime, they proposed to expand at once the Government of India by the inclusion in it of Indian political leaders , and to set up a War Advisory Council which should contain representatives of the Indian States as well as of British India

Those were the proposals of His Majesty's Government. Those proposals, I venture to repeat, were as generous in character as they were sincere in conception It has been a profound disappointment to me that they should have had no better reception As, Gentlemen, you are all aware, there was no sufficient degree of general support

from the major political parties in this country for those proposals to justify His Majesty's Government in going ahead with them at this stage. One important political party indeed rejected them out of hand and with no indication of close consideration Familiar as you are with the intricate problems of India with the difficulties we all of us have to face you will I am certain share my view that if there is to be any prospect of harmonious working in this country there must be a sufficient degree of general agreement behind any constitutional changes that may be made and a sufficient degree of general support for those changes. The reasons for which the great political parties rejected at this stage the proposals I have just mentioned were as I told the Central Legislature recently conflicting and indeed in some ways mutually destructive. But the fact remains and it is that we cannot at this stage find that degree of agreement in this country that degree of support for the scheme of constitutional advance which would justify His Majesty s Government in proceeding immediately on the lines I have just indicated.

Let me however again make it clear first that His Majesty's Government and I remain as anxious as ever to see a solution. Throughout the whole of this constitutional discussion the initiative has come from His Majesty's Government and from myself At no stage have any constructive proposals capable of realisation in the conditions of India and in the conditions of the modern world been put forward to us. We have had to do our best and we have done our best to find the largest possible measure of common agreement and to endeavour to persuade the parties concerned to accept that largest measure of common agreement even if it meant some abatement of their own particular claims as against other parties in the interests of India. We have not been successful. But His Majesty's Government and I are satisfied that the proposals put forward by me on their behalf on 8th August last remain the best solution of the problems of this country that can be found at this time We are satisfied that given those internal factors of which no wise statesman can fail to take full account they represent the most extensive measure that can be contemplated and in those circumstances His Majesty's Government keep those proposals open. They hope that as time passes as there is more opportunity for reflection on the real power and the real authority that their acceptance would transfer to Indian hands there will be a greater readiness on the part of the principal political parties in this country to take advantage of them.

Circumstances here the background the factors in the situation are not the same as they are in the United Kingdom. It would be foolish to refuse to recognise that fact to refuse to recognise that some adjustments of a particular character may be called for in dealing with the constitutional problems of India in order to reconcile the conflict of view the difference of culture of tradition and of temperament, of the great communities, and the great political parties. And I would add this. It is but natural in times such as these when in the different circumstances of English democracy the affairs of the State are being guided at this critical moment by a national government that the idea

of a national government for India should have received the prominence which it has in this country. With that idea we all of us sympathise. But, Gentlemen, and I speak with a full knowledge of the background and of the difficulties, I am satisfied that the proposals of 8th August, the opportunity they gave for the participation in the Central Government of India and in the conduct of the war of the representatives of the leading political parties, represent more closely than any other scheme that can at this time be devised a national government for India—a government, associated through the War Advisory Council with the Indian States, that will contain within itself the representatives of those great parties and communities, that will exercise full and real influence on the conduct of the war, leaving to the post-war discussions which I have already mentioned the final settlement of those intricate questions, whether between the communities here, or between British India and the Indian States, or between India and His Majesty's Government, which have got to be solved before the problem of India's future can be finally settled.

Gentlemen, speaking to you today, I ask for your continued support, and for that help that you, with your innumerable contacts in this country, are in so good a position to lend, to assist India in the solution of these problems. I repeat that the initiative has throughout come from His Majesty's Government and from myself on their behalf. The fact that we have so far failed to reconcile those conflicting aims and objectives of the principal parties and interests in this country which have got to be reconciled before progress is possible does not deter us. Our objective remains to lead India to the proclaimed goal of Dominion Status, and that as early as may be. There is nothing more that we can do than we have done. We are entitled to claim, we do claim, and I claim today, that it is for the Indian parties themselves, for those communities, interests and political leaders concerned, to get together and to see what they can do by way of reaching an accommodation with one another against the background which I have just mentioned. It has not been the fault of His Majesty's Government that matters are not further forward today. They have done everything in their power. For the suggestions that are being made from various quarters that Indian political leaders and Indian political parties should at this point come together and seek to reach agreement among themselves His Majesty's Government have nothing but the fullest goodwill and the fullest sympathy.

Gentlemen, I will not keep you longer. These are indeed stirring and anxious times. Your Chairman referred in most friendly and flattering terms to the extension of my Viceroyalty. A further period in this great office, the burdens of which I can tell you from experience over a period so eventful as that for which I have held it, are crushing in their weight, is no light thing for any man to contemplate. But if, in that further period by which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to extend my term, I can continue to assist in however small a degree in the effective and active prosecution of the war, in India's contribution to war effort, if I can give India a lead, a direction, which will enable her more fully to express the anxiety of her peoples and

herself to give that help which it is so abundantly clear that they are passionately anxious to give to the achievement of our ideals then indeed I shall be a happy and a fortunate man

Gentlemen I thank you again for your friendly welcome today for those words of encouragement which your Chairman has spoken and above all, for the assurance which he has given me of your continued support and understanding There is nothing I can assure you that I more deeply value and nothing that could be of greater assistance to a Viceroy so shortly about to enter on the sixth and the final year of this great office.

32. VOLUNTARY CIVIC SERVICES IN BENGAL

Dec. 17, 1940 *Address to Civic Guards A.R.P organisations and other voluntary Civic Services at Calcutta on December 17 1940*

Your Excellency Sir Nazimuddin Officers Men and Women of the Calcutta Civic Guard and A.R.P Organisations I am very glad and proud to have met you and to have seen you on parade today What I have seen fills me with encouragement, not only because I know that this great city will have to defend her against whatever dangers may threaten from outside or from within a keen well trained and disciplined body of citizens but because I see before me also an admirable display of civic co-operation which befits the second city of the Empire and augurs well for the future of India.

You have voluntarily given up your leisure hours and your comfort to fit yourselves for the duty of protecting your fellow citizens and they I feel sure recognise the unselfishness and the public spirit which have prompted you to undertake this task and honour you for it

The A.R.P organisation has been under training for over a year and the Civic Guard for about six months.

The degree of progress which has been achieved by both is remarkable and this I know is largely due to those instructors from Bengali military formations who have readily given their time and service to assist in the training

The manner in which recruitment and training of the Civic Guard are proceeding in the districts of Bengal no less than in Calcutta itself is most encouraging and the carefully planned organisation covering the whole of this city and providing the officers with regular opportunities for consultation and exchange of ideas fulfils admirably the purpose for which these bodies have been raised all over India. I am delighted to know that much of this success is due to the lively interest which my friend Lord Sinha has taken in every phase of Civic Guard development.

It is also of particular interest to me to observe the extent of co-operation which exists between the Civic Guard and the Police. No Police force can function properly even in normal times without the whole-hearted sympathy and support of the public at large

whose safety and the safety of whose property it is their main duty to protect. The increased co-operation which the present emergency has brought about between the Police and voluntary civic bodies, representative of the public, is a development of immense importance, and the spirit which it has engendered will, I am sure, be of lasting mutual benefit It has already shown practical evidence of its value in the fine work done by the Civic Guard, acting with the Police, in keeping the peace during the recent strike of conservancy workers, and in controlling holiday crowds, and, with their colleagues of the A R P. during the recent and most successful trial black-out in this city.

You A R P workers deserve a special tribute, since in Calcutta you led the way in voluntary war work, and in spite of initial delays in the supply of equipment, you have let nothing discourage you in pursuing steadily and unobtrusively your arduous and vitally important training. There are now five thousand of you, men and women, working in close co-operation with your colleagues of the Civic Guard, the Police and the Fire Services You are building up a splendid organisation of rescue and demolition squads and on the medical side an ample provision of first-aid and hospital services

We must all hope that the test of your proficiency after all these months of training will never come But if it should come, I am confident, and the City of Calcutta is confident, that you are fully prepared to meet it and to grapple with it as bravely and as competently as your fellow workers in London and the British Isles, whose fortitude and heroism is inscribing day by day some of the most glorious annals of this war

This parade typifies to my mind the determination of all loyal citizens of India to see this business through to the end—to the end of the forces of evil and destruction which are threatening the world For, make no mistake, the tyranny against which you are prepared to defend your city threatens the lives and homes of peaceful citizens, not here nor in distant parts of the world only, but all over the world; and all those everywhere who value the precious gifts of peace and liberty and civilization must be prepared, as you are, to fight for them and defend them, whether the danger to them seems near or far And when the victory is ours and the danger is at an end, India and the whole civilized world will thank you for the courage and steadfastness with which you have been prepared to bear your share in this momentous struggle

Meanwhile, stand firm and persevere, and God be with you all."

33. FATHERS OF PRINCES' CHAMBER

Mar 17, 1941

Speech in unveiling the busts of their late Highnesses of Gwalior Patiala and Nawanagar in the Chamber of Princes Hall on March 17 1941

Your Highnesses,—I am grateful to His Highness the Chancellor and the Members and Representative Members of this Chamber for inviting me to preside over today's ceremony and unveil the busts of Their late Highnesses the Maharajas of Gwalior, Nawanagar and Patiala. Your Chancellor has paid a moving tribute to the memory of these three Princes, all of whom had, by varying and outstanding qualities and achievements, become familiar and popular figures in the India of their day. Nor were their fame and reputation confined to this country. The name of His late Highness of Nawanagar is still a household word in England by reason of his unique proficiency in England's national game. In that, as well as in other more serious spheres of public life, the late Maharaja of Patiala, too, won great distinction, while His Highness Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia's personality was such as to inspire confidence and affection in all with whom he came in contact—from the lowliest of his subjects to the King Emperor himself.

But we are today more concerned with the services they rendered to this Chamber with which all of them were so closely associated from those earliest days when what was then known as the "Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs" first began to meet there in Delhi.

Of that aspect of their careers His Highness the Chancellor has spoken in sincere and eloquent terms, and I gladly associate myself with all that he has said. In speaking of the late Maharaja Jam Saheb His Highness' words were very naturally charged with family affection, and the thought will no doubt have occurred to many of us that nothing would have afforded greater pride and pleasure to His late Highness than to have known that the great office of Chancellor of this unique Assembly, which he himself had held with such industry and distinction, would one day be so worthily filled by his successor on the *gaddi* of Nawanagar.

It will not be a conventional compliment or an undue straining of language if I say that this ceremony for which we have assembled today is, in respect of all the three Princes whose memory it is designed to perpetuate in this place, permeated by a certain filial sentiment, inasmuch as all of them had just claims to be described as fathers of the Chamber of Princes, for they had played no inconsiderable part in guiding the Chamber through its early days. For the vision which enabled them, as His Highness has reminded us, to appreciate its possibilities in the future, and to a great extent to carry them into actual effect, we may well be thankful, and it is for Your Highnesses of the present generation to see to it that the ideals and objects for which the Chamber was founded and for which those whom we commemorate strove so loyally and well, are resolutely pursued in the best interests of your Order as well as of India as a whole.

I trust that the marble effigies, which I am privileged now to unveil, will keep alive, for many generations to come, the great reputations which are so fresh in the memories of all of us present here today"

34. MADRAS LEADS

Extract from speech to the Provincial War Committee, Madras, on Jul
July 31, 1941 — 194

" Satisfactory though the solid achievements of the last year have been, I see no reason to suppose that the year 1942 will not be, like its predecessors, a year of blood and toil, and tears and sweat There is no excuse for slackening in our efforts, and Madras, I know, has not slackened hers You lead the Provinces of India in the voluntary contributions which you have made for war purposes These have already reached the splendid total of one million pounds sterling, and three of your districts East Godavari, Madura and Guntur—have topped (or nearly reached) the ten lakhs mark.

I am glad to be able to tell you that, in return for a contribution received from you last year, the first operational aircraft to be assembled in India for the Indian Air Force, will be named MADRAS. Already, three Fighter Squadrons in the Royal Air Force—one of Hurricanes, one Spitfires and one of Defiants—for which you have subscribed, carry the name of Madras into battle, and that is a record to be proud of The Madras Defiant Squadron, I was delighted to see, has the highest bag of enemy planes—37 in a day—of any Fighter Command Squadron

I was privileged, the other day, to convey to the Corporation of Madras the thanks of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies for a contribution towards the defences of Singapore That was a valuable and imaginative gift, and it is a right instinct on the part of Madras to look to the soundness of the Eastern bastion of our defences On the safety of Malaya depends ultimately, to a great extent, the safety of Madras

This Presidency has subscribed two crores and eighty-one lakhs of rupees to Defence Loans out of a total, for the whole of India, of 69 crores of rupees I make no secret of the fact that even the all-India total falls far short of what is required The Government of India needs at least Rs 100 crores a year—2 crores a week—from Defence Loans to meet expenditure on Indian war measures and the proper financing of war supplies operations in India The cost of war supplies made by India to His Majesty's Government and to Allied Governments is repaid in sterling, but the actual payments to suppliers in India have to be made in rupees, for which a large volume of loan money is required—larger than we are getting at present I hope that you, gentlemen, whose efforts have been so remarkably successful in the raising of war gifts, will not neglect this most important matter of encouraging subscriptions to war loans

In the actual production of war supplies Madras has played a substantial part. Your Railway Workshops are engaged in the production of munitions and to name a few other essential items, textiles leather goods timber chemicals and motor chassis are being produced in valuable quantities from this Presidency

As for recruitment, I was able last year to congratulate you on the fact that in the first nine months of the war recruitment to the Army from Madras had been over ten times as great as the normal annual recruitment from the Presidency Since then great strides have been made, and I soon hope to see a monthly recruitment rate of 5 000 reached in this Presidency—which as I do not need to tell you produces soldiers of a very special type and quality—largely as sappers pioneers and mechanics—who have already rendered most valuable service in this war

One of the four new Regiments recently approved by His Majesty is the Madras Regiment. It is intended that the battalions of this Regiment should be formed by regularising existing Territorial Battalions but this can only be done successfully if volunteers in adequate numbers come forward from the Territorial units to form the nucleus of the regular battalions. So far I am sorry to say the number of volunteers has not been as many as one might expect. I know how eager Madras was that this Regiment should be raised I look to you gentlemen to see now that it has been raised that it is kept fully up to strength.

Hardly less important in the field of war effort than the production of money supplies and recruits are those humanitarian activities which lighten for soldiers and civilians alike the suffering caused by war In this Your Excellency s Joint War Charities Committee has not been backward. In the first year of the war you raised money which supplied ambulances for the British Red Cross and in the Middle East. Later you were able to turn your attention to the requirements of the Indian Expeditionary Force in Malaya and Madras became the main port in India for the despatch of stores to the Far East—a role which is not likely to be diminished in importance Your 200 work parties produced nearly 300 000 articles during 1940 as well as contributing their share to the Central Red Cross Depot in Delhi this year you have further undertaken a Red Cross postal message scheme which has been of special value to your French neighbours in Pondicherry and you have opened a War Stores Depot which has admirably discharged a heavy burden of work throughout the trying summer months.

In addition to these your Hospitality Committee with which Clubs charitable organizations and private individuals are co-operating has been most zealous in the entertainment of troops stationed in or passing through Madras.

In the collection of war funds in the Presidency you have concentrated on aeroplanes and to a lesser degree on ambulances. I do not need to remind you that the comfort and well being of the men who are fighting for us are also objects deserving the utmost generosity

I therefore commend to your attention, ladies and gentlemen, the need for mobile canteens and amenities for troops generally, but the supply of these should be co-ordinated through the Committee of the Central Amenities for Troops Fund.

The outstanding success of the Madras Governor's War Fund is, if I may say so, not only a tribute to the energy and the powers of persuasion of Your Excellency, and of many other gentlemen here this evening, but also an illustration of the value of planned and concentrated propaganda When last year I congratulated your Propaganda Committee on the work which they had already done, I said that iteration and reiteration was the secret of success in that field It is work of the greatest importance, and there is no limit to its usefulness What you are already doing, with the help of the Madras Government through hundreds of reading circles and with your 12 propaganda vans, fitted with loudspeakers and cinema projectors, is most valuable, keep it up, and let there be more and more of it

I said earlier in my speech that the war had come perceptibly nearer to India, and not from one direction only The significance of this for Madras, particularly in regard to Air Raid Precautions, will not have escaped you I was studying the other day, with a great deal of interest, the arrangements which have been made in this city and in the other towns of the Presidency where air-raid precautions are considered to be necessary However complete the preparations by Government, or by the Corporation or the Defence Services may be, the success of air-raid precautions depends in a very large degree on the willing co-operation of every private citizen For the safety of your city and of your neighbours, and of yourselves and your families, I cannot too strongly urge you—every man and woman—to give to the utmost the assistance which is required of you I can hardly do better than repeat what, last year, the Minister of Home Security, Sir John Anderson, said to the people of Britain about this —

> 'In this war every man and woman is in the front line A soldier at the front who neglects the proper protection of his trench does more than endanger his own life, he weakens a portion of his country's defences and betrays the trust which has been placed in him You, too, will have betrayed your trust if you neglect to take the steps which it is your responsibility to take for the protection of yourself and your family'

When I was last in Madras, your Civic Guards were a newly raised body This year they are veterans with more than a year's training and experience behind them Their importance, as a means of enabling the ordinary citizen to play his part in the defence of the State, and the maintenance of public safety and of public order, remains as great as ever His Excellency the Governor has seen them at work in nearly every district and tells me how keen they are and what excellent work they are doing—and that is most reassuring news"

35. CIVIC GUARDS WIN SPURS

Aug 14, 1941 *Extract from Lord Linlithgow's address to Bombay Civic Guards on August 14, 1941*

To few civic bodies raised for the purpose of defending law and order can it have been given so soon and so creditably to win their spurs. I have read with admiration of the magnificent part which the Bombay Civic Guards—the motorised unit and many others whom I see before me today—as well as your colleagues in Ahmedabad—played in maintaining order and helping the police during the recent communal disturbances. That was a fine example to all other members of the Civic Guards throughout India.

There is no doubt that the best recruiting sergeant you can have is the reputation you have already earned so well and I can say with every assurance that the more there are of men like you, the better it will be for India. I am proud to have seen you on parade today and greatly encouraged to feel that the steadiness the smartness and the workmanlike bearing of the men I see before me is typical also of the other thousands of the Civic Guard in the districts of Bombay whom I am not privileged to see today Your movement is steadily gaining strength throughout the Province and there is a growing realization of its value in the public mind. From the rapid progress you have already made I can say without hesitation that the future of the Civic Guard here and elsewhere in India is full of promise.

36. BOMBAY A.R.P

Aug. 14, 1941 *Extracts from address to Bombay Air Raid Precaution volunteers on August 14 1941*

Officers and men and women of the Bombay A.R.P Services — You are the citizen defenders of your homes and of your neighbours homes the protectors of innocent men, women and children from that most devastating form of modern warfare—bombing attacks from the air

Do not for one moment relax your efforts do not give way to that most insidious of your enemies—more treacherous than any fifth columnist—I mean Boredom. Nine-tenths of the business of waging war is intensely boring There are long periods of waiting and watching and preparing for something to happen which may never happen at all, and then creeps in the fatal temptation of wondering whether one is doing any good by all this vigilance and preparation whether all this expenditure of time and energy and money is worth while. At all costs put that temptation behind you. The moment for which you are preparing may never come it is true but no one can tell—it may come when you are least expecting it and if it comes when you are unprepared, then you are beaten before you have started to fight.

The war is a long way from being over yet. All the patience and skill all the courage and endurance of you and thousands more like

you, will be required for many months to come, to ensure that our defences are strong and our spirit unbreakable Even when the war begins to turn in our favour, we shall have a long and rough passage before us—for we have got to make a good job of it this time We are just getting our teeth into the Nazi now, but he is a powerful animal, and desperate, he can do a lot of damage yet, and he may still swing us off our feet once or twice, before we get to his throat and bring him down But let us hold on, and assuredly we shall bring him down—this time for ever When that day comes, you, officers, men and women of the Bombay A R P services, will have your reward You will know that you have played a very real part in the winning of the war you will have manned your trench and kept your part of the line of battle intact You will deserve well of your fellow citizens, and of India, and I hope, on that day, you will be the first to break your own black-out regulations, and light in the sky an enormous 'V' for Victory, which will blaze half-way across the Indian Ocean"

37. "INDIA IS AWAKE"

Among us there are those who like to reap the harvest of victory without putting their hands to the plough, others who are not ashamed to seek to divide the people, to weaken the war effort and to destroy confidence though the nation stands in grave peril "But that is not the spirit of India," says Lord Linlithgow broadcasting on September 3, 1941 Se 19

"India is awake, she is mighty and formidable, and she shall, if you determine, be mightier yet"

Text of the broadcast —

"My Friends,—This night, two years ago, I spoke to you in a solemn hour I spoke, then, of my confidence that, at a time when all that is most precious in the civilisation of the modern world stands in peril, India would play a part worthy of her place among the nations of the world

I was not wrong War, like the bursting of a great dam, released the waters of destruction on the world The noise of these waters was far off when India set herself to meet the storm; to man her own defences as well as the outer bastions of her fortress In two years, the tide of war has rolled much nearer to our shores—and not from one direction only But India stands firm Her young men have come forward to answer the call for service on the sea, on the land and in the air her factories, her mills, her dockyards are working night and day to produce the munitions and equipment, the ships and vehicles of war her Princes and people have poured out their wealth in free will offerings to meet the cost of war her citizen defenders have enrolled themselves in tens of thousands to protect their homes and to secure the public peace: and the world will not forget how, after the darkest hour of the Allied cause, Indian soldiers went into battle on a December morning in the Western Desert, as the spearhead of a great attack, and won at Sidi Barrani our first resounding victory

Today India is the focus-point of the nations and territories of the Eastern Group In Egypt in the Sudan—whose people have shown their gratitude by a splendid gift—in Eritrea and Ethiopia in Iraq Syria and Iran, the armies of India have sought and found glory on many fields. They have dealt faithfully with the Italian Empire which lies in ruins in East Africa they have forged new links in the comradeship of arms and have protected great neighbouring nations against the imminent or actual threat of the invader

India is awake she is mighty and formidable and she shall if you so determine be mightier yet.

Men and women of India be proud of your sons and brothers. Not only of your soldiers sailors and airmen but of all those others too who are playing their part, not always spectacular but none the less valuable in this total war The merchant-seamen of India the men in the factories and in the fields the civil servants and the police the Civic Guards and the A.R.P services the business men who cheerfully undertake each of them three or four men s work in the interests of national service the women workers and many others who give of their best whether in money or service—these too are playing their part in this mortal struggle They have not been privileged to stand in the front line of battle to their lot has fallen the less exciting but necessary work of war behind the lines but on their patience and perseverance and on their stout hearted confidence depends no less than on our armed forces the ultimate triumph of our efforts to rid the world of the obscene pestilence of Nazism.

There are those amongst us who would like to reap the harvest of victory without having put their hands to the plough Others there are who for one reason or another are not ashamed though the nation stands in grave peril to seek to divide the people to weaken the war effort to destroy confidence. But that is not the spirit of India.

Do not I beg of you let this insidious fifth-column eat like dry rot into the fabric of your determination Be united stand firm and persevere. It was in the spirit of co-operation that our soldiers scaled the heights of Keren and Amba Alagi and stormed Damascus it was in that spirit that they broke through the iron ring at El Mechili and are continuing the heroic resistance at Tobruk. When the tremendous conflict which we are witnessing passes into history it will be deeds such as these that will be inscribed for India s honour in golden letters on the banners of victory

I have asked that next Sunday shall be observed as a Day of National Prayer The virtue of prayer lies in thanksgiving faith and resolution. We have much to be thankful for Great Britain the British Empire and our Allies have taken some hard knocks but we have given them too and we stand on infinitely firmer ground today than we did twelve months ago But the war is by no means over we may not yet have travelled even one-half of the long and rough road. We may be sure that there are before us many months of agony and

sweat and sacrifice, and it will take all our courage and resolution, all our faith and patience, to win through, with God's help, to the end We must try to deserve the strength, which, next Sunday, we shall ask God to give us If you think you are giving all you can, give twice as much, if you think you are working as hard as you can, work twice as hard I speak to you as comrades in this high endeavour, as fellow travellers along the hard and testing road of duty and of honour. Please believe me that your personal effort, your contribution, your support, are greatly needed and are truly appreciated

Some of you will remember an allegory, in a book that was written close on 300 years ago, of a pilgrim who was beset upon his journey by the foul fiend Apollyon, who said, 'Prepare thyself to die, for I swear by my infernal den that thou shalt go no farther, here will I spill thy soul'; and how the pilgrim fought back manfully for many hours, and, at the last, though wounded and weary, he saw an opportunity and gathered his strength and his courage to strike at the fiend the deadliest blow of all that fight at which Apollyon 'spread forth his dragon's wings, and sped him away'

We must make an even better job of our Apollyon. he must not get away The Nazi and all his works must perish utterly from the earth Be resolute, keep your eyes on the goal and keep your hearts high, and so, for the generations that are to come, Hitler shall mean no more than a name to frighten children with, a shadow of dragon's wings across the sun

Goodnight. God bless you all"

38. NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL

Before the opening of the secret session of the first meeting of the National Defence Council on October 6, 1941, Lord Linlithgow welcomed the representatives of the Provinces and the Princes met together for the first time to consider and discuss the war position and India's war effort and to be acquainted "to the fullest degree, and in the fullest confidence," with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort The establishment of the Council had been announced on July 21 by His Excellency the Viceroy along with the announcement of the enlargement of his Executive Council. The National Defence Council received a message of greetings from the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill Extracts from Lord Linlithgow's speech **Oct. 1941**

"Your Highnesses, Begum Shah Nawaz and Gentlemen,—This is a business gathering, and I am not going to make a long speech to you today But I would like in the first place to extend to you the warmest possible welcome to this the first meeting of the National Defence Council, and to say how deeply I appreciate your public spirit in attending, in many cases, I know, at very great personal inconvenience I would like, too, to say a word about the significance of this occasion, before we go into our secret session, and to touch very briefly on recent developments in the great part which India is playing in this war

This occasion is one of great significance For the first time the representatives of the Indian States and British India are met together to consider and discuss the war position and India s war effort to receive from myself and from my advisers information on important aspects of these matters to give my advisers and myself the benefit the value of which I cannot over-estimate of your own suggestions and advice It is my hope and belief that this meeting will be the first of many and that the contribution which these meetings will make to the removal of misunderstandings to the furtherance of our common cause to the stimulating still further of efforts already so generously and widely made throughout India will be great indeed.

In the National Defence Council composed as it is of representa tives of the Princely Order and of the Provinces of British India there has been established a body truly representative of all elements in the national life of India whose sole object is the intensification of the war effort and the prosecution of the war My object and that of my Government will be during our secret deliberations to acquaint the National Defence Council to the fullest degree and in the fullest confidence with the position in relation to all important aspects of the war effort to obtain the benefit of their advice to improve and develop liaison and so to secure that in a war that is as much India s war as the war of Great Britain or of any other part of the Empire the Princely Order and the Provinces of British India are seized through their representatives on the Defence Council of the problems that confront us from time to time in the conduct of the war of the greatness of India s contribution and of the background to and the justification for the magnificent effort which India is putting forth.

As the war goes on every day reveals more clearly the place which India has won for herself in the world. She is today the base of operations for great campaigns and great strategic movements The Commander in-Chief whom we are glad to welcome back today from his consultations with the Cabinet with His Majesty's Represen tatives civil and military in the Middle East and with our Russian Allies at Teheran bears a responsibility which few if any of his predecessors in that great office can have held and in the discharge of that responsibility from India he links India still more closely with those mighty movements that are taking place around us. India as I have said is the centre of the great Supply organisation which serves the vital military needs of countries ranging from Australia to South Africa. Her contribution in fighting men has been on the grandest scale and will be greater yet She is ready as we know to make sacrifices greater still in every way than those which she has so far been called upon to make. We may be proud of the achievement of India. We may be certain that that achievement will not fade from the memory of the nations.



First meeting of the National Defence Council From LEFT *to* RIGHT *The Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the late Maharaja of Bikaner (shaking hands with the Viceroy), the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Rampur, and the Maharaja of Gwalior*

39. INDIA'S STEEL WORKS

"You have reason to be proud of your membership of the largest steel producing unit of the British Empire, and proud of the work you are doing," remarked Lord Linlithgow in a speech to the employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Company's works at Jamshedpur on December 12, 1941 — **Dec. 1941**

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful to you for the welcome which you have given me, and for this opportunity of seeing the great work which is being done in Jamshedpur Iron and Steel are the passwords of today they will open the gates to India's future industrial prosperity, and they will win us the victory which must be won, if safety and prosperity are ever to be tasted I have been intensely interested by what I have seen during this short visit You have reason to be proud of your membership of the largest steel-producing unit of the British Empire, and proud of the work you are doing I have been greatly encouraged to see that work, and to see that it is good I have seen it through the eyes not only of your Viceroy, but of one who knows from personal experience what is the point of view of the soldier in the front line In the last war, as in the present one, the aggressors started with a big material advantage in munitions and equipment It is a disheartening experience for the soldier when his guns can only reply with one shell against every hundred fired by the enemy's guns, or when he has to face a hundred enemy tanks with ten But, if the soldier knows, as we knew in the last war, that there is a tremendous effort going forward in the munitions factories at home to give him as quickly as possible the weapons he needs, he can and will hold on until those weapons are in his hands It is up to you to see that the tools which you send the soldier are good, that he gets them quickly, and in such numbers as not merely to restore the balance, but to give him an overwhelming superiority, so that he can finish the job once and for all

In the Great War of 1914-18 this country sent overseas hundreds of thousands of tons of steel, which were used in our campaigns in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa In this war already about a million tons of your finished and semi-finished steel products—rails, structural sections, plates, sheets and bars—have been supplied for war requirements, and large quantities of your pig-iron have found their way even to Great Britain

The stress of modern warfare calls for special qualities in steel, and it is in the production of special steel that this Company has shown imagination, foresight and energy of the highest order Your Control and Research Laboratories are the finest of their kind in the Empire, and, as a result of their work, there is flowing from Jamshedpur—from this Steel Works and from the other closely associated factories in this area—in a steady and ever-increasing stream, a great variety of special alloy steels, high speed steels for machine tools, bullet-proof armour plate and many other essentials for the armies and factories of today—from steel helmets to stainless steel for surgical instruments, and from tin-plate and barbed wire

to that special cable which is the answer to Hitler s secret weapon the magnetic mine

You have kept in the forefront of new developments and processes. As evidence of this I have seen today the armour plating of splendid quality which is rolled and treated in your Works being made into the bodies of fighting vehicles in the East Indian Railway Workshops. I shall be keenly interested to learn of the results of the bold and courageous experiments on which you are also engaged whereby for the first time acid steel will be made direct from Indian raw materials. The new plant for this purpose will add to the growing number of your products which before the war had to be imported from abroad. You are leading the way in showing that India can and should rely more and more on her own treasure-house of material resources and the skill of her own workmen to make her strong and prosperous.

Yours is the task to forge the shield as well as the spear head of our armies in their mortal struggle. But you are not content with that. After your long day s work you look to the defence of your own homes and workshops. The importance of air raid precautions in a place like this needs no emphasis from me My own eyes can testify to the energy and enthusiasm which you have brought to this voluntary work and the progress which you have achieved in the organisation recruitment and training of A.R.P workers and Civic Guards. I warmly congratulate you all—staff and management alike. It has been a fine effort and an example and inspiration to many other parts of India.

Very generous gifts in money too for war purposes have come from Jamshedpur-Golmuri Three fighter planes of the Royal Air Force carry the name of your district and you have given 14 armoured carriers' to the Indian Army Your investments in War Funds have exceeded half a crore of rupees and your Publicity Committee has been doing most valuable work.

All of you I can see are determined to fight this fight out to the limit of your powers and all of you are determined which side will win. We shall win this war—but there is a stern task before us yet. How soon we shall win it depends on the skill and the perseverance of you and of men and women like you. Never be content with your effort never let it flag then victory will soon be ours and Jamshedpur will be free to turn to the great part she is bound to play in the reconstruction of a peace-time world.

You workers in Iron and Steel hold the industrial future and the present safety of India in your hands. That is a great trust and a great responsibility but the skill the industry and the readiness of every man and woman among you will I know prove equal to it.

The soldier who looks to you for your powerful co-operation will not ask in vain. He stands in the front line of battle but you are standing at his shoulder and it is the strength you give which will drive his swordarm forward carrying destruction to the Nazi and to all our enemies.

40. THE YEAR 1941

A seventh year in the office of the Viceroy, even in the most peaceful times, would be a heavy burden to carry —but a seventh year, when so much had been crowded into one Viceroyalty, was no light matter, said Lord Linlithgow addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 15, 1941. **Dec. 1941**

The significance of the enlargement of the Governor-General's Executive Council in July that year was, he thought, greater than was sometimes appreciated; its immediate importance was great, on the long-term view it was likely to prove to be even greater Great Departments of the State had been transferred to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation with "joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council." The European and the official majorities of the Council had disappeared The second limb of the new arrangement was the National Defence Council

But Lord Linlithgow deeply regretted that the provincial position remained unchanged and there still remained unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future government of India "We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together," he said Extracts.—

"Your Excellency, Mr President, Gentlemen—I thank you most warmly for the welcome you have given me here today, and I need not say how great a pleasure it is to me to meet you again, or how greatly I esteem the privilege that you have extended to me of addressing you This is the sixth occasion on which I have had that privilege You know how much importance I attach to the opportunity it gives me of speaking at large on matters of great moment not only to the commercial community, which you, gentlemen, represent, but to an audience wider far

Before I proceed with my remarks I hope you will allow me to say how glad I was to hear the tribute which you, Sir, have paid to His Excellency Sir John Herbert Few people can know better than I do the zeal and the enthusiasm which he has displayed in his most heavy and responsible charge, and the pains at which he has been not only to acquaint himself with the problems of that charge on paper, but to make close contact with every corner of the Presidency, and, through his own example, and his own keen interest, to encourage every endeavour that has been made in support of the war effort of Bengal

In your speech today, Sir, you touched on a number of points of great importance, and I will do my best in what I have to say to comment on them I should like also, with your permission, to say a brief word towards the end of my speech on the Indian political situation, and on the developments that have taken place in it during the last twelve months But today, wherever we may be, the matter of first importance, the matter of vital importance, the one thing that dominates our thoughts, the one thing that demands every ounce of energy that we can spend, is the successful prosecution of the war and its successful outcome And it is therefore of the

war and of its fortunes over the last twelve months and of India s contribution to it and the help that India has given and is giving that I would like in the first place to speak.

Today the minds of all of us are full of the wanton and un provoked aggression of the Japanese against the British Empire and against the United States of America. Like master like man says the old proverb The Japanese have if possible improved on the example set them by the Nazis of deceit of cold blooded disregard of the most solemn obligations and I trust also on a long view of short-sightedness. There is little I need say to you today in a case so clear at a juncture so critical. A more infamous betrayal of those principles which Japan has in the past claimed to venerate and to uphold would be difficult to parallel. The warning is clear to all of us as it is clear to the small nations This new and heavy addition to our responsibilities is one that we must bend every nerve to deal with and to master And in handling that task we shall have with us I am certain as fully as in the earlier phases of the war the goodwill the heartfelt sympathy and the support of India as a whole.

When I addressed you last year the Empire was but recovering from the blow inflicted on it by the defeat of our French allies and the collapse of France. We were through the worst We had stood up to the heaviest battering that any nation could have had to face We had survived with success many months of acute peril and immense strain and we were in a position to look forward with confidence to 1941.

1941 has not belied the hopes that we entertained a year ago It does not see the end of the war There are before us many critical months months in which we shall pass through grave anxiety in which we shall suffer heavy losses in which we shall have to bear the strain of critical situations before the desired outcome is achieved. But we are a year further on the way The year which has just passed has been marked by many events of the utmost significance. The enemy s endeavours to strangle us by sea have failed. The Battle of the Atlantic still goes on and will go on But the threat it constitutes and the burden it represents are less great by far than those a year ago

By land we have liquidated the Italian Empire in Africa. In that great task with which the name of our present Commander in-Chief His Excellency General Sir Archibald Wavell, will for ever imperishably be associated the part played by India and Indian troops was of the first significance and of the highest value. I have the Commander in-Chief s personal authority for the outstanding quality of their effort and of the contribution that they have made India s troops fighting at Gondar a few days ago fighting in North Africa as I speak to you are maintaining the highest traditions set by the Indian Army in the past and by their comrades in the earlier phases of this war In Iraq in Persia, in both of which countries Axis endeavours to turn to their advantage by Fifth Column methods

and insidious propaganda, the weakness of individuals have been foiled, Indian troops have played their part There is I think some risk that recent events in the Far East may divert attention from the great and glorious victory which General Auchinleck and the troops under his command, splendidly supported by the Royal Navy and the Air Forces of the Empire, have won, against very important German and Italian forces, in North Africa In the long and gruelling battle between forces very evenly matched, Indian troops are playing a highly distinguished part The strategic importance of this battle will, I am convinced, prove to be very great , and it is most heartening to notice that, upon the first occasion that we have met the Germans on terms of equality in numbers and armament, our men have proved their superiority.

From the United States of America, to which our sympathy goes out with such sincerity and depth in the shocking aggression of which they have been the victims, the Empire has had, and continues to have, help of inestimable value. Let me say in that connection how great a happiness it has been to me to see during my own term of office, and at a juncture so critical as the present, the bonds between the United States of America and India more closely knit by the appointment as United States Commissioner to India of Mr Thomas Murray Wilson, so well known to many of us here; and by the appointment of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai as Agent-General of India in America

When last I addressed you, few of us anticipated that a still more blatant exhibition of cynicism was to be given by a breach of relations between Germany and Russia, and by the wholly unprovoked, and wholly unjustified, onslaught made without a moment's notice, or a word of warning, by the Nazis on a nation to which they were bound by every form of engagement Russia has had to meet and to carry the shock of a devastating and an unprovoked attack But her response has been magnificent , and I know, gentlemen, that I speak for you all today when I say that the deep and sincere good wishes of everyone of us go out to Russia and to her people in the battle they are waging , and that there is no one of us who does not feel admiration, real and profound, for the supreme example which she and her people have given to the world of courage, resolution, and tenacity

We have been at war for two years and a quarter We have suffered heavy losses, grave setbacks. But we have much to show in the result . and it is my sincere belief that, with the lessons of the past behind us, we can face the very testing times that lie ahead with confidence, and well-founded confidence, that we shall face them with no less resolution and no less courage, whatever may lie in store for us, than the Empire, and than India, have shown since the day that the war began

India's contribution to the war and to its successful outcome was great indeed even a year ago. In the twelve months that have passed since we met its growth has been immense His Majesty's

Government have shown themselves most anxious to take advantage of the men the munitions the supplies of various kinds which India is so well qualified to give and which India has always been so anxious to give The number of our fighting men who are defending India overseas is three times what it was a year ago and ten times what it was two years ago The organization of our supply system has been I will not say perfected for there is always room for improvement in any system but it has been brought to a pitch of performance which commands admiration and the results of which are striking in the highest degree Let me pay due acknowledgment to the part which your help and your constructive criticism have played in that achievement.

In every form of warlike display we are playing our part indeed more than our part In every form of financial contribution—for weapons for equipment for amenities for the fighting forces for the relief of distress arising from the war India the States and British India alike remains most generous and open-hearted. And the spirit of this country since it first recognized what was involved in the struggle in which we are engaged has remained and remains calm, firm convinced of the necessity of victory ready to do and to give all in its power to bring about victory But there is always *more* for us to do There are always ways in which as a country and as individuals we can make a still greater contribution I am ready to ask for the impossible and I know that if I do I shall get a ready response not only from you gentlemen and the great commercial community which you represent but from all classes and from every part of India.

I would like in the first place to say a word about supply You can imagine how deep a satisfaction it has been to me to hear Sir the encouraging and the friendly words which you were good enough to use today of the work of my Supply Department

I can bear personal witness to the intensity of the efforts made by the officers of that department since the beginning of the war and to the anxiety both of Sir Zafrulla Khan and of his distinguished successor Sir Homi Mody to see that the very best results possible are achieved whatever the difficulties that may confront us. The progress made has been due in part to plans laid well over a year ago by those who founded the Department and who saw it through its early troubles. But the two great factors in our progress have been the establishment of the forward programme and the creation of the Eastern Group Supply Council.

The forward programme has made it possible to enter into contracts for six months at a time and to get industry into continuous production. The Eastern Group Supply Council has beyond any question most markedly stimulated the war effort on the supply side in India, and in the Dominions and other countries represented in the Eastern Group The Eastern Group Conference gave the representatives of the various Governments concerned a clear idea of the industrial potential of their neighbours and I woud like to

take the opportunity to add that India has had a very full share of the orders that have so far been placed through the Council The opening of a great new theatre of war in the Far East will provide a sharp test of the elasticity and soundness of our provision and supply organizations. I have every confidence that these will emerge with credit

I think that you will wish me to give you, as briefly as I can, a few outstanding facts which speak for themselves The production of steel is being rapidly stepped up by the efforts, to which I should like to pay a warm tribute, of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, and the Steel Corporation of Bengal Before the middle of 1942 production should touch a rate of 1.25 million tons per annum, and that is not a final figure, for a substantial increase upon it may be looked for. I would like to say a word of praise and of thanks in this connexion for the efforts of the Tata Iron and Steel Company (whose works I have just had the pleasure of visiting again), in producing special steels, notably armour plate and bullet-proof welding electrodes

All the Ministry of Supply Mission projects approved by His Majesty's Government are now well launched and work upon them is proceeding as fast as possible

Civil armaments production, which encountered initial difficulties of some substance, is now shaping well, and the production of empty shell is satisfactory. There are difficulties still to be overcome in the production of certain munitions components But the work done during the last twelve months has not been wasted, and I am satisfied that we may reasonably take an encouraging view of prospects

India's shipyards are employed to capacity in the construction of minesweeping trawlers and other small naval craft, as well as in repairs to ships of the line and merchant vessels

Progress has been made, I am glad to say, in stimulating and developing the Indian machine tool industry, and simple machine tools are now being manufactured in India in fairly large quantities Engineering stores are being manufactured in very large quantities indeed, and, though there are still hold-ups owing to the uneven flow of material, the fabricating workshops are fully occupied The demand for woollen textiles still absorbs India's capacity to the full Cotton textile demands are increasing very rapidly, and the great cotton textile industry, whose capacity we would all of us at one time have thought to be almost inexhaustible, is now beginning to feel the strain of the demands placed upon it both for direct war purposes and for various purposes arising out of the war conditions The Indian silk industry will shortly assist in the war effort by providing the material required for the extensive manufacture of man-carrying statichutes in India Demands for timber have risen to an unprecedented level The Government clothing factories are now turning out over 8 million garments a month Leather manufacturers are being organized on the same lines as clothing, and the value of the monthly output already exceeds Rs. 1 25 crores.

The output of motor vehicles assembled in India has been much increased and so far as armoured vehicles are concerned India will be able to produce all the armour plate required for a considerable programme. India will shortly be producing her own refined sulphur and valuable progress has been made in the production of vital chemicals such as bichromates and of medical stores including both drugs and equipment

1941 saw something like a fourfold increase over the greater part of the Supply field, and the demands of 1942 may be literally gigantic. You will be with me in feeling that the main consideration at present is that India should prepare herself for the immense burden likely to fall upon her in 1942 and subsequent years As I speak to you today we can claim already to have achieved great results. For those results I am profoundly grateful not only to my Supply Department but to the willing co-operation of industry which has been so generously given and which is of such vital and essential importance I would ask that that co-operation should continue to be given with the same fulness as in the past, and if it is—and I need not say how entirely confident I am that it will be even when under the stress of war difficulties may sometimes seem unsurmountable—we need none of us have any doubt or fear lest India should fail to play her part to the full in this vital area of war effort.

You referred, Sir to the growing demands on industry and commerce on account of the war production programme and to the shortage of skilled labour which is making itself felt. In that connexion you sounded a note of caution that production not required for the direct prosecution of the war should not be closed down and you reminded us that while the paramount need for commerce and industry is to man equip and maintain the most effective possible fighting force they must not be entirely unmindful of their own preservation. I can at once assure you that it is not part of the policy of my Government to close down industrial production merely because it is not required for the direct prosecution of the war But inevitably war work is in an increasing degree causing demands on material and labour at the expense of the normal operations of certain industries.

As regards skilled labour my Government has done and will continue to do its utmost to train such labour in increasing numbers to give special facilities for such training and to ensure that available skilled labour is used to the best advantage. The labour position save in regard to certain specially technical labour connected with engineering is happily easier in certain regards in India than in other countries. Though there has developed a shortage of highly skilled and skilled labour it is doubtful whether there is yet a shortage of semi-skilled, and there is no lack of unskilled.

There is however a shortage and a shortage keenly felt of supervisory and administrative staff. This is true in particular of European managerial and supervisory staff owing to the scheme of compulsory military service which has been introduced, and to

the eager response that there has been to the call for men I agree entirely that every action possible to foresee difficulties, and, consistently with the winning of the war, to provide for them, and to watch the preservation, in your own words, of Industry and Commerce, must be taken. I feel certain that the National Service Tribunals with their large majority of non-official business men, will be concerned to bear in mind the legitimate claims of industry and commerce, and to see that the depletion of this staff is not carried too far

Sir, you touched on the very remarkable growth of wartime industries in India and on the question of their post-war future, and you urged the need for all the help required if many of those industries are to survive economically in post-war conditions That important question has been constantly before me and before my Advisers, and in the Budget Session of 1940 the Government of India formally stated that they were prepared, in the case of specific industries started in war conditions, to give assurances that such industries, after peace was restored, would be given some form of protection against competition from abroad That assurance was inevitably confined to specific industries, since in each case the scope of the industry, its needs, and the part that it will play in the general economy of the country, have to be considered There are cases where an industry does not satisfy the conditions referred to as regards its position in peace conditions, and where its establishment is essential for war purposes In those cases the Department of Supply makes the practice of encouraging production by a variety of *ad hoc* methods, certain of which will protect the industrialist from loss In some cases the State has itself found the necessary capital under appropriate conditions

Apart from this, the question of post-war economy, with special reference to industrial development, is engaging the close and constant attention of my Government

Some time back it was announced that Post-War Reconstruction Committees would be constituted to examine various aspects of post-war economy, and to deal with problems likely to arise in post-war conditions These Reconstruction Committees are in the course of being constituted, and they will include a strong non-official element. One of them, the Consultative Committee of Economists, has already started work I sincerely trust that these Committees and their deliberations will contribute materially to the solution of some of the problems to which you have referred

In the circumstances of today the problem of civil defence assumes an importance greater than ever I am glad to think that the whole of this very vital issue is now being handled, in consultation with the provinces, by a single Civil Defence Department at the headquarters of my Government, and that, in dealing with it, I have the assistance, in Mr Raghavendra Rao, of an adviser who has himself had much practical experience at home and who has had the advantage also of a very close contact with the Ministry of Home Security

You have rightly stressed the important part which transportation plays in modern warfare—and, I would add in our whole economic life—and the importance of securing the best use of the available facilities These unfortunately have never been fully adequate for the needs of the country and the war is bound to involve an increasing strain on them.

My Government has been encouraging the establishment of Boards at the leading cities to co-ordinate transport over large areas and I recognize that as the war goes on it may be necessary to impose further control than is operative at present But compulsion always involves a certain sacrifice of elasticity and we are anxious to leave as much liberty to private enterprise as is compatible with the fullest war effort

I listened with close attention to the observations which you Sir made in your speech on the problem of inflation. I welcome the prominence you gave to this subject and while you will not I know take me as endorsing all that you say in this regard I would congratulate you on a lucid analysis of one of the most baffling of present-day problems I personally am satisfied on the best advice available to me that there is as yet no undue cause for alarm and that the situation has so far proved reasonably amenable to control.

But the bitter experience of so many countries of post war Europe shows the havoc the distress the social injustice which uncontrolled inflation is capable of causing and all who have at heart the interests of India and its people must do their utmost to prevent the vicious spiral from taking hold of this country My Government have been and are giving the matter their constant and most anxious consideration But the ramifications of the problem are complex, possible counter measures are beset with administrative difficulties and in our efforts to deal with it we need and will I assure you most gratefully welcome all the advice and all the active assistance which we can get from the commercial and the non-official world.

The encouragement and stimulus of increased production where feasible is the most obvious the most effective and the most generally acceptable course of action But unfortunately its scope is in present circumstances strictly limited, and other and more drastic action may often become necessary You have referred to price fixation as one of the possible methods of attacking the problem and you have emphasised its limitations. I need hardly say that my advisers are fully conscious of the fact that mere price fixing by itself can seldom provide a complete cure while any attempt to check the rise of prices whether of primary products or of manufactured articles not infrequently arouses hostility and opposition on the part of the interests immediately affected. And rationing of articles of common consumption, which is the almost inevitable corollary to control of prices presents in a vast country like India greater practical difficulties than in countries smaller and more highly organized. But I can at once assure you that my Government are quite prepared to resort to methods of direct price control where they are satisfied

that such action can with advantage be taken, and they will not hesitate, where need be, to follow up this preliminary measure with such control over supply as may prove to be necessary and practicable

You spoke of the danger of inflation which may result from rising wages, and the increased purchasing power thereby created in the hands of a vast number of employees You distinguished between the case in which higher wages are passed on to the consumer in the form of a higher price for the product, and the case in which the increased wage bill is met entirely out of the higher profits accruing to the employed But you suggested that even in the latter case there must still be a considerable inflationary effect, a proposition which I am not disposed to dispute It is, I think, generally recognized that a higher standard of living, based upon a war-boom, has inherent elements of instability, and that there is a limit to the extent to which rising wages and earnings result in a real improvement, owing to the development of shortages in the supply of consumable goods This applies not only to luxuries, but also to certain necessaries, such for example as textiles But it is, I think, possible to exaggerate the direct influence on the situation of the demands of labour, and it is important to realize that there are other, and perhaps more fundamental, factors at work as well Wartime taxation undoubtedly contributes to the avoidance of the dangers of profit-inflation, but this remedy can at best be only partial It needs to be upplemented by the avenues for saving and investment provided by the Government of India's Defence Loans And, if workers are to obtain the full benefit of their higher money wages, they should save as much as possible, and by doing so at once safeguard their own future position and help to prevent rises in the prices of consumers' goods which can be of no advantage to them

I regard it as a matter of first importance to India's wartime economy With rupee expenditure on military and war supply activities standing, as it now does, in the region of 20 crores a month, with imports both from belligerent and from neutral countries subject to severe restrictions, there is a clear and imperative need for withdrawing as far as possible the surplus purchasing capacity so as to prevent the inflationary rise in prices which, as you rightly point out, everybody dreads It is here that my Government rely on, and, I am confident will receive the utmost assistance and co-operation from the non-official world

In all Provincial Defence Loan Committees there is a large non-official element, while those in Bengal, Bombay and Madras are, I believe, entirely non-official I am deeply grateful to them for their admirable work

Such special efforts are of the greatest value, and I cannot too warmly commend their example But the situation demands persistent and unremitting effort Of the 20 crores a month which I have just mentioned a substantial portion must pass directly into the hands of the urban industrial workers, and through them to a vast number of other humble folk who live entirely outside the realm

of income-tax, excess profits tax and defence bonds. I would urge that all possible encouragement and assistance be given to them to conserve their savings by investment in Defence Savings Certificates the Post Office Defence Savings Bank, or the Savings Stamp and Savings Card and I am sure that I can rely on you and on all employers of labour by your personal influence to help in a matter the importance of which in times such as these I cannot easily exaggerate.

When we last met I spoke to you of the proposals in the constitutional field, which, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government I made on August 8 1940 I was at pains to analyse those proposals in detail. I tried to bring out their far reaching character their great potentialities their real significance both immediate and for the future. I repeated that they reaffirmed, a the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of th British Parliament, the attainment by India of free and equa partnership in the British Commonwealth. I emphasised the concern of His Majesty's Government that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in framing the future constitutional scheme the far reaching significance of their decision that responsibility for the framing of that future constitutional scheme should subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain s long connexion with India has imposed upon her be primarily for Indians themselves I referred to the readiness of His Majesty's Government to see set up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay a body representative of the principal elements in India s national life to devise the framework of that scheme. I repeated that pending the conclusion of the war His Majesty s Government were only too anxious to welcome and promote any sincere and practical step taken by Indians themselves to prepare the way for agreement about the form and procedure of this post war body and about the principles and basis of the constitution. I spoke of the anxiety of His Majesty s Government to see that there was a sufficient degree of general agreement in this country behind any constitutional changes which is so essential if there is to be harmonious working I made an appeal to all parties to sink their differences in times such as these when the fate of everything that we all of us hold most dear is in the balance and to co-operate in the defence of those common ideals.

My appeal did not secure the response for which I had hoped. I determined however to wait in the hope that the passing of time would make a difference for I wanted to give every possible chance to the major parties to come together on the basis of these proposals. I hoped too that the increasing pressure of the war and its swift approach to India, would influence the decision. I was anxious finally as I always have been to secure for the expansion of my Government and for the other arrangements which I had in view for associating opinion in India more closely with the conduct of the war the support of the great political parties.

I was disappointed in those hopes But, though I was prevented from going ahead on the lines which I proposed in August of 1940, I would repeat that the guarantees, the undertakings, the pledges, the intentions, and the attitude of His Majesty's Government, as explained in my statement, towards future constitutional development and the machinery by which it is to be brought about, are as valid today as when they were first spoken But, given the increasing pressure of the war, I could not, in justice to India itself, longer postpone, because of the absence of support from the great political parties, the creation of additional departments in my Council, the reorganization of the work of that body, and the taking of steps for the association of non-official opinion with what was going on

It was in those circumstances that, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, the reorganization announced in last July took place. That reorganization did not have any basis other than administrative convenience But in making it, though I could not look for help from the political parties, I was anxious that I should get the best men I could, the most representative men, men of real standing and importance in this country In that I can claim to have succeeded Though the reasons for the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council in the form which it finally took were those that I have explained, the processs of expansion, the fact that as part of it there disappeared the European and the official majorities that had been the characteristics of that body for so many years, the transfer to non-official gentlemen of the highest standing and reputation in this country of great departments of State, with joint responsibility for all the business that comes before the Governor-General in Council, was a step the significance of which is far greater than I sometimes think is realized Its immediate importance is great. On the long-term view it is likely to prove to be even greater.

Let me add that during the few months that my expanded Council and I have been working together, I have, if I may say so, been most deeply impressed by its approach to the problems which come before it, by its wide grasp of the diverse issues that at all times fall to be considered, by its strong sense of corporate unity, by the independence of view of its members, and by the happiness of the atmosphere that has throughout characterised our confidential discussions And we have had many major issues to consider during the time that we have been together. The Council in its present form is a body of great authority and great distinction It represents wide experience, political and administrative On it are members of different communities, from different parts of India, Service and non-Service, European and Indian I would like to express to this important audience my own judgment of its entire competence in the administrative field, and my own appreciation of the value of the assistance which it has been able to give me on wider political issues It is a strong, effective, and distinguished body, and India may be well content that in the direction of affairs she is so well served today

The second limb of the new arrangements which were announced in July was the establishment of the National Defence Council, and I

would like to pay a tribute to the patriotism and public spirit of those gentlemen who have accepted my invitation to join that body As you know my intention was (and is) that Prime Ministers of Provinces shall be *ex-officio* members.

In these last few days we have welcomed to it the Maharaja of Parlakimedi who on the happy occasion of the restoration of normal parliamentary government in Orissa which we all of us so much welcome has become the Prime Minister of that Province while with the formation of a new Ministry in Bengal the Chief Minister of Bengal becomes a member of the Council.

The establishment of the Council is a most important landmark. I think that those of you present here today who are members of it will support me when I say that His Excellency the Commander in Chief and his military naval and air advisers have been at pains to give the utmost information in their power information too of a most secret character to the Defence Council and that it has been my anxiety in other fields equally to put its members in the fullest possession possible of what we are doing of our difficulties and of the directions in which we would welcome their help The value of its discussions has been very great and that not only because of the many constructive and helpful suggestions made by the Council. Those discussions have enabled us to make the Rulers of the Indian States and the representatives of non-official opinion throughout the provinces of British India fully aware of the facts of the situation and they have brought about a liaison between myself my Government the Indian States and the provinces of British India the value of which I cannot overstate

But while the two steps which I have just mentioned are of great significance and of great hope for the future our main problem still remains unsolved.

While in five provinces the constitution is functioning normally with the assistance of the legislature in six others its normal operation remains suspended. There could be no better advertisement of the practicability and the advantage of normal parliamentary government than the success with which it has been worked in great provinces such as Bengal and the Punjab and in areas presenting problems so different as do Bengal and the Punjab Assam and Sind. And it remains to me a bitter disappointment that those in other provinces who had asked for and had accepted the burden of government should have thrown it down so lightheartedly at a moment of such crisis in the fortunes of the world and of India and with so little consideration of what was involved. That that decision has provoked many regrets I am well aware. I can but hope that we may yet see the day when in the provinces which are still without a ministerial government we shall see in power governments set on the winning of the war and ready to use the immense power and opportunities at their disposal.

And if the provincial position is as I have described it there still remains unbridged the gulf between the parties as regards the future Government of India. That that problem remains unsolved is due to

no lack of goodwill, no lack of earnest effort on the part of His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself We have left nothing undone to bring the parties together, to try to provide the materials for an amicable agreement between them, to try to smooth India's path to the realisation of her goal At the critical point which matters have now reached in the international situation I would ask again whether it is not possible for the divisions that unhappily exist to be bridged, and for India, which has made, and is making, so immense a contribution to the war, which stands for so much in the history of the world, to go forward as one in support of ideals in which we know that she believes, and for which there is such overwhelming and general support throughout the country And it is my earnest prayer that the common detestation of the wickedness against which we are fighting today may reflect itself in that agreement in the internal political field which it has always been our hope and desire to see achieved

Let it not be forgotten that when this war broke out India, in provincial autonomy, had begun to move, had indeed made a most important step along the road, to that equality of status with the Dominions which it has been our object to achieve That the more complete fulfilment of that process by the establishment of Federation should not have been realised by the date of the outbreak of the war has always been a profound grief to me

Had we been able, before the outbreak of the war, to have brought Federation into being, so many of the problems that confront us now would have been solved No better constitutional basis could have been found on which to develop the efforts of British India and the Indian States in a partnership which would, I believe, have been as fruitful of unity and concord in the years to come as of military advantage in the issue that immediately confronts us

Underlying the federal scheme there was a majestic conception, the work of the best brains of India and Great Britain, elaborated with the utmost care, designed to bring this great country to a constitutional position equal in status and character to that of the Dominions None of us overlooked the difficulties. They have always been great They have always been obvious They should not be insurmountable But I will not be misunderstood when I say that they are in no small measure domestic, and that a closer collaboration between parties, communities and interests in this country would go far to pave the way for the final work of the post-war period even if, during the war, the obstacles to handling in detail all aspects of the vast and complex problem of constitutional development may be insuperable

We stand today at a crucial moment in the history of mankind Throughout the world mighty forces are engaged in a titanic struggle, the outcome of which will affect the destinies of the human race for centuries In the Far East the clouds that we have watched gathering for so long have burst in a storm that brings the menace of war even more closely to this land India is no mere spectator of these tremendous events They affect her vitally and she is playing an outstanding part in them Let us in such circumstances forget our domestic

differences and work together as a whole for that common object the attainment of which is so vitally necessary to India and so anxiously desired by all her people

When I addressed you a year ago I thought that if you did me the honour to ask me to speak to you at your meeting this year it would be for the last time A seventh year in this great office would in any circumstances even the most peaceful, be a heavy burden to carry A seventh year in circumstances such as those of today when so much has been crowded into one Viceroyalty and so many issues of most critical importance have fallen to my lot is no light matter For the best part of six years you have given me in full measure the powerful aid of your comfort and support I trust that you may find me deserving of these for yet another year in which I shall strive if strength is given me to fulfil to the utmost of my powers the great charge which His Majesty has once again been pleased to place in my hands.

41. "YOU ARE NOT COMPLACENT"

Jan. 9, 1942

You did what many others throughout the world must be sorry they left undone said Lord Linlithgow addressing officers men and women of the Karachi Civil Defence Services on January 9 1942 Text of the address

I am glad to have had this opportunity of inspecting your parade today and I am much encouraged by what I have seen. Your smartness and steadiness are a credit to you and to the famous city which you serve I have been following with keen interest the details of your progress and development, and in the field of A.R.P and Civic Guards you can justly be proud of the fact that you did what many others throughout the world must be sorry they left undone you saw the danger you recognised the enemy and you started to prepare for your defence in time. A year before the organisation of Civic Guards had been set up in India you had your Emergency Guards in Karachi, and the beginnings of your A.R.P Scheme go back to 1938. You have moreover persevered in your voluntary tasks with zeal and imagination and your public spirit deserves not only the gratitude but the emulation of those many thousands of your fellow-citizens who do not stand in your ranks today

In this vitally important matter of Civil Defence let no man feel that he may safely leave the job to be performed by his neighbour Such complacency has been the ruin of enough peoples already who took up arms to defend themselves too late. You whom I am addressing have not been complacent you have given up your leisure and your comfort to make yourselves more fit for the duties to which you have so unselfishly devoted yourselves you have realised that, in modern warfare the battle line is of infinite depth it runs through the home of each citizen however far removed that may be from the sound of the guns and it is just as important that it should be stoutly manned in your own homes and in your own hearts and minds, as in the deserts of Libya or the jungles of Malaya. Others who have not

yet joined your numbers, should realise this too There is no better tonic for anxiety and doubt than a hard job of useful work such as you are doing ; there is no better way of resisting the insidious probes of the enemy into your courage and determination

You men and women, of the Police, the Ambulance Services, the Boy Scouts, Civic Guards and A R P. Services, are doing a fine job of work You are all proud, I know, of the magnificent feats of arms performed by the fighting forces of India overseas yours is the best way of expressing that pride and of proving worthy of the heroism and the sacrifice with which they are keeping the war far from India's frontiers, and winning fresh lustre for her glorious annals They look to us, those fighting men, to maintain the standard which they have set up They expect every one of us to maintain it by carrying on, steadfast, confident, determined, at our daily task whatever it may be, and at whatever voluntary labour of defence or preparation we may undertake beside I know you will see to it, if the test comes, that our soldiers will be proud of you

Do not lose the momentum you have gained, citizens of Karachi Do not let the routine of drill or of daily preparations to meet a danger that is still far off, blunt the edge of your alertness Keep your imagination awake Think of every untoward thing, however unlikely, however bad, which might conceivably happen here in this city, and see that you are ready to meet and counter it You have begun well and strongly You must go from strength to strength, without flagging or weariness or discouragement There may be a long night yet to watch through , but you have mounted guard, and you will perform your trust bravely and patiently until your relief comes with the dawn And the dawn of victory is on its way as surely as tomorrow's sunrise "

42. A NEW PROVINCE

Sind boasts of a monumental work of engineering which was the dream of irrigation engineers for half a century Lord Linlithgow's speech at the Provincial Darbar at Hyderabad (Sind) on January 10, 1942 **Jan. 10 1942**

" Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It gives me particular pleasure that I am privileged to be the first Viceroy to have an opportunity of meeting, on a formal occasion, and speaking to the representatives of the Province of Sind I am delighted to see how truly representative is the gathering that is assembled here today, consisting as it does of the Baluch Sardars, of members of the landed aristocracy of the province, of legislators and of administrators I am not, in any case, one who thinks that formal gatherings such as this, even in wartime, have outlived their usefulness A new province naturally looks forward to the future , but the country has its roots firmly fixed in the past, and Sind itself inherits a wealth of tradition drawn from a long and honourable history , it is, moreover, a country of great contrasts both physical and in the character and outlook of its people, and for these reasons I am sure that you in Sind will

agree with me that Darbars such as this at which the representatives of Government and the representatives of the people may meet with traditional ceremonial and solemnity can still be occasions of great value and inspiration

The last ten years have marked a great increase in the prosperity of Sind. There is no doubt that in that prosperity the principal factor has been the opening of the Lloyd Barrage and its canals The completion of this monumental work of engineering—the dream of Irriga tion Engineers for half a century—is imperishably linked with the name of that great administrator and devoted servant of the Empire and of this country Lord Lloyd whose loss we have so lately mourned and for whose zeal and vision the Sindhi cultivator has so much to be grateful. The Barrage has as we know and as was always expected brought new problems as well as solved old ones It is perhaps not an unreasonable aspiration on the part of dwellers in those areas of the province which enjoy no benefit from the Barrage that they should be raised to a state of prosperity comparable with that of the Barrage tract and I am glad to know that projects with that end in view are being actively examined by your Government.

The dispute between your province and your neighbour the Punjab over the distribution of the Indus waters is being investigated by a Commission composed of members of the highest standing and experience in whose ability to produce a solution acceptable to all parties I have every confidence.

It was a matter of great regret to me to hear that your crops last year had been afflicted by two serious pests The energy with which the problem presented by the invasion of locusts was handled deserves every praise for the greater part of your crops was saved and valuable experience was gained, which will help to counter and eliminate that pest in future years. The threat from the boll-worm to your cotton crop still needs most careful investigation and this I am glad to know has been undertaken with the help of a grant from the Indian Central Cotton Committee. I most earnestly commend this valuable field of research to the attention of all cotton farmers in this province for their wholehearted co-operation as a means of averting a loss which may well amount throughout the province to crores of rupees

I make no apology for referring to these agricultural matters first though it is the war that is in the foreground of all our thoughts and endeavours at this time since they are important matters for this Province and the farmer in every part of India is playing as significant and as potentially valuable a part as the soldier and the industrialist in the prosecution of the war

Day by day we hear of the fighting overseas in which the armed forces of India are giving a magnificent account of themselves in attack and in defence. They are fighting on and beyond the outer perimeter of our fortress and their valour is keeping the war from India s gates. Their courage and skill will bring us victory but there is a hard fight still to be fought and we in India, and particularly you in Sind who stand in the first line of our inner defences must be

worthy of our soldiers, sailors and airmen overseas and must give them the strength and confidence that comes from knowing that behind them India's inner line of defence is secure and stoutly manned. The enemy today is still far from our frontiers—both on the East and on the West,—and please God he will ever remain so But he is a cunning enemy who does not fight on the battle-field alone , he seeks also, by spreading alarm and confusion behind the front, to undermine the steadfastness and courage of civilian populations It is perhaps the utmost that he hopes to achieve in India , and we must see to it that his hope is a barren one We have seen what disorder he wrought by that means among the countries in Europe which he overran and how disastrous for the defence of these countries was the impediment caused by refugees we have seen too in the example of the island fortress of the United Kingdom how the threat and the terror can be withstood The enemy must never gain such easy triumphs here Each one of us behind the lines can best secure not only the ultimate triumph of our cause, but the present safety of our homes and our families by remaining steadfastly at our work and carrying on with calm confidence and determination at our daily tasks If to these tasks each citizen were to add membership of one of the voluntary Civil Defence Organisations, the Air Raid Precautions Services or the Civic Guards, then the defence of Sind, and India's defence, would be doubly sure I cannot too strongly commend the invaluable contribution which these Services are now making to our war effort, and I hope that their rank will soon be swelled by many thousands of new recruits, in fact by all public-spirited citizens, who for the love and honour of their country would lend their aid in establishing and increasing a state of disciplined preparedness

I deeply appreciate the generosity with which gifts of money have been made to the Sind War Planes Fund and to His Excellency the Governor's Fund—though I cannot fail to observe that it is not always the most prosperous parts of the province that have taken the lead in this generosity I acknowledge with especial gratitude the results achieved during the recent Sind War Week These sums, when added to the money which Your Excellency has sent me after your tour in Southern Sind, will suffice, I am glad to say, to cover the cost of mechanisation of a complete battalion of the Baluch Regiment, with which your province has such old and strong associations

Before I end, let me turn for a moment to the important subject of law and order in this province For territorial and geographical reasons, and to some extent also because of the commonly felt difficulty in police force organisation of anticipating the demands of a growing population and more complex administration, your Government must still rely to a great extent on the influence and example of large land-holders for assistance in maintaining law and order I am very glad to see so many here whose influence, I know, is a strong factor in the preservation of peace within the borders of their estates I particularly appreciate the work, in this connection, of the great Baluch Sardars whose traditions of helpfulness to the administration have been well maintained Your Government has, however, now taken up

vigorously the question of the increase of the police force in the province and has shown by its recent actions that it will not tolerate lawlessness in high places. Sind is a country where respect for religious leaders and for the families of religious leaders is deeply engrained and it would be deplorable if these traditions should operate for the degradation instead of for the uplift of those who follow them.

I thank you once more for the cordial welcome which you have given me today Before I take leave of you it is fitting that I should pay a tribute to the wise leadership the experience and the sound judgment of your Governor His Excellency Sir Hugh Dow I do not need to expatiate to you in Sind on his qualities nor of the admirable assistance and support which he receives from Lady Dow nor need I tell you of the sympathetic and understanding guidance which you may expect from them both in the conduct of your daily affairs the problems of administration and the welfare of your people whether in wartime or in peace. There are few among you who cannot claim them as old friends of yourselves or of your families In returning to Sind they have returned as it were to their own country and you are all aware of the devoted personal care with which your Governor and his Lady have the interests of Sind at heart

And now although my all too-short visit to your province is not yet over I bid you good bye confident that Sind will bear a worthy part in the supreme endeavour which demands all our energies today The stakes are high—no less than the continued existence of civilisation as we know it—and I know that you sharing the fixed determination of all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and of our Allies, will do your utmost to hasten the day of destruction for our enemies so that we may join once more in the works of peace and the establishment of a new era of goodwill, unity and prosperity here in India and throughout all nations of the world.

43. TO INDIANS IN SINGAPORE

Feb. 6, 1942 *Lord Linlithgow's broadcast to Indians in Singapore on February 6* 1942 —

To each one of you sons and daughters of India who are standing shoulder to shoulder with the brave defenders of Singapore I send this message. Just as you may be thinking today of some part of India which you hold dear so you are at this moment held very clearly and dearly in the hearts and minds of your friends and loved ones here in your motherland. Let that knowledge and their love and pride their confidence in you strengthen you. The safety and honour of India are in your brave hands the safety of your homes your villages your families and the honour of your proud and ancient land. You are the wardens of her Eastern gate.

The enemy is treacherous and ruthless but we in India know that you and those who are fighting and working by your side will stand firm and will not give him passage however long and rough the fight and the trial may be The forces of the mighty Empire of which you

are members, and of our great allies are gathering strength and will soon enable you to deal much deadlier blows than those which you now endure, until the enemy is utterly destroyed Be strong, have faith and courage, carry on your daily work with calm confidence, helping and encouraging one another God be with you all"

44. WELCOME TO GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

This is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good—a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number 800,000,000 *souls—one-third of the population of the world—said Lord Linlithgow on February* 9, 1942 *welcoming His Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek on a visit to India* — **Feb. 9 1942**

Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek—

In the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I bid you welcome to India

My Colleagues of the Executive Council of the Government of India are gathered in this room to do honour to a great man, and to a great lady, and to mark a moment which, I am persuaded, will come to be known as a turning point of history This is a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls—one-third of the population of the world it is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good, and this they soon will learn to their cost

I know that I speak for every one of my Colleagues when I say how deeply sensible we are of the honour that Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have done us in voyaging so far, across great mountains and rivers, through all the perils of the air in time of war, to strengthen the ancient links of friendship that stretch across the centuries between China and India

Geography has set a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all those elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them

We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day, a day when China, following the path prescribed by the reverend Dr Sun Yat Sen, founder and father of the Republic, and under the leadership of her National Government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan

For a long time before we ourselves were privileged to stand as allies by your side in the line of battle, we have had good cause to admire the bravery and staunchness that have characterised China's gallant and unremitting resistance to the aggressors China's heroism is the inspiration of us all As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom In the maintenance

of that struggle we know well that you our guests today have carried the chief burden Be assured that to the utmost of our power we will co-operate with China even as she is mightily aiding us I ask Your Excellency to believe that these are not mere words my Colleagues and I affirm that India s heart is one with China and that we will strive powerfully to discharge our share of the burden in furtherance of our common cause and so by our added effort to bring nearer the day when China and the whole British Empire with our great allies will march together to the ultimate and inevitable victory

For us it is a matter for pride and pleasure that at a moment which the direction of China s war effort into even stronger channels must be claiming your daily attention you have felt able to under take this visit to our country A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China s Examination Yuan Dr Tai Chi Tao and from him we learned that vast though the land of China is her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country s cause in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China s unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discord ant world.

Your Excellency I must not prolong unduly my words of wel come You will have opportunity hereafter I trust for further meeting and profitable discussions with my Colleagues

We are privileged now to do honour to the leaders of China s manhood and womanhood happily in our midst today India is proud and glad to receive you. From our hearts we hope that we shall be able to make you comfortable here after your arduous journey that you and the other distinguished guests whom we are privileged to welcome with you will derive pleasure and interest and some rest during your visit to our land We believe that incalculable good will come of this meeting not only for India and China but for the whole world. On behalf of India we extend the warmest welcome that our hands and hearts can give to Your Excellency to Madame and to all who have accompanied you.

45. CHINA AND INDIA

Feb. 10, 1942

We see now more clearly than before how near are China and India to each other and how many of the priceless gifts of civilization they have in common—remarked Lord Linlithgow at a Banquet at the Viceroy s House on February 10 1942 given in honour of the visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai shek and Madame Chiang Kai shek —

Your Excellencies Ladies and Gentlemen

A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ?

None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who on this happy occasion are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation and their distinguished companions.



The Viceroy, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Lady Linlithgow and a member of the Generalissimo's staff

The story of China during the last decade cannot be read apart from the names of our guests of honour They have woven themselves into the heroic pattern of fortitude, determination and united endeavour, which China today holds up, as it were as a banner to the civilised world

I do not need to remind you of what is already history Throughout nearly five bitter and strenuous years the Generalissimo and his consort have concentrated and symbolised in their persons the glorious resistance of Free China to the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor In a dark hour for the British Empire the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, once declared that we would fight on 'if necessary for years, and if necessary alone' China has honourable cause to know the meaning of those words Standing alone against a powerful and well-prepared enemy, she has kept alight the torch of freedom, and in her heroic struggle our guests of honour have throughout borne the heaviest burden

That burden is scarcely lighter now, although, thank God, neither they nor we stand alone, for today as Allies, with strength and resources joined, we face the future with renewed determination and confidence A few weeks ago His Excellency the Generalissimo accepted the Supreme Command over all the Forces of the Allied Nations operating in Chinese theatre of war, which will include Indo-China and Thailand We are proud indeed that one of the first acts of the Marshal and his wife after the assumption of that great command has been to visit our land of India Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common In both, the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail in both the lamp of freedom has been lit and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end

Her Excellency Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we know, has been an inspiration not only to the cause of China itself but to the greater world, and most certainly to India We have heard of her tireless labours in the cause of war relief and in finding homes for refugee children and for the orphans of gallant soldiers killed in the struggle We know too that she has been frequently exposed to the dangers of war and has accompanied her husband on his campaigns It is our good fortune that she accompanies him, too, on his errands of friendship, and we are proud to have her with us tonight

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard how at this time, when the enemy is threatening the eastern bastion of our fortress, the soldiers of China have come, without hesitation and without stint, to stand by the side of ours on the Burma front That is the act of a great Ally, and of a brother too These are the men—and here is their leader—among whose battle honours are inscribed the names of Changsha and Taierchwang We shall fight this war, therefore, confident and proud.

in the knowledge that we shall be with China through rough and smooth through fair weather and foul until the victorious end. It shall be with us as with John Bunyan s pilgrim

Whoso beset him round
With dismal stories
Do but themselves confound
His strength the more is
There s no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim

With God s help our pilgrimage, side by side with China and our other mighty Allies shall not end until the enemy is utterly destroyed in Asia in Europe, on the high seas until our banners of victory float at last on a free air purged of tyranny and oppression. There could be no happier augury of that dawn of victory towards which we now march together than the presence with us tonight of the two leaders of China s fight for freedom.

Ladies and Gentlemen I propose the health of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Mar 10, 1942

48. NATIONAL WAR FRONT

India is threatened this is a call to action for everyone of us

Lord Linlithgow's message to India on March 10 1942 —

I send this message to all men and women who live in this land, whatever their politics their religion or their race You will be invited during the next few weeks to enrol yourselves in the National War Front. The land we live in is threatened with danger This is a call to action for everyone of us Close the ranks and stand shoulder to shoulder against an aggressor whose conduct in the peaceful countries which he has outraged brands him as barbarous and pitiless

The soldiers of India in many parts of the world have fought and are fighting gloriously for the safety of their motherland, for the preservation of her ancient inheritance for the bringing to pass of her hopes for the future. Today the battle front is of great depth and each one of us can be a soldier too

Stand steady encourage the brave strengthen the faint hearted, rebuke the babbler and root out the hidden traitor Make good the defence of the country today go forward to victory tomorrow for without victory there is no hope for the survival of free institutions culture or kindness in the world We are members of a worthy company China Russia, America, Britain and a score of others. Let each one of us in India be worthy of our own country and of our comrades for thus shall we make our victory swift and sure I confide in your courage

47. PRINCES' PLACE IN INDIAN POLITY

Lord Linlithgow here reviews the progress made by the States in adjusting themselves to rapidly changing currents of world opinion. On this, Lord Linlithgow says, depends "their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has got to be evolved." The States' handsome contribution to war effort is acknowledged Address at the opening ceremony of the Chamber of Princes on March 16, 1942 — **Mar. 16, 1942**

"Your Highnesses,—It is my privilege today to preside, for the fifth time during my tenure of office, over the Chamber of Princes, and it is with real pleasure that I see so goodly a gathering of Your Highnesses assembled here today. My satisfaction is the greater because the time itself demands that those in authority in this country should meet and take counsel for the common good A good attendance is also appropriate to the celebration, as it were, of the Chamber's coming of age It is just over 21 years since this Chamber was inaugurated here in Delhi by His late Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the close of whose long career of devoted public service is so fresh in our recollection I notice that in the course of our proceedings Your Highnesses propose to pay what I know will be something more than a formal tribute to his memory For myself I will say only this Few of us who are here today can have been present at that inauguration ceremony, but we shall all do well to bear in mind the eloquent words in which His Royal Highness then described the purpose of this Chamber and the lofty ideals which he set before it One passage in that historic speech has struck me as peculiarly relevant to the circumstances in which we find ourselves today His Royal Highness spoke of the King-Emperor's confidence that in good times or evil the fidelity and unswerving support of the Indian Princes could always be counted upon, and recalled how 'when most was needed, most was given' I am very sure that in the closing months of his long life His Royal Highness must have derived much comfort from the manner in which it has been demonstrated by the present generation of Princes that those words are as true now as they were 21 years ago

In India, too, we have the loss of old friends and colleagues to mourn By the death of His late Highness of Cutch the Princely Order has lost a distinguished and venerated member, a Ruler endowed with singular charm of personality, who so long ago as 1921 had the distinction of representing India at the Imperial Council in London, as well as at the Assembly of the League of Nations We mourn also the passing of Their Highnesses of Cochin, Manipur, Charkhari and Dhrangadhra, to whose bereaved families and States this Chamber will no doubt offer its condolences, as well as a message of welcome to those upon whom their great responsibilities will now devolve And in this category of new Rulers, to whom we look to carry on the high traditions of their ancestors I would include the young Maharajas of Kolhapur and Bijawar to whom His Majesty's recognition has been accorded since the last meeting of this Chamber

There is however one sphere in which, for the time being at least, the old order will not change nor give place to new. I refer to

the circumstances which to the best of my belief are unprecedented, in which Their Highnesses the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber are to continue in their high offices In the ordinary course of events elections would by now have taken place and the results would have been announced during our present session A proposal was however made by certain members of the Standing Committee in accordance with a provision to that effect which had been wisely included in the Chamber's Constitution that the terms of office of the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor should be extended. The views of all members of the Standing Committee were then as required by the Regulations formally invited, with the result that the requisite proportion having signified their consent Their Highnesses of Nawanagar and Bikaner were asked to continue in office for a second term

We have an English proverb which tells us that it is unwise to change horses in midstream. At this time we in India are crossing a very turbulent stream and I do indeed feel that it would be regrettable from the point of view of this Chamber and of the States in general, if we lost the services of these two Princes to whom if I may speak for Your Highnesses as well as for myself we all owe so great a debt of gratitude. I do not need to tell you about the treasure house of wisdom and experience which His Highness of Bikaner has acquired in the course of his long and most distinguished career As for His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib I cannot praise too highly the cheerful alacrity with which he has responded to our incessant demands upon his time and patience. In fact the necessity for his advice and support at headquarters has recurred so frequently that he must have come to look upon Delhi and Simla as a kind of second home I think therefore that I shall be rightly interpreting the sense of opinion in this Chamber by conveying to both Their Highnesses an expression of our gratitude that in deference to the wishes of their Brother Princes, they have consented to continue in the performance of their duties as Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor

I shall refer later to the war situation and to the part played by the Princes in this connection But in these critical times it behoves us to remember factors which though not directly connected with the present grave trend of events are nevertheless of immense importance from the point of view of the Indian States I refer particularly to the urgent need for the States to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing currents of world opinion and to leave undone nothing which will help to achieve not only their own healthy development but also if I may strike a graver note their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has yet to be evolved. I shall therefore speak as briefly as possible regarding three matters which during the past year have continued to engage the earnest attention of myself and my Advisers—amongst whom I would include your distinguished Chancellor

First I regard it as my duty to repeat in as few words as possible what I have said in previous addresses to this Chamber regarding the absolute necessity so far as the smaller States are concerned for some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative

efficiency which is beyond their individual resources In my last address I remarked that steps to this end had already been taken in many parts of India with visible, though not as yet spectacular, results The last year has seen further and encouraging progress, but I regret to observe that the progress has been mainly apparent in one area only

Elsewhere there are schemes to this end under consideration, but there are other large areas, comprising many States which in my judgment can certainly not afford to stand aloof in this matter, where no sign of this vital principle of co-operation has yet begun to emerge It is my duty therefore to urge all concerned to press forward in this matter, and to realise that when I urged upon this Chamber the necessity for some form of pooling of sovereignty I did not do so without full appreciation of the sacrifices involved, nor yet of the gravity of the eventual consequences which my advice was designed to avert

Secondly, I should let Your Highnesses know that I have had under consideration a scheme designed for the safeguarding, during the initial years of a young Ruler's responsibilities, of standards achieved under periods of minority administration A definite policy still remains to be formulated, but I have reached the preliminary conclusion that the object in view can best be achieved by a formal constitution under which all State business would be transacted in a Council of Ministers over which the Ruler would normally preside and whose recommendations he would not disregard or override without good reason So great are the powers and responsibilities to which Rulers succeed at an early age, and so numerous the pitfalls which beset their footsteps, that no one who has the best interest of the States at heart could, in my opinion, take exception to safeguards of this nature, designed as they are mainly for the purpose of inculcating into young Princes the habit of orderly and methodical disposal of business

Thirdly, and lastly, I should like to say that I was delighted to learn recently that, in spite of all other preoccupations, the vexed question of Civil Lists and Privy Purses has again been receiving the active attention of Your Highnesses This problem, of deciding what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be earmarked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Privy Purse expenditure, is one of the greatest complexity and delicacy The general principle that such distinctions ought to be made was unanimously accepted at the session of this Chamber in 1928 after a full debate on a Resolution very eloquently moved by His Highness of Bikaner Experience has perhaps since shown how difficult is the task of translating principle into practice Nevertheless it ought to be tackled with courage and resolution I applaud, therefore, the foresight and statesmanship of those among Your Highnesses who are making such determined efforts in that direction It would indeed be a notable achievement if those efforts were to lead to the formulation of some systematic plan likely to commend itself to the Rulers as a body and such as I or my successor could confidently recommend for

acceptance by this Chamber and thereafter by all individual States. I trust therefore that the endeavour will be energetically pursued and that in order that we may not be at cross purposes in so vital a matter the Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee will not hesitate to take my Political Adviser into their confidence before the final stage of their deliberations is reached.

I address myself now to the sterner topic of the war and all that it means to us. When I last addressed Your Highnesses it was my privilege to acknowledge the inestimable value of the co-operation and generous support of the Indian States to the war effort of India as a whole. The last twelve months have seen the war reach the threshold of India and have added greatly to the demands for every kind of service and sacrifice made upon us all. The response of the States to these demands which must become more insistent as the tempo of the struggle quickens continues to be worthy of their great traditions their contribution covers every field of India s war effort and embraces every form of service. Several of Your Highnesses have visited our Indian troops in different theatres of the war —visits which have been as highly appreciated by our officers and men as I am sure they were instructive and encouraging to Your Highnesses. It is also a matter for special pride that the Princely Order includes some who have served are serving or are preparing to serve as combatants with His Majesty's Forces in the field. There is one particular case which I think Your Highnesses would wish me to mention namely that of the eldest son and heir of a member of this Chamber who met an untimely death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force To His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim I would like to offer on behalf of this Chamber as well as from myself a sincere expression of our deepest sympathy

Apart from the personal service of Rulers and members of their families the manpower contribution of the States whether to the Indian Army or their own State Forces has been of the highest value in money their support continues to be generous and unstinted in material be it aircraft house accommodation rolling stock launches the produce of their forests mines and factories or the provision of comforts for the troops they have done everything in their power to meet and indeed to anticipate all of the many calls made on them. Whatever difficulties and dangers lie ahead I am confident that the great measure of support which the Indian States have given so freely and so spontaneously will be maintained and even augmented.

I referred in my last address to Your Highnesses to the efforts made to keep the Indian States in close touch with current events of importance and expressed the hope that the steps taken to ensure the closest co-operation between the States and British India would be of mutual benefit Since then the scope of the measures taken to achieve maximum co-ordination has steadily expanded. The most signal instance of this united front has been the participation of representa tive Princes in the deliberations of the National Defence Council and I welcome this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the

readiness of those Rulers, in spite of their many pressing pre-occupations at this time, to make long journeys to Delhi or Simla in order to lend the prestige of their presence and the weight of their experience to this most important Council of War. I sincerely trust that I may be able to count upon the continuation, at its future meetings, of this personal support, the need and the value of which will now be even greater than before

I believe too that the representation which the States now enjoy on the Central Price Control Conference and the Provincial Price, Supply and Transport Boards, as well as on the other organisations which I mentioned last year, and the informal discussions which some of Your Highnesses have had, and are about to have, with the Supply, Commerce and Civil Defence Members of my Council, will be of the greatest advantage not only to the States but to the whole of India To associate the States even more closely with the Central Government, and to place readily and promptly at their disposal the fullest and most up-to-date information on economic, Civil Defence and other matters, direct correspondence between certain Departments of the Government of India and the larger States has been authorised, and an officer has been added to the staff of the Civil Defence Department to deal solely with Civil Defence problems affecting the States I trust that Your Highnesses will not fail to seek the advice of that Department on the measures which should be taken in your States to provide adequate protection for your subjects against the consequences of attacks from the air While in some parts of the country that danger may still appear remote, in others it is unquestionably a grim and imminent possibility which must be faced, and the need for making timely and adequate preparations cannot be over-emphasised. I earnestly desire, therefore, to impress upon Your Highnesses the heavy responsibility which each State must shoulder and discharge in this matter which so closely affects the safety of its people.

I am aware that some of Your Highnesses have expressed some disappointment at the shortage of modern arms and equipment available for supply to Indian States Forces training units Steps have been taken to make good this deficiency so far as the situation permits, but Your Highnesses will agree with me that it must be left to General Headquarters to decide how best such supplies of arms and equipment as are available can be utilised Some of Your Highnesses have, from time to time, expressed a desire that Indian States Forces units should be given a more active role than had in their judgment been allotted to them The recent fighting in Malaya, culminating in the fall of Singapore and the loss of many of our valuable troops, including a number of units of the Indian States Forces, will I think, have convinced Your Highnesses that a regiment employed in such a role as guarding an aerodrome is rendering vitally important service, and may at any moment find itself at grips with the enemy I trust, therefore, that Your Highnesses will appreciate that all of your units serving with His Majesty's Forces, whatever role be allotted to them, are contributing with equal value to the common object When I addressed you in this Chamber last year, I said, in referring to the different conditions

of service obtaining in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army that in uniformity lies simplicity and efficiency Since then several proposals of importance to that end have been made to States maintaining Indian States Forces and have been accepted although in certain cases with some reluctance and delay I fully realise that proposals designed to eliminate such differences as still exist between the conditions of service in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army may not always be welcome but I wish to assure Your Highnesses that they are made solely with a view to increasing the efficiency of the Indian States Forces and are intended to have effect only for the duration of the war after which the whole scheme under which those Forces are embodied will come under review in the light of the experience gained. Meanwhile in the present grave emergency I am confident that Your Highnesses will not hesitate to agree temporarily to forego in the common interest prerogatives and privileges however greatly they may be valued, should they in any way impede India s war effort. I desire in this connection to mention particularly the commendable action of certain States in the Eastern States Agency in voluntarily delegating authority to the Resident to make decisions on their behalf in matters affecting the military situation provided that such decisions are communicated to them immediately afterwards.

The flower of India s manhood is to be found today in the Indian Army and the Indian States Forces but I need not remind Your Highnesses that a constant stream of reinforcements must be maintained and that the need for augmenting our present forces is insistent. Above all young men of the best type are required to come forward and be trained to lead our troops modern war demands a high degree of training and initiative from military leaders and I hope that Your Highnesses will do everything in your power to ensure that institutions such as the Pre-Cadet School at Indore which have been set up to enlarge the supply of potential officers are fully supported. I trust also that your Highnesses will not allow the need to maintain a reasonable margin of safety in regard to your local arrangements for internal security unduly to hamper the making of the utmost possible contribution to the forces which India requires to repel external aggression regard to local arrangements for internal security is natural and prudent but in the present emergency the interests and safety of India as a whole demand that every able-bodied man and every unit that is not essentially required for the maintenance of internal tranquillity should be made available to resist and attack and finally to defeat the common enemy

That final victory is only a matter of time would emphasise that the speed and success with which that goal will be attained and in fact the very safety of India her dignity and her standing in the eyes of the world will in no small measure depend upon the attitude of her people to the threat of aggression. There has been peace in this land for so long a period that we had perhaps become too prone to believe that nothing could disturb it too sceptical of the need for making sacrifices for its preservation That peace is now rudely threatened and it behoves us all, and not least Your Highnesses who are the

hereditary wardens of India's martial traditions, to show that India has the strength and determination to face and defeat the common enemy. With that in view I earnestly invite the support and co-operation of Your Highnesses in the National War Front Your Highnesses will have read my message The objects of the National War Front—which I believe will attract innumerable adherents throughout the length and breadth of India—are to maintain public morale, to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it, and in particular to counteract fifth-column activities of all kinds, including all talk, thought, writings and rumours likely to encourage a defeatist outlook, to inculcate faith, courage and endurance, and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown I trust that the National War Front will derive its strength and vitality from the patriotism of private citizens and public-spirited leaders It will be their task not only to resist the insidious forces of evil but to assume the initiative and to inculcate the principle that no form of defence is more effective than attack

The indomitable Prime Minister of Great Britain has asked — 'what sort of people do our enemies think we are?' Our enemies shall learn, if they have not learnt already to their cost, what kind of men this land of India breeds India has vast material resources She has mighty Allies She has a great soldier for her Commander-in-Chief She has the loyalty and bravery of her sons who are heirs to the superb traditions of the Indian Army and who are already writing the first chapters of a glorious record for the Royal Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force Within the last few days India has received a message of new hope for all who look to see her take her rightful place among the free nations of the world There is now coming to us across the world a Minister who, in Mr Churchill's words, carries the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and will strive in their name to secure the necessary measure of assent to the conclusions on which they are agreed In Sir Stafford Cripps India has a trusted friend on whose fairness she can rely, a statesman who has already carried out with conspicuous success one important mission in a distant land, and who is animated with a burning zeal for the defeat and final extinction of the aggressors and all they stand for Your Highnesses can count on his readiness to give the fullest consideration to the views which you will doubtless lay before him and I know that I can rely on you to give him a warm welcome and your wholehearted co-operation in the discharge of his great responsibilities For you know full well that on you, the representatives of Princely India, lies, as on us all, an obligation to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her testing time of trial and danger"

48. "PROUD TO BE YOUR PRESIDENT"

23, *Extracts from Address to the Annual General Meeting of the St John Ambulance Association the Indian Red Cross Society and the Central Joint War Committee on March 23 1942 —*

During the last six years I have watched with close personal interest the development of your organisations. The great work to which you have set your hand and all that you have achieved especially during the last 2½ years of war make me proud to be your President I am particularly glad to think that the extension of my office to which such kind reference has been made will give me an opportunity of prolonging my close association with you for another year

Sir Cameron Badenoch has described a year of progress and activity by the St. John Ambulance Organisation and Brigade. The advantages of the training given by the Association are now widely recognised and I am glad to observe that the number of people trained in first-aid and home nursing this year is a record.

In various provinces during the past year I have been privileged to see members of the St. John Ambulance Brigade on parade and on every occasion I was much impressed by their bearing and the quality of their work. I would like especially to mention the useful work of the Transport Units at the various Ports and the Auxiliary Nursing Service which has played such an important part in the expansion of the military nursing services.

It was a fine spirit too and in the best tradition of the fellowship of St. John which inspired the Medical Unit which recently volunteered to go from Madras to the relief of air raid victims in Rangoon.

In these times the war and all the problems which flow from it naturally have the first call on our energies and resources. It is all the more to the credit of the Indian Red Cross Society that it has not been prevented from going steadily forward with its peace-time activities including maternity and child welfare work. Among its many other activities it is worthy of note that the Society was able to send 10 000 doses of plague vaccine to China and medical stores of various kinds to Russia. These are striking examples of the manner in which the Society has been able to help our Allies and we may be sure that this is only a beginning

We have all listened with special interest to Sir Bertrand Moberly s account of the work of the Joint War Organisation. When I spoke to you last year I said that difficulties might be expected. During the year your Committee has had to face new difficulties and unexpected demands which greatly strained their resources. Nevertheless the record of the year s work is one of achievement for which General Moberly and those associated with him deserve all credit

Our thanks are particularly due to Colonel Sir Richard Needham, the Red Cross Commissioner in the Middle East, who has had a most difficult task in the areas for which he is responsible and who has done it well. We are grateful, too, to Lady Ward for her ready and generous help at a critical time in Iraq

Major-General Macrae, who, as the Red Cross Commissioner in Malaya, had, with his staff, worked hard to build up an efficient organisation, is a very real loss To him and to his helpers, you will, I know, wish to convey a special message of gratitude and sympathy

There are now over 1,000 work parties in India, and I would like to pay my tribute to the splendid voluntary work which they are doing But it is not enough Twice as many work parties and four times the present output in bandages, surgical dressings, hospital clothing and ward accessories will scarcely be enough if we are to be prepared to meet every call which may be made upon us I look to you, ladies and gentlemen, to see that if the call should come, our effort shall not fall short

I sometimes feel that India, and the world outside, should be told more of what the Joint War Organisation is doing, and what it intends to do, and what its requirements are Meetings such as this attract some publicity, of course, but this only happens once a year I hope that those among you who are interested in publicity will bear in mind what I have said, and will do your utmost, all the time, to keep the work of the Joint Committee and of the two organisations before the public eye, to explain and interpret it to the public, and thus to enlist their whole-hearted appreciation and support

The great expansion of work and responsibility which has marked the past year has thrown a heavy burden on the finances of the Joint War Organisation, and has, I know, been a source of anxiety to the Honorary Treasurers Contributions from my War Purposes Fund have met the cost of sending weekly parcels to the 2,000 Indian prisoners of war in Germany, it has assisted, too, in meeting the cost of despatch of parcels to Geneva, for which admirable work is being done by voluntary workers in Bombay But during 1942 commitments in every direction will undoubtedly be vastly increased owing, principally, to the large number of our soldiers captured in Malaya, as well as civilians interned there, for whom provision will have to be made

We shall, of course, have to enlist the help of Government, but voluntary effort and private generosity will still have to be the means of conveying that extra food and clothing which does so much to make the life of a prisoner of war more endurable I have had a generous response from the Governors of Provinces whom I asked to guarantee from their War Funds a regular income for the Red Cross Organisation, my own War Purposes Fund, too, is always ready to help, and your committees need never feel that they must curtail their beneficent activities owing to lack of funds, but when the full extent of our commitments is apparent, I may have to make a further

appeal to the people of this country for large sums of money I have no doubt that their response will be at least as generous as it has been in the past for that money will be spent on the relief and succour of men of this country whose deeds have already made history in many distant lands.

Whatever this year may have in store for us—and the test will not be a light one—I feel that we have established organisations which inspired by unselfishness imagination and generosity which are the three springs from which all humanitarian enterprise flows will answer speedily and effectively every call that may be made upon them. I am confident that the Red Cross and the St John Ambulance Association in India will be true to their fine and ancient traditions and will not be found wanting in the critical times which lie ahead of us.

In that firm belief and trust I thank you all for what you have done and I wish you every success in your future endeavours

49 FOOD DRIVE

April 6, 1942

Message to the Food Drive Conference on April 6 1942 —

I am grateful to all the representatives of Provinces and States who by coming to Delhi at short notice and in some cases I fear not without personal inconvenience have made it possible to convene this important Conference.

The problems before you are urgent, and their solution will be a vital contribution to this country's war effort.

India, fortunately has so far escaped the ravages of war as other lands have known them and we have not, so far had to resort to rationing or curtailing those essential food supplies which countries elsewhere have had to forego But today the war is at our gates and if we are to maintain our position in this respect it is imperative that we should aim not only at self-sufficiency national as well as regional in foodstuffs and animal fodder but also at increased production all round to meet our growing commitments. The best results can only be achieved by planning on an all India basis.

The task before you, therefore is no light one but I am sure that you will undertake it with vigour and despatch and with a full appreciation of its urgency I hope that ready co-operation will be forthcoming from Provinces and States to implement your recommendations.

I am sure too that the planned agricultural policy which your deliberations should produce will be not only an important contribution to India's war effort but will also prove of lasting benefit to her when victory has brought us peace once more. India is and for a long time yet is likely to be mainly an agricultural country and her prosperity will greatly depend on the care and forethought which she devotes to her major industry

I wish you all success in your endeavours.

50. INDIA'S UNARMED FORCES

"We are unarmed, what can we do? Let Government put arms in our hands and we shall spring to the defence of India like one man" To this, Lord Linlithgow replies in a broadcast on the National War Front on May 7, 1942 May 1942

"The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign," he says

For National War Front, he enunciates a creed to which every Indian could subscribe "without sacrificing a single principle or abandoning a single aim" Text of the broadcast:—

"Early in March, just after Rangoon had fallen, I sent you a message The war had arrived at India's gates and had suddenly become the affair of each one of us, not as spectators but as combatants in our several fields I invited you to close the ranks and stand steady behind the fighting men in a national war front against the aggressor Since then much has happened, India's own soil has been attacked and our capacity to "take it," as others have taken it, has been tried. Ceylon has been attacked and a Japanese fleet has ranged the Bay of Bengal, sinking our ships and drowning our seamen True, it has withdrawn for the moment. Depend upon it, it will come back In Burma the Japanese are in Lashio and Mandalay But, on the whole we many consider ourselves lucky in that we have had a long respite before the real attack begins For that we have mainly to thank General Alexander and the Indian, British and Chinese forces who, outnumbered and cut off from reinforcements of men and supplies, have by an epic resistance won us what we so greatly needed, time General Wavell, in his inspiring talk a fortnight ago, told you what good use was being made of this breathing space The military and air strength of India is growing daily Under a Commander in whom we all have implicit confidence, our armed forces are going to give a good account of themselves against any attack that our enemy is able to launch

What of the rest of us, the unarmed forces of the country? Are we going to give a good account of ourselves? Not, I suggest, unless we stand shoulder to shoulder and work actively for the common cause I have often heard it said lately 'We are unarmed, what can we do? Let Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man' Well, here is my answer to that Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed in June 1941? During the long agony of China have ordinary men had arms in their hands? The answer is, 'No' The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign.

The activities of irregular bands operating behind an enemy's advancing line can be of very great value provided they are fully trained for this most exacting task This phase of warfare is being developed and will be more fully developed as arms become available

Meanwhile the position is that the expansion of the regular army proceeds apace and we put no limit on it We require therefore for fully trained soldiers all the modern arms that are available.

What then can we the unarmed forces of the country do? Let me remind you of what General Wavell has said that of the elements which contribute to success in modern war the spirit of the people is the most important That is our responsibility yours and mine, and that is why I invite you again to join together in building a national war front. I do not care whether we spell this with capital letters I do not care in fact what we call it We all know what it means a united determination transcending all racial religious and political differences to stand up and stand together to defend the things we have and hope to have and to make sure that they shall never be so threatened again.

I used the word build, for India s war front will not come into being just by wishing or talking but only by doing Two things—and two things only—are needed the will to unite and the will to act I see no difficulty in finding unity there is nothing in our objects to which any one need hesitate to subscribe unless indeed he sympathises with the way of life which our enemies would impose on the world—and to such I make no appeal. These are the objects which those who join us will adopt as their own —

To do everything possible to help and maintain public morale that is to say to strengthen the war resistance of the people to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it and in particular to counteract fifth column activities of all kinds including all talk thought writings and rumours likely to produce a defeatist mentality to inculcate faith courage and endurance and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form whether within or without the country until their menace in finally overthrown.

I say with confidence that every man and woman in this country can subscribe to a creed such as this without sacrificing a single principle or abandoning a single aim.

Many people ask the question What can I do? not I know as an excuse for doing nothing but in genuine uncertainty Let them reflect that in a war like this there is hardly anything which a man does or omits to do which does not help or hinder victory To those for whom a place in the armed forces is waiting I say Fill it quickly For the rest of us there are opportunities galore the Civil Defence Forces are crying out for wardens fire-watchers doctors nurses ambulance men helpers of all kind. Civic or Home Guards and Pioneers need men. Women are wanted in hospitals in offices and to run canteens for troops. There are refugees to be helped. Let us look into our daily lives are we wasting money food, clothes electricity petrol coal? If we are we are delaying victory Do we travel when we need not do so taking up space badly required for troops and munitions of war? Are we farmers? Then can we not grow more food grains? Are we factory hands? Then are

we working our utmost? Whoever we are rich men, poor men, officers, clerks, business men, labourers, housewives, servants, be sure there is something which we can do which will hasten the day of victory. A determination cheerfully to do our best in fulfilment of the ordinary humdrum tasks and duties of our daily lives, and to continue in this despite any attempt by the enemy or his agents to disturb or frighten us, is for many of us the greatest contribution that we can make towards winning the war Do not forget what even one day added on to the war means in terms of human suffering and material loss

We must achieve unity and action and we must combine in a spirit of attack Passive defence or masterly withdrawals, forced on us as they are at times, do not win wars Let us attack our work, attack the rumour-monger, attack the defeatist. We must make our front an attacking front, and think always in terms of the offensive

There is no one in India who does not know that, if all what we value is to survive, if hope is not to die, this war *must* be won; every thinking man knows that, with the resources which the United Nations have, it *can* be won, whether it *will* be won or not depends on ourselves So let us build the War Front in India, while there is yet time And let me end by commending to you two lines which my wife quoted in a speech some time ago—

'Look in your hearts, make inquisition there

Of service done in this supreme of hours'"

51. CIVIL SERVICES OF INDIA

May 21, 1942

"*Yours is a brotherhood of service the like of which the world has never seen before.*" *Lord Linlithgow's message to the Civil Services of India on May 21, 1942.*—

"A little more than six years ago, I spoke to you, who are members of the Civil Services of India. I asked you to give to the people of India the best that is in you, to the limits of your strength, in the difficult years to come I spoke to you at a time of peace, when none of us knew what grave events and what tremendous problems the years would bring. I asked you then for your support and help; and, in peace and war, I have had it in full measure. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for it

Yours is a brotherhood of service the like of which the world has never seen before Men of different race and religion, Indians and Britons, highly trained and carefully chosen for your respective duties, you are linked together by common allegiance to one Crown and pledged to the service of millions of your fellow-men, in many different fields,—Engineers, Doctors, Foresters, Scientists, Educationists, Policemen, Judges, Administrators and many others You and your predecessors have set high standards of loyalty, impartiality, sound judgment, humanity, an unselfish example and a co-operative spirit But the steadiness with which you preserve in these the torch which

you hold up in India can be a bright flame of hope and encouragement in a distracted world.

Hard work great responsibilities often danger and discomfort are your lot. In spite of this I know well how keenly disappointed many of you are that you are not allowed at this time to serve your country on the battlefield. But let none of you think for a moment that he is not fighting for his country by steadily pursuing his appointed task, however prosaic and unspectacular that may seem to be, and by shouldering cheerfully the additional burdens of the war The rule of law peace and security for the citizen and the progress of civilized arts and science which it is your task to promote and guard, are the very conditions of decent living for which we are all fighting For the sake of the future and for the maintenance of public morale today for the safety and well-being of many helpless peoples who depend upon you there must be no interruption of your work. If you were to slacken or falter you would betray the common cause as surely as a soldier who deserts his post and that I know you will never willingly do

Remember that the individual soldier can see only a small part of the battlefield remember too that although the lime-light may not fall your way the eyes of the people are fixed on you, and their temper and steadiness if trouble should come will greatly depend upon your leadership and your example. Be with them as much as possible. Serve and comfort them always. Put away doubts, and face what ever trials the future may bring with high hearts and a firm resolve to give the best you have got and better still of body and mind in whatever field your duty may be set. You are heirs to great traditions of courage and service which you will not fail and today it is in the power of each of you to add a splendid page to the record.

Victory is assured, but single-minded endeavour now can bring the day of victory nearer There is work enough for each one of you today and when the swords are sheathed again and a new world has to be built there will be no lack of opportunity to share that great task I promise you, for devoted and unselfish men and women in this India which you serve.

52. IN THE LAND OF MARTIAL CLANS

Oct. 19, 1942

Reply to the Address of Welcome at the Rawalpindi Durbar on October 19 1942 —

Your Excellency and Gentlemen

No man could witness unmoved a gathering such as yours today in this famous Division of a famous Province and it is with deep gratitude and pride that I your Viceroy have listened to your words of welcome and to the splendid record of your achievements.

Wherever in the world there is talk of brave deeds and soldier like qualities of endurance and fortitude the men of this land are brought to mind. Here for centuries generations of sturdy farmers

have won their harvests from the hard earth, and have defended their heritage with courage and resolution Since the dawn of history India has bred famous soldiers, the hills and plains which surround us can justly claim to be a cradle of heroes, a soil which has nourished the flower of India's armies There are among us today brave men who fought for freedom and civilization in the last World War, and now that these two precious jewels are in peril once again, their sons and grandsons are keeping bright and sharp the sword they forged and are facing our common enemies with the same stout shield.

On every battlefield of this war, where our armies are fighting and have fought, Punjabis have won fresh laurels in France and the Middle East, in East Africa, in the Far East and in Burma. And where our armies stand on guard, or eagerly await the order to attack, there are Punjabis to be found, valiant wardens of their native land and loyal upholders of the United Nations' cause

Foremost among them are the men whom the martial clans of this Division have sent forth Your record of recruitment is magnificent, and you and your Recruiting Staff are justly proud of it Your young men, following the honourable path of service which their fathers trod, have discovered that modern war gives them new weapons to master, and strange elements in which to excel But, whether in the Royal Indian Navy, where they are so strongly represented, or in the Indian Air Force, or handling tanks and carriers with the same skill and confidence as a few years ago they rode their horses the fighting men of the Punjab today nobly maintain and enhance the great traditions to which they are worthy heirs.

'The fighting man,' as a young Englishman, who was killed in the last war, wrote—

'The fighting man shall from the Sun,
Take warmth, and life from the glowing earth,
Speed with the lightfoot winds to run,
And with the trees to newer birth,
And find, when fighting shall be done,
Great rest, and fulness after dearth'

I believe that our soldiers will have found something else as well, something of great value in the task which will still face us all, once victory is ours, the task of setting right a shattered and disjointed world They will have discovered unity of purpose and of endeavour. Such unity, though it may sometimes seem to be hidden unfathomably deep in India, is not, I believe, really so far below the surface Certainly the war is day by day developing a very real sense of its urgency and importance in the minds of all thinking men And among India's fighting men, the comradeship and loyalty of the battlefield will have engendered so strong a sense of unity with their brothers in arms, not only of Indian race, but of all peoples of the United Nations too, that, please God, when fighting is over, it will remain as one of the fruits of victory to inspire and illumine all our endeavours in the post-war world with a spirit of co-operation and goodwill.

I have said before that in modern warfare the battle front is of infinite depth. It runs through the homes and lives of all of us and there is not a man woman or child that cannot play a useful part. War as you know is not all fighting Much of it has always been the unspectacular business of watching and waiting of training and preparation, of co-operation in a thousand different ways behind the lines In modern warfare particularly a very important part is the attitude of mind of the peoples engaged soldiers and civil population alike a sense of realities a determination never to yield to despair or impatience which we call morale. The National War Front in India, a movement which is gaining in strength from day to day provides an opportunity for every one of us to bear a share in building up and maintaining that spirit of confidence resolution and co-operation throughout the country which is such a powerful support for the soldier in the front line.

You in Rawalpindi who naturally look at these things through soldiers eyes will realise the importance of what I say I was most encouraged to hear of the many ways in which besides the supply of recruits to the fighting forces you have been mightily aiding the war effort in your A.R.P preparations and in the activities of your Civic Guards in your splendid contributions to War Funds in Red Cross and St. John Ambulance work. And I would like to mention the work of the Punjab Police who supported by your good sense and the firm and consistent policy of the Ministry have contributed so much to the peaceful record of the Punjab during the recent disturbances and have done so much to maintain security in the villages from which the young men have gone forth to war

May I remind you too that many of you who have to remain at home can admirably support the men who are fighting for you by looking after their interests while they are away by helping the families of men who have gone overseas by succouring the wounded and comforting the bereaved ? This you can do on your own initiative in the villages and by co-operation with the Civil authorities, the Civil Liaison Organisation and the District Soldiers Boards, whose efforts can only bear fruit if they are freely given the help and goodwill of the people.

Among the advantages of a soldier's training I give a high place to a certain steadiness of outlook and sound commonsense which no good soldier lacks. Throughout the ages these sterling yeoman qualities ingrained as they are in the people of this Province, have caused the Punjab to play a solid and exemplary and a distinguished part in the history of India s political and constitutional progress. The Punjab is fortunate in its leaders. You have a Governor Sir Bertrand Glancy of ripe experience and ready sympathy you have a Prime Minister (a great Prime Minister if I may say so and a man of your own Division) possessed of wise counsel and keen imagination and you have Ministers endowed with great industry and sound political sense. In this Division you are particularly fortunate for as I have already mentioned, from Attock comes Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, under whose guidance and that of Sir Mohd. Nawaz Khan the district

has done splendidly. In Rawalpindi Captain Tikka Khan and many others have contributed to the wonderful recruiting record Jhelum is proud of the military prowess of Colonel Sir Sher Mohd Khan, now commanding a battalion, Gujrat looks for guidance in the war effort and in many other things to Nawab Sir Fazal Ali, while in Shahpur there is that famous old soldier General Sir Umar Hayat Khan whose son, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, is doing such admirable work as a Minister of the Punjab Government The Division has been fortunate too in its Commissioner, Mr. Marsden, who has held that important post since before the war began With unflagging energy and with the full support of an able team of Deputy Commissioners and many other officials in all the departments, he has been stimulating the war effort in every district They all deserve great credit for what has been achieved and it is most gratifying to hear the work of your officials so highly praised everywhere

Under the leadership of men like these the qualities which I have mentioned, the gift of keeping both feet on the ground and the eyes fixed on realities, have enabled the Punjab today to maintain peace and order, and to continue steadily with its great war effort, while in other parts of India ill and misguided counsels have led so many to the bitter and poisonous waters of civil commotion By their steadfastness and commonsense Punjabis, and those of the Rawalpindi Division as much as any, are helping to bring near the day of victory for the United Nations, and for all India the day on which she shall enter into her promised heritage.

The land of the Five Rivers breeds a race of mighty wrestlers, who know what courage and endurance means We are now grappled in a mortal struggle with a powerful adversary, skilled in the use of many a trick and foul throw We have wrestled all through the night, and once or twice we have been nearly thrown But we have our enemy firmly now and as the day dawns his breath begins to come short and fast. Let us hold on grimly and watch for our opportunity All our training, our stubbornness, our confidence and enthusiasm will have its reward Soon now we shall throw him, and it will be a mighty fall He will never rise again and we shall stand forth at last victors, and free men in a free world."

53. FIRST VISIT TO BALUCHISTAN

Lord Linlithgow had at last, on October 22, 1942, an opportunity, looked forward to for so long during his Viceroyalty, of visiting Baluchistan Reply to Address of Welcome presented by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta* — **Oct. 22, 1942**

"Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am most grateful for the reception which you have given me, and I am delighted that I have at last had the opportunity, to which I have looked forward for so long, of visiting Baluchistan and the city of Quetta I thank you, members of the Shahi Jirga, leaders and representatives

* A "Jirga" is a council of elders in North-West Frontier

of the tribes of Baluchistan for your kind words of welcome and for your loyal assurances. You have given practical expression to your loyalty in the co-operation which you have extended to the local administration not only by maintaining peace and order among your tribes but also by producing recruits for the Camel Corps labour for defence works and additional levies for the protection of Government property and installations. I fully appreciate your concern that the natural resources of Baluchistan should be developed to the greatest extent and indeed it would be in the interests not only of this Province but of the rest of India too if it were possible to make full use of its mineral wealth and in particular of its coal. I assure you that this matter shall have the close attention of my Government I hope too that with a view to increasing the self sufficiency of this area, the importance of increasing the production of food crops will not be forgotten within the limits prescribed by the facilities for irrigation.

I deeply appreciate the contribution which under your guidance the people of Baluchistan have made and are making to the war effort of India, and not least at this time especially by the steadiness and sturdy commonsense with which they have refused to allow the internal peace and order which prevails in this Province to be disturbed.

I am grateful to you, members of the Quetta Municipal Committee for your cordial welcome. I well know the difficulties which have faced you in recent years first from the effects of the great earthquake then the war and now the interruption of communications caused by this summer's floods in Sind.

You are entitled not only to sympathy but to admiration too for the energy and imagination with which you have grappled with this succession of problems and I am glad to learn that your handling of the supply arrangements and the rationing of essential commodities has not been without success. I need not assure you that I shall continue to watch the position with keen personal interest and shall give such assistance as I can to your efforts to obtain what you require from outside.

You have reason to congratulate yourselves on the remarkable figures which you have quoted of Baluchistan s financial contribution to the war effort. Part of your contribution has taken very tangible and practical shape as armoured carriers and I deeply appreciate the steady support which my War Purposes Fund continues to receive from this Province.

I appreciate too the helpful attitude of the Municipal Committee towards the measures which have to be taken for air raid precautions. I am glad of the opportunity which I have just had of inspecting your A.R.P Services they are a workmanlike body of men and women and I know that should the need arise for them to put into practice all that they have learnt during their long months of training and preparation they will amply prove their worth.

I know the difficulties in recruiting and training such services in an area where the population is to a great extent migratory, but I would like to express my keen appreciation of what has been achieved, and to say that the citizens of Quetta owe a debt of gratitude to these public-spirited men and women who have given up their leisure to prepare themselves for the defence of the lives and property of their fellows It is an example which deserves not only praise and gratitude, but emulation, and there are still many among your fellow-citizens who could afford to join their ranks, and vie with them in their enthusiasm and their determination to contribute their utmost to the winning of the war.

This is a war of all the people, of every man, woman and child, in whatever walk of life, however far from the battle zone. Let each one of you remember that your individual effort, added to the joint effort of the many millions of the people of the United Nations can shorten the war by bringing nearer the triumph of our arms, by a day, an hour, a minute. There is not a moment to be lost: for in modern warfare, which is total war, the hastening of victory by a day or an hour may mean the saving of hundreds or thousands of lives.

The National War Front, which is gaining so steadily in strength throughout India, is a front on which you can all fight Scotch idle rumour and scorn the insidious and lying propaganda of the enemy. Build up a strong bulwark in your hearts of confidence and resolution. Take courage from the certainties which are before your eyes We have been swimming against a strong current, but the tide is surely turning now. At one time we fought alone, but look now at the great peoples and armies of our Allies who are by our side: the people of the United States, of Russia, of China, and many others. Consider the mighty armaments which we are accumulating day by day and with which we shall soon outstrip and overwhelm the enemy. He is still strong and formidable, but he is becoming desperate, and his days are numbered His strength is the strength of ruthlessness, oppression, cruelty and treachery, but our strength is the strength of all free men, and our cause is just

Hold on then, grimly and with determination Put every ounce of your strength, of body and mind, into a supreme effort, and you will find that the day is not far distant when we, with our Allies, shall sweep forward like an irresistible flood which will drown deep the forces of evil and wash the memory of their foulness for ever from the earth.

My time in India is drawing to an end—in a few months now I hand over to my successor. Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the Province is making to the prosecution of the war"

54. UNITY IS PRE-REQUISITE OF PROGRESS

17, *We are familiar with the suggestion said Lord Linlithgow in his farewell address to the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 17 1942 that the troubles of India are due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power I would say exactly the contrary Those troubles are due to Great Britain's expressed readiness to part with power*

I can myself claim said His Excellency to have brought together Mr Jinnah and Mr Gandhi though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard if unsuccessfully to bridge the gulf between parties interests and communities

Geographically India for practical purposes is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past nay more important that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities whether those minorities be great or small urged His Excellency

Lord Linlithgow referred to Sir Stafford Cripps Mission the latest evidence of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in the matter of India's political future and the proposals carried by him reasonable proposals according to the verdict of world opinion proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned but they failed to secure agreement.

In any case the Governor-General's Executive Council had been materially enlarged Further the National Defence Council a very highly qualified body representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States had been established Taking the measures of the previous three years together Lord Linlithgow claimed that a very material and a very real advance in the association of non-official Indians with the Government had been made despite the decision to suspend the federal scheme

The year 1942 had been at times of deep anxiety whether in terms of the internal or external situation. The Government had to deal with an uprising consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress Party of great gravity and great severity That uprising which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section At a time when the efforts of all were directed to India's protection against Japanese aggression the damage and destruction caused by that small section resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption deeply to be regretted in the war effort Text of address

Mr President and Gentlemen —

As you have reminded me this is the seventh occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. It is an occasion to which throughout my Viceroyalty I have always looked forward and an opportunity

which I deeply value of talking to you, Gentlemen, on the great problems of the day. This is the last time that that honour will fall to me, for though, as your President has so kindly said, the King has been pleased to ask me to retain my present office for a further period, by the time that the Associated Chambers next hold their annual meeting I shall no longer be in India. I welcome all the more your kindness today in inviting me to be present and thus giving me the opportunity to take farewell of the Associated Chambers, and to thank them for all the invaluable help and co-operation that they, and those for whom they stand in this country, have given me through seven long and anxious years.

Before I proceed to the business of my speech, I would like to associate myself most warmly with what you said about His Excellency the Governor, Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here today, and about Lady Mary. He has had an anxious and difficult time as the Governor of this great Presidency at a time when Bengal, and Eastern India as a whole, have been in the front line. We owe him a great debt for his energy, his interest, and his constant anxiety to see that everything possible is done to safeguard his charge, and to protect a vital bastion of India's defence. And we all of us know how constant and how invaluable has been the help lent him by Lady Mary Herbert in all good causes in Bengal.

In your speech, Sir, you have touched on a number of matters of great interest and importance. You took occasion, if I may deal with that matter in the first place, to sound a note of warning against the withdrawal of all incentive from private enterprise, and in this connection you cited the policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to a rebate of excess profits tax. As you are aware, the policy of the Government of India in regard to the rate of the excess profits tax in this country has been markedly more generous than in some parts of the Empire, or than in the United Kingdom. For its effect is to leave to an enterprise in this country, subject of course to income-tax and super-tax, one-third of the excess profits, in addition to the whole of the profits of the most favourable standard period or, in the case of new concerns, a generous percentage on the invested capital I venture to think that in the conditions created by a total war the incentive thus left to private enterprise is very real. I would claim indeed that it is as great as could reasonably be expected And you are aware, gentlemen, too, that arrangements exist under which a rebate of excess profits tax to be paid after the war can be obtained by depositing twice the amount of the rebate with Government at 2 per cent. interest for the period of the war and one year thereafter. Action on these lines would seem to be a wise precaution on the part of industry and as profitable as wise I trust sincerely therefore that industrialists will utilise the concession which has been offered. For by doing so not only will they benefit themselves They will help to achieve the immobilisation for the period of the war of as much as possible of the excess profits earned during the war, and so to reduce the pressure of enhanced purchasing power on the general price level; and they will in that way make a material contribution to the country's interest.

And in that connection let me refer to the risk of an inflationary rise of prices That is an issue of vital importance and one which is continually present to my advisers. It is one in which responsibility lies as heavily on the public as it does on the Government. Few will deny that production must continue at maximum intensity and must expand wherever possible in the interests of the war effort. But that inevitably means the existence in the country of a great and continually growing volume of purchasing power since payment for everything that is produced must be made in rupees in India whether the expenditure is incurred on Indian account, or on account of His Majesty's Government, or for the purpose of reciprocal aid to the forces of the United States of America stationed here. The actual allocation of cost has no relevance in this connection and the problem will clearly be with us on a continually growing scale for at least as long as the war lasts.

I would like if I may to emphasise again that for a solution of this difficult and important problem the Government must be able to rely on the utmost assistance, co-operation and support from the non-official world. I look to the leaders of commerce and industry who have given us such invaluable help in the past, to assist in securing an adequate response to the Government of India's defence loans. But above all I am convinced of the necessity for small savings playing their part. During the three and a quarter years since the war started the small saver's contribution to the return as savings of a portion of the vast volume of purchasing capacity which the war and supply activities of the country are placing in the hands of the people has—and I say it with regret—been of negligible importance. That is far from a healthy state of affairs. I am sure that personal interest, and active propaganda can do much to better it. I would appeal to all employers of labour to organise encourage and assist their employees to save and to conserve their savings through the various avenues which the Government of India have provided for the purpose. I know that it is only by persistent and unremitting effort on the part of all employers of labour that that can effectively be done. But if that effort is made and maintained there will be results of immense benefit to all sections in this country and not least to the poorer classes, whom the rise in prices most seriously affects. I am sure, Gentlemen that where your great authority and influence are concerned, I can with confidence look for the fullest help and co-operation in this matter

I listened with close attention, Sir to your remarks on the all-important question of food supplies. This is a question constantly present to me, and never more so than during recent months. The creation of the new Department of Food, to which you have referred in such friendly terms will I trust before very long effect some improvement in the situation. Close study of the cause of the present apparent shortages and the high prices which are evident in many centres suggests that though India has of course, been deprived of its accustomed rice imports from Burma, the difficulties of the present situation are due less to any real deficiency of supplies than to the mental reactions of great sections of the community to the abnormal times in which we

co-operation of the whole body of the community If the workers in our transport and communication systems our war industries and our essential services cannot be provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means the war effort will be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers. It is more essential now than ever that every citizen should sink his individual interests in the com mon cause and realise that if he concentrates on serving himself alone he is endangering not only the stability of the whole community but his personal security as well. I would therefore associate myself Sir most wholeheartedly with your plea for the co-operation of all the interests involved in solving our present difficulties difficulties as I have said due not so much to shortage of resources as to disturbances of normal routine If we secure that co-operation, the difficulties which are now being experienced throughout India will shrink to less menacing proportions. No effort let me assure you will be spared to meet a situation the gravity and importance of which my Government so fully realise.

You referred Sir to the difficult questions that arise in connection with the requisitioning of business and residential property I need not say that my sympathy is very great indeed for those who whether in their business arrangements or in their private lives have had to suffer the grave and serious inconvenience which requisitioning involves I note with full attention and appreciation the views that you have expressed on this matter and I will see that they are brought to the notice of my Government who already have the whole matter under active consideration

When I had the honour of addressing the Associated Chambers on previous occasions since the outbreak of the war I dealt in some detail with the work of the Supply Department. I trust sincerely that you Gentlemen who are so closely concerned and so familiar with the operations of that Department are satisfied that we are doing our best I think you will agree with me that we have achieved immense things in the field of supply Errors and misunderstandings there must always be. It is impossible to avoid them. But broadly speaking we can feel that in the field of supply India has made a contribution of outstanding importance and value and nothing will be left undone to ensure that during the remainder of the war the upward curve of improvement and of development shall be maintained.

I do not propose today to trouble you with any lengthy details of progress under particular heads. But one or two facts and figures I might quote for they are very striking For the first six months of the war the value of contracts placed was approximately 29 crores. For the six months from April to October 1942 it was 137 crores. Over the whole period to the end of October 1942 it has been no less than 428 crores. And those figures exclude the value of the work done in the Ordnance Factories which is in itself very considerable. They include only the contracts actually placed through our Purchase Branch.

During the last year progress with the Roger Mission projects has been satisfactory and I hope that the Roger Mission programme as a

consented to work as Government Agents in return for out-of pocket expenses only—a notable voluntary contribution to the war effort

I have listened, Sir with close attention and interest to what you said about British trade and commerce in this country Your anxiety in your own words is that British trade should be given a fair deal and allowed to conduct its business without discrimination or expropriation and you touched in your remarks on the history of Britain s contribution to India, whether in the commercial or in the administrative field. I was glad to hear what you said. For there is too great a tendency and not merely where India is concerned for Great Britain and the British people confident as they are in fact in their own record and in their own capacity to show that confidence by self-depreciation a self-depreciation which is unjustified and which is very apt to be misunderstood. Whether in this war or in the past Great Britain can with all humility claim that she has achieved great things and that her contribution to human progress and happiness and her record, and that of her citizens at home or abroad, in commerce in administration or in the Fighting Services is one to be proud of.

And there is no part of the Empire in which we can look back on a greater record of achievement than in India. Law and order the arts of peace greatly raised standards of wealth and of prosperity the elimination for practical purposes of grave famine of disease throughout this sub-continent that security in which India has been able industrially and politically to reach her present high place among the nations of the world—these are great services rendered. Our achievement in India is one that need not fear comparison with any corresponding work in the world. It is indeed to its magnitude that much of the criticism which you mention is due For it is easy indeed it is but natural, living in the long settled peace for which Great Britain is responsible under the unity that Great Britain has achieved that the decades of war and internecine strife through which this country had passed before British authority was established on its present basis should be forgotten

In the specifically commercial field to which you have referred, India has derived and derives today great benefit as you Sir have reminded us from the British connection The immense importance to her of her foreign trade, and of the British trading and business community the significance to India of the position of the Empire s capital as the centre of a world wide system her ability as a unit of the Empire to turn that position to special advantage were not and could not have been created on the basis of a policy of excluding overseas and foreign interests or personnel. And I cannot believe that the significance of that fact so well established by general experience elsewhere will be lost on the India of the future. Whatever mistakes may have been made—and who of us, and what country is there that has not made mistakes?—we can I repeat with all humility claim that Great Britain and her citizens have earned for themselves an honoured place in India, by the standards they have set and by the benefits which long years of peace and prosperity have brought to this country I am confident that the assistance of the British community

and the benefit of the British connection to the upholding of India's business traditions and the maintenance and development of India's post-war position in international trade, will be as readily afforded in the future as they have been in the past.

The year now drawing to a close has been one of very great importance in every way for India. For all of us on whom rests the burden of conducting the affairs of this great country it has been one at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or the external situation When we last met Japan had just entered the war. The early part of this year was marked by the invasion of Malaya, the Japanese advance into Burma, the very active threat to the shores of India, Japanese naval activity in the Bay of Bengal and elsewhere, attacks on Vizagapatam and Ceylon, and strong pressure from Japan in North-eastern India We had reason for anxiety, too, because of the news from other parts of the Fighting Front In attack and in defence we have worked in those dark times in close association with the gallant forces of China, whose Generalissimo and his wife I was so happy to welcome on behalf of India in February, of the United States, whose reception from all quarters in India has been so sincere, and of the warrior Kingdom of Nepal, to which and to whose Prime Minister we are bound by such close ties

In India itself I cannot speak too highly of the steps taken by all concerned to perfect our preparations against invasion, to sustain morale, to organise to meet any situation that might arise His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Defence Forces in this country—naval, military or air—have spared no effort Defence arrangements have been developed on a great scale. Recruitment and training of troops has been pressed on with the utmost vigour. There have been immense strides forward in civil defence. The keen and constant interest shown in that vital matter by my own Department of Civil Defence has been equally marked throughout India, whether in the Provinces or in the Indian States We find ourselves today in a happier condition so far as civil defence is concerned than at any earlier period in the war, and the necessity for civil defence, and the organisation that has been developed in connection with it has brought home directly to many whom the war might not in the ordinary way have closely touched the essential importance to India of being able to stand on her own feet, and to repel any attack that may be made from outside

In the internal field we have, to my keen and deep regret, had to deal since I last addressed you with an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising, which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section But that section, carefully organised, and unscrupulous, I am sorry to say it, in the methods it adopted, indifferent to the creed of non-violence to which such prominence has been given, was able

to cause immense damage serious dislocation of communications much destruction of public and private property heavy loss to the tax payer the deaths of many innocent persons At a time when the efforts of all of us were directed, and necessarily directed, to protecting India against Japanese aggression and to building up supplies and stores for our own defence and for the battle against the Axis it resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption deeply to be regretted, in the war effort.

To the sorrow of all of us who care for the good name of India those disturbances were disfigured by very shocking cases of brutality and violence. And a grievous feature of them is the use to which designing men endeavoured to turn and indeed succeeded in many cases in turning the young enthusiasm the intelligence and the lack of experience of the student community Those who diverted those young men young men of such promise with their future just opening before them into the dangerous paths of civil tumult and disorder carry an immense responsibility to India, and to the ardent and generous youth which they have led astray In restoring order everything possible was done to use the minimum degree of force, and to cause the minimum disturbance. The success of that policy is shown by the very low figures of casualties. The situation is well in hand as I speak to you today though even now in certain areas it continues to call for the utmost vigilance and care.

I would like to pay a tribute to the admirable work done in restoring order by the Services, military and civil alike and in particular by the police, on whom there fell so heavy a burden. And I would like to say a word of warm and sincere thanks on behalf not only of myself and of my Government but on behalf of India to those solid and sober elements throughout the country who in times of great difficulty stood by Government, gave their full co-operation to those whose business it was to maintain law and order and at great risk to themselves and sometimes at the cost of grave injury formed rallying points around which the law abiding and the loyal citizen could gather and from which he could get assurance and support.

Since the war began you and I have had heavy anxieties. We have realised how great a burden the war has placed upon the Empire and upon India. We have realised, too as I ventured to say to you in 1939 that the fate of India in the international sphere turns on the success of the Allied Arms. We have been heartened and supported in those dark days by India s response by her generosity in men, money and materials by the heroism of her sons, whether from British India or the Indian States. As I speak to you today the outlook is brighter We are far still from the end of our troubles. There lie ahead of us before final and decisive victory can be won much hard fighting inevitable reverses possibly even serious disasters. All those things are what war is made of They must be expected. They must be provided against so far as we can hope to make such provision. If things go badly reverses must be borne with a stout heart, with a resolution to amend what has been faulty and to go ahead with confidence and courage and with the certainty that we have right behind

us, and that victory is ours in the end But you and I, whether in our private lives or in public affairs, are all of us conscious today of the improvement that has taken place, of the immense difference made by the brilliant campaigns that have been waged last year and this year by our Russian Allies, by the successes of the Allied Arms in Africa, successes in which Indian troops played so distinguished and outstanding a part, and by the great battle that even as I speak the forces of the United States and those of the Commonwealth of Australia are fighting in the Far East It is too early yet for optimism But we can feel that our earlier confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle, however dark at times things may have seemed, has been justified, and that, while no effort can be relaxed, we can look forward with an easier mind to the concluding stages of the war.

I listened with deep satisfaction to the remarks which you, Sir, were kind enough to make about the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the tribute which you were good enough to pay to its work Since we last met, that Council has undergone a material expansion Working in the closest of contact with its Members and with the Council as a whole, I can, from my own knowledge and experience, speak of its capacity, its courage, its unity, its devotion to the interests of India I need not tell you how great is the value to the Governor-General of colleagues such as those with whom it is now my good fortune to work in the Executive Council

I turn now with your permission, Gentlemen, to the position in the constitutional field I came here in 1936 with the hope that before I handed over I might see in full operation the Act of 1935, an Act often criticized, but the result of years of patient work by the best minds of India and Great Britain That Act provided, as you will remember, for extensive autonomy in the provincial sphere and for a federation of India at the Centre

The scheme of provincial autonomy came into being in April 1937, and it has been in operation since that date The Congress Party, who at first were critical of the scheme, decided in July 1937 to take advantage of it, and in those provinces in which there was a Congress majority in the legislature Congress Governments remained in power till October 1939 They then decided that they could no longer carry the responsibilities which fell upon them, and withdrew from office In the absence of a majority government, those provinces have since that date been governed under the special provisions of the Act In the remaining Provinces autonomous governments have throughout (save for a brief period in Assam and in Orissa) been in control of the affairs of their provinces, and are in control today

In the provincial field let me say at once that I am perfectly satisfied, after the experience of the six years since 1937, with the essential soundness of the scheme of provincial autonomy It has worked with success in all the Provinces As I speak, it is working smoothly in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind, and Orissa It would work equally well in the remaining Provinces, as in fact it did, were those for whom the scheme is designed but ready to work it. That we

have had to resort to the emergency provisions of the Act is due to no flaw in the scheme. It is the result of a political decision by the majority party not to carry their responsibilities.

In the Centre the position is different. The Act of 1935 provided for a Federation of India—a federal scheme designed to bring together the Provinces of British India and the Indian States with a Central Legislature based on a substantial franchise with solid foundations in the country representative of the Indian States and British India alike. The scheme of the Act would have transferred power to Ministers at the Centre drawing their support from the legislature It would have brought together British India and the Indian States. It would have produced in the Centre a scheme of government representative of all parties communities and interests

When the war broke out the preparations for bringing the federation into being though far adavanced were not yet complete and in the immense strain that fell upon us in the opening days of the war there was nothing for it but to concentrate on the winning of the war and to suspend those preparations The Government of India continues therefore to be based on the same principles as before the Act of 1935—the Governor-General and his Executive Council responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament.

While as I have said work on federation has been suspended, I have never concealed from you my own sincere and firm belief in the value of the federal scheme representing as it did the maximum of agreement between the great communities the political parties, British India and the States that could be obtained at the time when the Act was framed. The federal scheme has its imperfections It can be attacked, as it was attacked, on various grounds and with plausibility

But whatever its imperfections it would have made an immense contribution to Indian political advance. It would have solved the great bulk of the problems in the constitutional field that we have heard so much of over these last few years. It would have welded together with the consent of all concerned in a common partnership and for common objects British India and the Indian States. And it would have provided (and that is what I regard as so very important) a government representative authoritative covering the whole or almost the whole of India composed of persons of the highest standing in this country able to speak with authority and with general support on behalf of this sub-continent.

Since I felt at the time that with the postponement of the federal scheme it was of great importance to broaden the basis and to introduce certain changes in the character of the Governor-General's Executive Council I was anxious to get the support of the great political parties and to produce at the Centre as representative a government as could be found. I will not weary you Gentlemen with the details of the discussions the negotiations the public statements that have been made over the last three years. You are familiar with their general outline. Suffice it to say this.

On the one hand during that time my Council has been changed from a body with a European and an official majority, and with a total strength of 7 in addition to the Governor-General, into a body of 15, of whom two only are officials, and three only, in addition to the Commander-in-Chief and myself, Europeans. The remaining portfolios are held by men of the highest character and distinction in the Indian political field, men with long records of service to India behind them, many of them men who have held office in provincial governments in the past

In a different field I have been at pains to try to associate popular opinion in the provinces with the work which the Centre has been doing, and in particular with the work which it has been doing in connection with the war The establishment of a National Defence Council, some members of which I am glad to see here today, has resulted in periodic meetings of a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States, a body that has been taken into the fullest confidence and from which there are no secrets, a body well able to supplement the changed character of my Executive Council by first-hand knowledge of provincial feeling and provincial views

Taking the various stages which I have just mentioned together, we can thus claim, despite the decision as to the federal scheme, to have made a very material and a very real advance during the last three years in the association of non-official Indians with government in this country

That is something But it is not all one could have wished for As you, Gentlemen, know so well, my efforts have been directed during all this period to getting the parties together, to bringing about with any help that I could give that measure of agreement which is so essential if we are to have a workable scheme One difficulty after another has been brought forward One attempt after another has been made by His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State and myself to deal with such difficulties My own anxiety to see an end of those difficulties, to see India united in agreement, has throughout been as deep and as sincere as it is today. And that is true equally of the Secretary of State and of His Majesty's Government

I am the more disappointed in those circumstances that none of the efforts so sincerely made should have achieved the object at which we aimed and at which we aim today Indeed it sometimes seems that our very endeavours to dissipate misconceptions and misunderstandings have tended to widen the gulf between those whom we desire to unite rather than to narrow it The attitude of His Majesty's Government, their anxiety to see India self-governing under a scheme devised in full freedom by the principal elements in India's national life, their readiness to leave this matter to a body composed of Indians themselves, have been declared in the most emphatic and in the most solemn manner The mission of Sir Stafford Cripps to this country in the spring of this year was but the latest evidence of the sincerity of His Majesty's Government in this matter And, as you will all of you remember, when the proposals carried by Sir Stafford were made public

the verdict of world opinion was that those were reasonable proposals and proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned.

But those proposals too failed to secure agreement. The reasons for which they proved unacceptable to the various parties were as has been the case throughout the melancholy history of this question mutually destructive And today I see with deep regret little to encourage me to hope that the conflicting claims (and I do not question for a moment the sincerity with which those claims are advanced and pressed) of the great parties and communities in this country are likely in any degree to be abated. Yet for all that I would like to feel that the problem is not beyond the genius of Indian leadership and that it may yet be possible for the various parties to come together and co-operate in forming the executive government of this country

I have spoken often to you in my earlier addresses of the importance of unity in this country Geographically India for practical purposes is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past nay more important that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities whether those minorities be great or small. That that would be a desirable aim no one Gentlemen can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy of tariff policy of defence policy of industrial development. Can India speak with the authority that she is entitled to claim, can she play her part effectively at international discussions at discussions with the other parts of the Empire if she is to speak with two voices? Indian unity subject as I have said to full and sufficient provision for the minorities, accepted as such by those minorities is of great and real importance if India is to carry the weight which she ought to carry in the counsels of the Empire and of the world.

But there are hard practical issues that have got to be faced before any true solution can be found. Political opinion in all responsible quarters must discover a middle road along which all men of goodwill may march That indeed is the difficult but essential task which must be performed if India is to achieve the great position we all desire for her The policy of His Majesty's Government in respect of the future status of India is clear beyond any question. But the achievement of a particular status carries with it heavy obligations In the modern world, whether we like it or not a readiness to accept heavy financial burdens to accept liability for defence on whatever scale one s geographical position demands at whatever cost all those are essential. So many today found their hopes and their plans on the confident assurance that the post war world will be a safe world. I sincerely hope that it will be so But if that end is to be achieved and maintained, constant vigilance constant effort, constant forethought will be needed. And all that is relevant to what I have just said about the unity of India. A divided people cannot carry the weight that it ought to carry or make its way in the world with the same confident expectation of success

But equally, mere artificial unity, without genuine agreement between the component parts, may well be a danger rather than an advantage For fissures that reveal themselves under pressure from outside are more dangerous than fissures the existence of which is well known and can be provided against. It is only by understanding between party and party, between community and community, understanding that begets trust and confidence, that is based on a liberal acceptance by the parties to it of the historic traditions, the legitimate claims, of the other to a place in the scheme of things that there comes that truly welded result which is able to stand shocks from whatever corner of the compass Is not that result worth working for ? Is it not worth some sacrifice, if some sacrifice must be its price ?

Great Britain's help is always available and has been freely offered In the time that I have been in this country one proposition after another has been advanced by His Majesty's Government and by myself in the hope of producing a generally acceptable solution I can myself claim to have brought together Mr Jinnah and Mr Gandhi, though unhappily without result I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf between parties, interests and communities Let me say one thing only before I pass from this subject. We are familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India are due to Great Britain's refusal to part with power I would say exactly the contrary Those troubles are due to Great Britain's expressed readiness to part with power It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interests in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Great Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock has arisen It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them

Gentlemen, the further period for which His Majesty has been pleased to ask me to serve in my present office is a short one now In ten months time or so I shall hand over to the new Viceroy Believe me when I say that if in that time I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall leave India a happy man India and all of us have had to face grave and exacting problems during this time of war—very great dangers, heavy responsibilities, much waste of life, much pouring out of resources that could have been turned to such advantage in the arts of peace The end of the war, so eagerly hoped for by all of us, is not the end of our troubles When the war ends, we shall be faced by problems that will tax our public spirit, our courage, our resources of body and mind, to the maximum. The problems of demobilisation, of reconstruction, of the resettlement of these great armies, of the adjustment of India to post-war world economic conditions, will be immense In discharge of the commitment of His Majesty's Government it will be for the principal elements in India's national life to devise their own proposals for the future government of this country, and to reach on those proposals that agreement that is, as I have already said, so essential if any workable and permanent scheme is to be devised. That by itself would be a heavy task But though it may be the most important task, it will be one only of those that will fall to India on the conclusion of the war If before I leave

this country I could see that understanding and agreement between the great Indian parties that is a pre-requisite of internal contentment and of progress I would leave India well satisfied that while progress in these matters whether in India or elsewhere must be a business of trial and error and may be slower than many of us could wish, still that all was set for the consummation of those ideals that have been so close to the heart of those of us who have worked for India s future and *for the raising of her stature in the comity of nations.*

Gentlemen I thank you for the attention with which you have listened to me this morning I will keep you no longer But on this the last occasion on which I shall address you I would like with sincerity and profound gratitude to thank you for the consistent support for the understanding and for the confidence that over seven years you have given me It has been invaluable to me and my gratitude for it is deep indeed.

55. LEADERS' DEPUTATION

il 1, *Text of Lord Linlithgow s reply to the deputation from the Leaders' Conference Bombay headed by Mr C Rajagopalachari at New Delhi on April* 1 1943 —

GENTLEMEN —

I am greatly obliged to you for the expression of your views which you have been kind enough to let me have, and for giving me the opportunity of considering it in advance. The matter is one of great importance, and I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding in relation to it. I made clear in my correspondence with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru my readiness that your deputation should in their statement amplify or emphasise any particular points in the Bombay Resolution to which they attached importance and indicate the arguments on which they based their suggestions. I am indebted to you for the memorandum you have let me have *though it is with regret that I do not find in it any fresh argument* in support of the suggestions which the Leaders' Conference has put forward and that I do not find that unequivocal condemnation of the Congress campaign of violence which the public, and I are entitled to expect from you as representing that Conference.

Let me before I proceed to your specific proposals mention though in no spirit of criticism that I observe from the list of signatories that the great Muslim community was practically unrepresented at the Conference of Leaders and that that body contained no representative of the Scheduled Castes and no one in a position to speak for the Indian States. I observe also that the Leader of the Hindu Mahasabha dissociated himself from the resolution passed by the Conference while organised parties such as the Muslim League were not represented at its deliberations. I am however I need not say at all times glad to hear the views of persons prominent in the public life of this country on the political issues of the day and to give all attention to any representations that they may make to me

The specific proposal that you ask me to consider is that permission should be given for certain persons to meet Mr Gandhi in detention to ascertain authoritatively his reaction to the events that have happened since his arrest, and to explore with him avenues for reconciliation. You feel, you tell me, that Mr Gandhi has already expressed in the correspondence that has passed between him and me his disapproval of violence and sabotage, and you add that you have no doubt that he will cast his influence on the side of internal harmony and reconciliation And you urge that if the permission for which you have asked is not given to you, the action of Government will unquestionably be interpreted as meaning that they do not wish to see reconciliation

Let me remind you first of the salient facts in the position Mr Gandhi and the leaders of the Congress Party, after a long preliminary campaign of incitement, were finally placed under restraint last August. At the time when they were placed under restraint Mr Gandhi had urged open rebellion, had adjured his followers to "do or die", had made it clear that there was "no room left for withdrawal or negotiation", and had both directly and indirectly by his speeches and writings contributed actively to foment that sad and disastrous series of events that disfigured the face of India during the autumn and winter of last year He and the Congress Party had been given every opportunity to reconsider their position My Government and I had exposed ourselves to the charge that we ought to have taken action against them much earlier, and that we ought not to have allowed this campaign of violence and sabotage to develop But our forbearance met with no reward, and we were left with no option in the interests of the security of India, and her defence against Japan and against the other Axis Powers, but to take the action that was taken last August

Unhappily the arrest of the leaders did not prevent a shocking campaign of organised violence and crime for which preparations had been made before those arrests took place The paper published by the Government of India clearly indicates the full responsibility of Congress and of Mr Gandhi for that campaign The encouragement which it gave while it lasted to the Axis Powers needs no emphasis Its effect on the war effort was severe It resulted in most material damage to communications and to public and private properties, and in the murder of many innocent persons who had no concern with, or interest in, the political issues involved

Despite the fact that Mr Gandhi and the Working Committee have had full access to reliable accounts in the Press since August last, there has never been any condemnation of those activities by them They have not dissociated themselves from the Resolution of last August from which so many of these evils flowed Mr Gandhi's advice to "do or die" still stands on record and while order has been restored, and the rebellion put down, no one can suggest that the country did not pass through a period of grave danger, and that while the Congress creed remains what it is, we would again be exposed to

that danger if the Congress and its leaders are again given full liberty of action.

You mention that you have seen the correspondence that has passed between me and Mr Gandhi. I would draw your attention to one most important point I put it to Mr Gandhi in terms (for I thought that must be his intention) that if I was right in thinking that he wished to go back on the Resolution of last August, to condemn what had taken place and to give suitable assurances for the future I would be very ready to consider the matter further His reply made it quite clear that I had misunderstood him and that that was not his wish and matters stand at that point.

Thereafter during the time of Mr Gandhi s fast there was the fullest opportunity for certain of his trusted friends to make contact with him and many indeed of those who were present at the Conference in Bombay had the opportunity of seeing him. Mr Gandhi, had he so wished, could then as he could have during the time preceding his fast or to-day have repudiated the violence for which Congress was responsible could have indicated his readiness to resile from the Congress Resolution of August last and could have given assurances for the future. But nothing whatever positive has emerged as a result of those contacts any more than from the correspondence that passed between Mr Gandhi and myself and I have no reason to believe that Mr Gandhi is any more ready now than he was at an earlier stage to repudiate the policy as the result of which the Congress leaders are at present under detention.

Now Gentlemen I have done my very best in the time that I have been in this country to try to improve relations and to try to get the parties together and I do not think it can be suggested that I have been unsympathetic or that I have not throughout been genuinely anxious to give all the help I can to the improvement of good relations and to the solution of India s political problems. If therefore in the present instance I am unable to accept your proposals it is not from any lack of anxiety to see the atmosphere improved. But on me there rests a very definite and specific obligation and the same obligation rests on my Government. It is the duty of both of us to ensure peace and good order in this country to see that India is defended against Japanese and other Axis aggression and to make certain that nothing is allowed to happen that would further the interests of the enemy interfere with the war effort of the United Nations or create internal strife and tumult. So long as that is our obligation so long as the Congress policy remains what it is there can be no question of any alteration in our attitude towards the Congress. I have already pointed out that neither from Mr Gandhi nor from the Congress is there, or has there been any suggestion of a change of mind or heart They had the opportunity and have the opportunity still to abandon that policy With every respect for your good intentions and your anxiety to see a happy solution I cannot agree to give special facilities such as you ask for contact with Mr Gandhi and the Congress leaders while conditions remain as I have described them

If on the other hand Mr. Gandhi is prepared to repudiate in full the Congress Resolution of last August, to condemn equally those incitements to violence which are represented by his references to " open rebellion ", his advice to Congress followers to " do or die ", the statement that with the removal of the leaders the rank and file must judge for themselves, and the like , if in addition he and the Congress Party are prepared to give assurances acceptable to Government for the future, then the matter can be considered further But till then, and while the Congress attitude remains unchanged, Government's first duty is to the people of India, and that duty it intends to discharge It is not to be deflected from that duty by suggestions, ill-founded as I believe them to be, that by doing its duty it will add to bitterness and ill-feeling I do not believe that to be the case But even if it were, that is the price that Government must pay for discharging its responsibilities to the people of India, and I feel certain myself that the people of India appreciate fully the dangerous and sinister character of the Congress campaign of last year—from which such great sections of them stood wholly aloof—and the threat which that campaign represented and would represent again if it were revived, to the safety and tranquillity of this country.

I would add only one word more You speak of the importance of a National Government I quite agree with you, and my endeavours during the time that I have been here have been devoted to forming at the Centre a Government as representative and as broadly based as can be found in present circumstances in India But the fact that you suggest that it is only if you are permitted to consult Mr. Gandhi that a genuine National Government can be formed shows that so far from realising the true character of a National Government, you contemplate that that Government should be nominated with the approval of a single political leader acting independently of other parties and other leaders in this country Not on these lines is progress to be made No National Government can properly be so described unless, as in the United Kingdom, it is fully representative of all parties and sections of the people, based on their ready co-operation with Government and with one another, united in the prosecution of the war for the objectives of the United Nations, of such a character that its establishment soothes instead of aggravating controversy The essential preliminary to that is that agreement between parties, communities and interests which I have been so anxious to foster, but to which the excessive claims and the totalitarian ambitions of the Congress and its leaders have been so consistent an obstacle in the past "

56. "FAITHFUL GATEKEEPERS"

1 2. *Lord Linlithgow s reply to the address from the people of the North West Frontier Province at Peshawar on April 2 1943* —

It is a great pleasure to me to visit the North West Frontier Province again. I deeply appreciate the warmth of the welcome that my wife and I have received in Peshawar and the cordial terms of the address from the leading gentlemen of the Province representative of all districts of the Frontier that you Sir have been good enough to read to me today

The threat of war has happily not approached the North West Frontier Province But the importance of the Province remains as great as ever It is still one of the great gateways to India, and Government still look to you to be their faithful gatekeepers In these troubled and difficult times the stability of the districts and the agencies alike—for both are equally important parts of the whole has been to me a matter for great satisfaction And when last autumn unwise leadership led so many to participate in outrages and disorders which disturbed the peace of India, and did such harm to her great name the commonsense and the wisdom of the leaders of this Province preserved harmony and order in this most important area. I warmly congratulate you, gentlemen on the record of the North West Frontier Province during those anxious days.

I have watched with admiration the contribution which the North West Frontier Province has made to the war effort. For long it has been one of the great recruiting grounds of India. That reputation has been well maintained during the war and particularly by the districts of Hazara and Kohat. And the contribution of the Province has been not merely in terms of manpower Most generous help has been given to all good causes loans and subscriptions for war purposes have had every assistance from the North West Frontier Province. And in the organisation of supplies of dried fruit and meat on a very large scale the Province has made another important contribution to the war effort.

Thank you most warmly for the kind things which you have been good enough to say about my wife and myself We do deeply appreciate them and we are only sorry to think that this is likely to be the last time that we will see the North West Frontier Province. I would like on behalf of my wife to say how great a pleasure it was to her to visit last year the admirable tuberculosis sanatorium at Dadar and to see the good work that is being done there in a matter of such vital importance to the health and welfare of the Province. You may be certain of the continued interests of both of us in the years to come in the happiness and the welfare of the people of the Frontier

I thank you again sincerely for your good wishes and for your welcome. I look forward greatly to my tours in the Province during the next few days and to renewing old contacts and meeting old friends again.

57. FINAL VICTORY IN AFRICA

Broadcasting to India on the Allied victory in North Africa, Lord Linlithgow rejoices that "our famous 4th Indian Division was in at the kill" and recalls the part played by Indian troops in Field-Marshal Wavell's great campaigns and in General Auchinleck's splendid last stand that saved Egypt He pays a tribute to all heroes of the Tunisian campaign, "not only to British and Indian troops but to our gallant American companions-in-arms, to the renascent might of France and to the splendid formations from the Dominions" But, from our rejoicings we must only derive fresh strength to go forward and win final victory, he warns Text of the broadcast on May 13, 1943 **May 1 1943**

"The labour and the sweat and the sacrifices of nearly four years of campaigning in North Africa have now been crowned with magnificent and final victory The African Continent has been cleansed and great forces of the enemy have been captured or utterly destroyed

That great strategic highway, the Mediterranean, has been opened and along the length of its southern littoral stand division upon division of French, American, British, Dominion and Indian troops, all flushed with victory, all brothers in arms, whose mutual confidence has been tried in the test of battle, all eager for the next move forward and filled with an implacable resolve to destroy root and branch the foul growth of Nazism that has cast its deadly shade over the length and breadth of Continental Europe.

These troops have seen the superb performances of our air forces over Africa and they rightly believe that in the great battles to come they will have air support of a quality and strength that the Axis cannot hope to equal They have witnessed in the Mediterranean the matchless skill and gallantry of our navies and mercantile marine, and they know their people at home in many parts of the world are praying for their success and safety, longing for an early end to this world crusade, but ready to endure privation and hardship for months and indeed for years if necessary, till the victory is complete and our troops are in Berlin itself

This great deed of arms in North Africa clearly marks the end of a stage in the war and my colleagues and I think it is right we in India should celebrate our success There will, therefore, be a public holiday on Friday, May 21, when 'Tunisia Day' will be celebrated and I hope there will be public rejoicings throughout India on that day

We shall then pay tribute, richly deserved as it is, to the heroes of the Tunisian campaign, not only to British and Indian troops but to our gallant American companions in arms, to the renascent might of France, and to the splendid formations from the Dominions We shall rejoice that our famous 4th Indian Division was in at the kill But there are many troops not now in Tunisia who won fame in Africa in 1940, 1941 and 1942, and it would be base ingratitude to forget the part that Indian troops played in Field-Marshal Wavell's great campaigns and in General Auchinleck's splendid last stand that saved Egypt

It has been the joint endeavour of all troops engaged since the beginning of the African campaign that has made possible the final victory which we are now to celebrate.

Again the fighting forces would be the last to claim that the credit for victory is their alone We have been through great stress in India we have had to resist civil commotion and only a year ago we had to face the possibility of invasion both from the East and from the West indeed, the most direct and immediate benefit to India from the African victory is the removal of a deadly threat to her own western approaches We have had great anxieties over our food supplies—and in spite of all our difficulties it has been essential that our war effort should go on and increase.

There are tens of thousands of men and women police railway staffs civic guards factory hands doctors nurses engineers and countless others to whom is due their share of each victory we win.

India has been a vast base for our African operations a base from which essential supplies in huge quantities have been sent first to buttress our defence and then to rush and overwhelm the enemy I hope the National War Front which represents the citizen s will to win this war will in its celebrations stress the civilian share in the victory and also rebuke those few who are absorbed at present in purely selfish schemes of profiteering

But self-congratulation in the middle of a war is a dangerous indulgence and I want to warn you tonight against the slightest tendency to believe that the end is in sight.

Germany is still a tremendously powerful nation and may yet be able not only to deal heavy blows against our supremely gallant allies the Russians, but also to offer strong resistance to any invading armies in the West. And after our foot has been planted firmly on the Nazi s neck and his overweening pride is humbled in the dust we have still to destroy the menace of Japan.

The Japanese are in essentials a barbarous mediæval race with no true culture and certainly no instincts of mercy They are fanatical and dedicated to what they are pleased to believe is a national mission They have captured valuable territories and bases and have had time to consolidate them. The force that we shall in due course bring against them will certainly overwhelm them but quick results I warn you plainly will not be possible.

I have just returned from a visit to our troops on the Eastern frontier who have had to work hard and suffer many hardships to make India safe from invasion. They are in splendid heart and a great deal has been achieved in that area but no one makes the mistake of under estimating the Jap as an enemy Defeat him utterly we will. The Americans the Chinese and we ourselves have made up our minds about that and, indeed self preservation demands it If there are two poisonous snakes in your room and you go to great trouble to kill one it is hardly commonsense to relax before the other reptile is destroyed. The Jap stands for the same thing as the German. Though we beat the

German into the dust, a war that fails to mete out to Japan the punishment she richly deserves will be fought in vain, and a peace that left in Japanese hands one square mile of stolen territory would be fatal to the future of human happiness and human freedom not only in the East but over the whole expanse of the world

Forgive me then if I remind you in this hour of triumph, which we do well to celebrate, that final victory is not yet and that we must derive from our rejoicings not a spurious confidence that the war is won, but fresh strength to go forward and win it

Good-night . and to all our United Nations' forces by sea, land and air, I say ' good hunting ' "

58. LAST ADDRESS TO LEGISLATURE

Thanking them, and through them India, for " consistent, ungrudging and invaluable support through so many dark days and so many critical situations ", Lord Linlithgow in his last address to the Houses of the Central Legislature on August 2, 1943, paid " a tribute to the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or the Indian States , to the confidence, enthusiasm and courage which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war, and to the cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations and hardships inseparable from it Theirs has been a great achievement on the Home Front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration ". **Aug. 2 1943**

All the more, therefore, His Excellency regretted that when in so many ways India's stature had been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war " We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us "

As the war had gone on, Lord Linlithgow had felt with increasing force that the federal scheme, for all the imperfections that it might have contained, would have solved the bulk of India's problems had it been possible to bring it into being.

Pointing to the extinction of India's external public debt and to the change in her international position from a debtor to a creditor's status, which was bound to have a profound influence on the course and character of India's international trade in the future, Lord Linlithgow suggested that this was a subject which might well engage the careful attention and study of Indian economists and research workers His Excellency himself anticipated the most far-reaching effects of the change upon the structure of India's home economy

He expressed his Government's determination to do everything in their power to stabilise economic conditions at tolerable levels during the war

In a word of " warm thanks " to the Indian Press, Lord Linlithgow said that he remained " deeply grateful to this great institution for its fairness, its eager anxiety to serve the public its concern to observe, and if

possible to improve the best traditions of journalism. And I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press

Gentlemen it is a great pleasure to me to meet you again today though I am sorry that it should be for the last time. You and I have been through difficult times together and I shall always remember with gratitude the help and consideration that through 7½ years of my Viceroyalty I have had from the Central Legislature and the guidance that its members have given me on so many critical issues. It is a happiness for me to think that if we have been through bad days together in the earlier years of the war I should be leaving India at a time when the skies are beginning to brighten when the success of the Allied arms in so many fields is becoming increasingly manifest and when we are encouraged by the fall of one of the greatest of the Axis leaders and by the collapse of a system which was responsible for bringing Italy into the war against us.

The seven and a half years of my Viceroyalty have lain in momentous times Through the whole period we have been faced by political issues of the first importance. For the last four years there has been the dominating need to concentrate on India s defence against hostile attack on the expansion and the training of our armed forces whether Naval, Military or Air on the organising of our war effort in terms of men, of money and of supplies India s response to every call made upon her throughout the war has been magnificent. She may well be proud of the superb contribution that she has made to the victories of the Allies and to the triumph of the United Nations.

Gentlemen I do not propose today to weary you with any lengthy or detailed review of the great developments that have taken place in India in so many fields since I assumed office. The tale would be a very long one Rather would I propose to speak of India s war effort to touch very briefly on certain major problems which are of immediate concern to all of us today and in particular food, inflation post war planning to say a word about the political situation and in taking leave of you to thank you, and through you India, for consistent, ungrudging and invaluable support through so many dark days and so many critical situations.

When the war began India s armed forces were designed neither in numbers nor in equipment to bear the direct shock of attack of the large highly trained and well-equipped forces at the disposal of the Axis powers. But with the full knowledge that the safety of India lay in the defence of its outer bastions we sent overseas what troops we could spare. Experience has more than justified our decision. Today we can feel that, save for sporadic and ineffective air raids India has been spared the horrors of war as, God willing she will continue so to be.

Our armed forces today total two million men. Naval personnel has increased ten-fold. The Indian Air Force is expanding rapidly into a formidable weapon. That great total has been reached by

voluntary recruitment, recruitment too from a wider variety of sources than ever before. The equipment and the training of these large masses of men has been an immense task, all the more so given the need to keep pace with new arms and new methods, to create new formations—I need only mention the Indian Armoured Corps, the Corps of Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Indian Army Medical Corps,—to bring into being the formations of airborne troops, and of airborne surgical units, which have been so successfully developed in this country. In the air the Indian Air Force has expanded from the single squadron that was all its strength when I first came to India to ten Indian squadrons, fully equipped with modern aircraft. The essential, but highly complex ground organisation required by a national air force to provide its own maintenance and training units is rapidly being perfected Its pilots have done admirable work in Europe · the Indian Squadron which took part in the Burma campaign has rightly won the highest praise. And the work of expansion and development goes on apace

The Indian Navy has steadily grown through the whole of this period. There have been great and rapid increases in personnel, in ship construction, in shore establishments, in the development of specialist schools, and of specialist training. And recruitment has been extended to areas that never in the past sent men to serve at sea The actions fought against Japanese aircraft by the "Sutlej" and the "Jumna"; the superb fight of the "Bengal" against surface raiders, have shown the fighting quality of the Royal Indian Navy And our ships have been in action not only in Indian waters, but in the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, and, in the last few days, in the invasion of Sicily.

The fighting record of the Indian Army is known to you all Indian troops played a glorious part in the North and East African campaigns Their superb fighting qualities, their courage, determination, discipline and training have been demonstrated time and again in the campaigns that have resulted in the overthrow of the Italian empire in Africa The great victory of the 8th Army, in which the 4th Indian Division added still further honours to what was already an imperishable fame, is in the minds of all of us In the Far East, in Burma, and in Singapore our troops faced, like their comrades from the other parts of the British Commonwealth, superior forces, and they fought a series of delaying actions in a type of warfare that makes the highest demand on the quality of troops. Those actions, fought with stubborn courage against grievous odds, gave India time to perfect her own defences against invasion And the experience gained in the difficult and exhausting jungle warfare in which we have recently been engaged will be put to good use when the time comes for that full dress attack upon the Japanese to which we all look forward The exploits of Brigadier Wingate's mixed force of Indian, British, Gurkha, and Burmese troops, have struck the imagination of the world, and have shown what good soldiering, discipline, and brotherhood in arms can achieve under conditions peculiarly favourable to the enemy.

The picture I have painted is but a pale reflection of the faith the courage and the endurance of tens of thousands of humble men courage that has won for the Indian Army no less than six awards of the Victoria Cross. No words of mine can express our thanks to them for what they have achieved to the Princes and people of India, who have poured out their treasures of money and labour and of precious lives in the allied cause. But this I know—whatever may be the tasks which lie ahead however long and arduous the road we still have to traverse that faith that courage that sacrifice will lead to victory

Since I last addressed you Gentlemen the relations of my Government with the foreign States on India s frontiers have, I am glad to say remained cordial. Indian troops have served with distinction in Persia. The Government of Afghanistan have well upheld their policy of neutrality as against all belligerents and have not suffered the Axis influences due to the presence of enemy Legations in their capital to disturb the common peace of the Indo-Afghan frontier The tribes of the North West Frontier have throughout the war maintained the peace, and I was glad on my recent visit to that famous region to be able to recognise their service to the common end by a permanent enhancement of the allowances of one of the leading tribes the Orakzais. Of the unstinted help which the cause of the United Nations as a whole and India in particular has received from our well-tried and trusted friends the Prime Minister and the Government of Nepal, I cannot speak in terms of too high gratitude. The Gurkha soldiers of the Indian Army continue to maintain the highest traditions of their service. Their bravery and hardihood have contributed in no small degree to the security of India throughout the war and I need not remind you that the Nepalese Government s own regiments remain in India for the war to assist us in building up our common strength. The relations of India with our great Ally the Republic of China, have been drawn closer than ever before in history The mutual esteem and knowledge won during the visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in February 1942 has broadened to an understanding which bodes well for the future relations of our countries The presence which we have so warmly welcomed, of American and Chinese Missions in our midst the comradeship in the common task and on our own soil with the gallant forces of our American and Chinese allies all contribute most materially to cordial relations and international good fellowship.

Recent legislation in South Africa affecting the status of Indians in that country has been a matter of profound regret to my Government and the situation which results from it is under active consideration.

Many of the essential nation-building activities are under the present constitution the responsibility primarily or wholly of the Provinces. But I have been anxious during the time I have spent here to ensure that the Centre should give every help that it properly can in regard to them, and there is much to show in the way of achievement. The revival of the Central Advisory Board of Education the establishment of the Central Board of Health the lavish grant

made before the war from central revenues for Rural Development; the work of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research the establishment of which, as I am proud to recall, was recommended by the Royal Commission on Agriculture, over which I had the honour to preside, and which has proved itself so elastic and effective an instrument for promoting technical progress ; the institution of the All-India Cattle Show Society, which has done so much to encourage the most important matter of care and breeding of cattle throughout the country; the active prosecution of nutritional research ; the great campaign against tuberculosis, organised by my wife, which has had so striking a response from all over India—these are all examples of the numerous activities in the nation-building field which have been of concern to my Government and to myself during the time that I have been here. India has reason, too, to be proud of the work that has been done in Animal Husbandry, in Dairy Research, by the Agricultural Marketing Department, by the Forest Service, and by the Survey of India The war inevitably has interfered with certain of our plans for the development of many of these most important activities. But the war has also shown their vital significance and we have good reason to be thankful that so much had been done in the way of preparation before hostilities began.

I may be forgiven for touching on one matter which, though it is of immediate local interest to the Central Legislature, is of concern to the country as a whole. When I assumed office in 1936 I determined that during my tenure of the Viceroyalty I would do everything in my power to make Delhi worthy of its place as the capital city of India. Today, I am glad to think that that ambition has been so largely realised. Delhi is a model so far as the anti-malaria campaign, up-to-date arrangements for the disposal of sewage, the active work of an energetic and soundly-based Improvement Trust, the development of open spaces and of amenities, are concerned. Those amenities and the layout of the capital city have inevitably suffered owing to war conditions But it is the policy of my Government, on the conclusion of the war, to remove without delay the temporary buildings that war has rendered necessary, and to restore the appearance of the Capital of India to the high level which we had been able to achieve for it

I would like to say one word about the transport situation, and the position of the Railways in particular. The vital importance of an efficient and adequate transport system, both for the war effort and for the maintenance of civil life, has been brought very sharply home to us in these last few years. The Railways are working under very great strain Great strain because of shortage of certain materials in war-time , because of the immense burdens placed on the staff by war conditions. We owe a real debt to the Railway staff for the contribution they have made, and the excellent work they have done in circumstances sometimes of much difficulty. My Government are fully alive to the importance of co-ordinating transport by road, rail, and river, and no pains are being spared to turn to the best use possible any additional capacity that can be made available, and to strike a just balance between military and essential civil needs

Activities in the field of war supplies have expanded enormously since I last addressed you. The value of orders handled by the Supply Department increased steadily from 85 crores in the first 16 months of the war to 118 crores in 1941 223 crores in 1942 and to 142 crores for the first five months of the present year Nor is this the whole tale of India s effort in the field of supply For the figures which I have given take no account of the orders which the Supply Department placed overseas *the orders placed in India for war purposes through* trade channels or the value of the finished output of the Ordnance Factories. The total value of India s contribution to war supplies is thereby immeasurably increased.

In order to deal with this growing mass of war orders the capacity of Indian industry has been greatly expanded both by the carrying out of carefully considered Government schemes for the establishment of new factories or the expansion of existing ones and by the operation of private enterprise. In particular the Chatfield and Ministry of Supply Mission Projects for new Ordnance Factories and expansion of the old ones are now either completed or nearly complete. I may also mention the great expansions in the steel industry in the manufacture of machine tools in the chemical industry and in the capacity of the rubber manufacturing industry especially for making tyres.

Those results have not been easy to achieve in the face of the difficulties known to all of you which arose and still arise from the growing claims on the shipping resources of the Allies from the closure of certain sources of raw material by the tide of Japanese aggression, and from the pressure on India s internal transport system arising from the greatly increased burden of war production and military movements. In solving these difficulties and in maintaining its war effort despite them India has received and is receiving the greatest help from the other allied nations especially from His Majesty s Government and from the United States of America. The Technical Mission which our American Allies sent us last year and the Lease-Lend Mission now with us have been of the greatest assistance to us We have lately had a Joint Anglo-American Steel Mission which gave valuable advice and help in connection with the production and distribution of steel. And I must pay a cordial tribute so the admirable work of the Eastern Group Supply Council itself the outcome of the Eastern Group Conference for the initiation of which India was so largely responsible, and which did such invaluable work.

This vast expansion in the field of war production has not been achieved without material sacrifice of the goods ordinarily available to the agriculturist and the townsman. I will refer later to certain aspects of that problem. But I am glad to think that many of the industries engaged in the manufacture of vital war supplies are now better equipped to produce goods for ordinary internal consumption than they were before the experience gained in manufacture under the stress of war adds materially to our knowledge of modern skill and technique and we are extracting and putting to use in India more and more of our own raw materials. Over and above this realising the

importance of providing for essential civil needs, we are now endeavouring to release for civil consumption a larger share of the industrial output of our own resources. The steps we have already taken in this direction will be steadily pursued, consistently with our responsibility for supplying the Armed Forces in India.

For the present, and for some time to come, our energies must be devoted to exploiting all available resources for the waging of war. But a moment will arrive when this process must be reversed and our efforts directed again towards the normal activities of peace, and the use and development of those resources for the rehabilitation of our economy, and the maintenance and—wherever possible—the improvement of the standards of living of our people.

Post-war reconstruction is a phrase familiar today in every continent. But the nature of this reconstruction must depend upon local conditions and the vicissitudes of battle

In some countries the rebuilding of the bomb-shattered homes of the people, and of the factories in which they earn their livelihood, must be the first stage of recovery. Then again a nation the greater part of whose adult population of both sexes has been conscripted into the fighting services, or war industry, has to face problems vastly different, at least in degree, from those which confront us here in India where, despite the magnitude of our war effort, large sections of the population still pursue their customary avocations more or less undisturbed by the tides of war, save in so far as changes in the price level may have affected their lot for better or for worse. Our own problems in this field, vital though they are, are of a different order. War has brought to India a marked and significant increase in industrial activity, and an even more important increment in the number of persons skilled in mechanical and industrial work of all kinds. Evidently the problem is to carry forward after the war as much as we may of this enhanced industrial activity, transmuted betimes from its present warlike shape into forms capable of producing the needs of a world at peace. Certain of our industries, some of them highly important, have come through the past four years with few changes of a technical character, and for such the problems to be solved will be mainly of a commercial character.

Closely linked with industrial expansion are the problems of agricultural improvement. The best hope of permanent progress, whether in town or countryside, lies in the maintenance of a sound balance between field and factory. For the farmer, a steady and profitable market for his own produce and the opportunity to buy the products of the factory at reasonable prices for the factory, a copious supply of raw material and a vast market for the finished product. The careful fostering of this natural, healthy and resilient partnership which is the foundation of our economic strength, and the firm base or platform from which we may develop our overseas trade, must be the first care of governments and of all concerned with industry or with agriculture Agriculture including agricultural education and research and animal husbandry, is as I have already reminded you, a provincial

subject. So also is irrigation But in so far as it lies within the power and within the proper field of my Government to contribute toward agricultural improvement they are most anxious to do their utmost in that direction.

The desire for improvement, agricultural and industrial has evidently received a marked stimulus from the circumstances of war This manifestation will certainly derive a fresh and powerful impulse by the demobilisation in due time of the great armies upon whose valour India at present depends for her security Many of our soldiers have become mechanically-minded as a result of their training and some may well look to industry for a livelihood in the days of peace. But the greater number will wish to return to the land. Many of those men have seen the world beyond these shores. They will wish to enjoy the best that the business of farming can provide and they will be found receptive of new ideas and improved practices. Their return to their villages offers a unique opportunity to press forward with agricultural improvement and rural betterment These two purposes are bound indissolubly together Of all the factors making for prosperous agriculture by far the most important is the outlook of the peasant himself. So wrote the Agricultural Commission in 1928 and all that I have seen or learned since that time confirms the correctness of that opinion

My Government are fully alive to the urgency and the vital importance of these issues. For some considerable time past they have closely concerned with the essential business of post war planning They realise the necessity of being well prepared in advance for the questions that will face India, like the rest of the world on the termination of hostilities You may be certain Gentlemen, that they will spare no effort to clear the ground and to plan wisely for the future, and that their deliberations will be informed by the anxious desire to assist in all those matters to which I have just referred, even where the function is not primarily theirs.

The war has brought great industrial and commercial prosperity to India. But it has laid grievous burdens on the common man and woman in this country in the procurement of their daily needs. And the disabilities which war must bring to the civil population of any belligerent country have in India been greatly accentuated by the anti-social activities of individuals who have misused conditions of scarcity artificially created in the case of some commodities, for their own profit. During the last few months second only to the problem of how to feed the inhabitant of this country has come the problem of how to clothe him at a cost within his means. It was therefore to the problem of cloth that the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies, which I constituted in April last, first devoted its attention. Thanks to public support, thanks also to the co-operation of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry a scheme of control was launched on the 17th June which is being worked by Government and the industry in a friendly spirit. The Indian States are also in line with us and I welcome this opportunity of acknowledging the irco-operation. The prices of cloth of all kinds have fallen not only in the wholesale,

but also in the retail markets. In some of the retail markets they have fallen by more than 40 per cent. Cloth which has been hoarded is coming into the market; and under the new scheme for Standard or Utility cloth my Government have arranged the procurement of this at the rate of 150 million yards per month, to be distributed, on a basis of population, among all the Provinces and States of India till a total of 2,000 million yards has been reached. It is hoped that cloth now coming out of hoards, and Standard Cloth, will fill the breach while the Control gradually establishes itself over the whole field of Cotton Textiles with, as a result, increased production and a substantial reduction in prices below present levels. When that stage is reached it will not be necessary to continue the Standard Cloth Scheme.

But cloth is not the only commodity in regard to which advantage has been taken—and unmercifully taken—of the consumer in India by unscrupulous men. Over practically the whole range of consumers' goods, which are so necessary in the day-to-day life of the people, the two-fold blight of exorbitant prices and inequitable distribution has fallen. Measures are now well under way which will I hope, before many months have passed, bring about improvement in this respect. These measures are aimed not only at hitting the hoarder and the profiteer, but also at making consumers' goods of the commoner varieties available in greater quantities to the people of this country.

Probably the most grave and insistent problem which faces my Government today is that of ensuring an adequate distribution of foodstuffs throughout India. Early in July a Conference fully representative of the Provinces and the Indian States, discussed in close detail with my Government the difficulties of the past and plans for the immediate future. My Government have accepted the conclusions of the Conference, and they are being implemented As I speak, an expert planning committee is at work on the evolution of a long term food policy, and its Report is expected in the immediate future. I cannot anticipate its recommendations. Nor do I wish to dwell overmuch on the past. But I would like briefly to recall to you some of the difficulties which have had to be faced during the past four years and to state in broad outline the essentials, as I see them, for the success of any future policy.

Certain limiting factors have to be recognised, even in normal times, when considering the economy of food production and distribution in India. The size of the country, with its demands on transport, a total production of foodgrains only just sufficient in wheat and less than sufficient in rice, made up of the small margins of millions of small farmers, the variety and at the same time the rigidity of local diet habits; the administrative divisions throughout the country. In normal times, these factors do not give rise to any great difficulty, for the normal operations of trade can ordinarily be relied upon to satisfy all requirements and to come effectively to the rescue, without official intervention, if for any reason local scarcity should occur. But war throws normal trade movements out of gear. Imports are restricted or cut off, transport is limited; there is a bullish tendency in the markets; prices rise and profits are high; the producer or distributor

hoards for gain or consumes more of his produce the consumer hoards from fear

In such circumstances it is the duty of Government to step in and regulate the operations of trade so as to secure economy and fair distribution In the United Kingdom great success has been achieved by drastic measures involving legal sanctions and the most detailed interference with private lives and private enterprise but made effective largely by the willing co-operation of the people In India our problem has been less compact and uniform and control in consequence more difficult to impose. The series of Price Control Conferences instituted as soon as war broke out proved most valuable for the exchange of ideas and experience and made recommendations which were acted on by Government But you will recall that for the first two years of the war there was no great demand for controls. A moderate rise in prices after a lean period was welcomed. It is only since the entry of Japan into the war and the loss of imports from Malaya and Burma, that the problem of supplies and prices has assumed serious proportions in India. Since then Governments throughout the country have had to adapt their methods to a rapidly developing situation and to counter the cupidity and lack of confidence that have unhappily shown themselves in so many areas.

The Grow More Food campaign has led to an immense increase in the area under food crops and a vastly increased production of foodgrains. It is being urged on with the utmost vigour Financial aid of well over a crore and a half of rupees has been made available from central revenues and every possible help has been given to Provincial Governments and to the Indian States by way of technical advice. You may be certain Gentlemen that no pains are being or will be, spared to get the very maximum of output that we possibly can

To strike at the root of the causes of our difficulties which I have just mentioned my Government decided early in this year to remove the control price of wheat, and to import wheat from Australia. They also devised a scheme for the distribution under central control of surplus foodgrains to deficit areas. For various reasons this scheme appeared likely at first to fall short of the success that was hoped for But drastically modified in the light of experience it remains in being And it will hold the field as an "austerity" plan, until, having secured physical control of all available surpluses of foodgrains administrations throughout India are in a position to control their distribution through rationing or otherwise.

That task is no light one. But it is vital that it should be successfully performed. And full and willing co-operation by every Government and every individual is essential if its achievement is to be ensured

The policy behind it will be a policy based on the considered views of representatives of every part of India, and I would most earnestly appeal today to all concerned to help in giving effect to it. To the solution of the common problem, to the easing of the hardships of the

poor, and the difficulties of the deficit areas in particular, there is an obligation on every one of us to lend our influence, our example, and our ready support. I am confident that in appealing for that general co-operation, and for the spirit of self-sacrifice, in a matter that touches every man and woman in this country, I shall not do so in vain

One of the main problems which has to be faced by a country at war is the control of inflationary tendencies. In the switch over from a peace economy to a war economy the mounting scale of Government expenditure inevitably increases the volume of incomes, while the goods and services available for civilian consumption inevitably contract. To accentuate the resultant loss of equilibrium between free purchasing power and the opportunities for its use, the possibilities of import become gravely restricted by the scarcity of shipping and reduced transport facilities In any country a situation of this kind calls for the maximum effort of vigilance and control, if chaos is to be avoided In India there are various factors, notably the magnitude of the country and the exiguous scale of administrative services in relation to a huge and largely uninstructed population, which render close controls peculiarly difficult. The position first began to deteriorate sharply when the consequences of the war with Japan became palpable, in the latter half of 1942. By the spring of this year there were many signs of widespread hoarding and profiteering and of the emergence of a spirit of reckless speculation which gave a vicious stimulus to the factors making for a general rise in prices. The course of prices in consequence took an alarming upward turn, and it became clear that drastic action was called for and in every sphere of Government authority if this disastrous tendency was to be checked and reversed.

The Government of India are determined to do everything in their power to achieve this object and to stabilise economic conditions at tolerable levels The drive against inflation is being pursued simultaneously in the monetary and the commodity fields On the one hand an intensive effort is being directed to the mopping up of surplus purchasing power by taxation and borrowing, whether Central or Provincial, including a country-wide savings drive, and the Indian States have also been urged to co-operate in this programme for the benefit of the whole country. I am glad in that connection to be able to tell you, Gentlemen, that during the six weeks ending on 17th July, no less than 50 crores of rupees were invested, including 12½ crores by conversion from the 4 per cent. 1943 bonds—a most encouraging and heartening achievement. On the other hand, various forms of commodity control have been adopted, the most important, because of its effect on the cost of living, being the cloth and yarn control scheme to which I have already referred.

I have already spoken too of our efforts to deal with the various aspects of the food problem, which of course has an enormously important bearing on the tendencies we are determined to bring under control The Government of India are also resolved to check speculation and profiteering in every sphere which affects the life of the nation, and to repress and penalize all cognate anti-social activity I am glad

to say that the measures already taken are beginning to have a most salutary effect. Not only has the vicious upward trend been checked but several important indices have moved sharply downwards with a beneficial effect on the whole price-structure. But there is no room for complacency and we do not delude ourselves that this battle is over On the contrary the campaign has only begun and we are determined to maintain the pressure and to fight relentlessly on every part of the anti-inflationary front. The stake is nothing less than the economic safety of the country it demands the co-operation of all of us and no effort can be relaxed until this insidious danger has been removed.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to enlarge on the more obvious aspects of the impact of the war upon India s economy The imperious needs of the emergency have as might be expected called forth a tremendous intensification and diversification of India s industrial activity This has involved the fullest use of our resources of raw materials labour transport and productive capacity It has led to many new efforts in fields hitherto hardly explored and to expanding schemes for the training of personnel. All this would in itself have produced a notable transformation of India s economic outlook. But there has in addition supervened a factor which in my opinion is bound to have the greatest significance for India s economic future. It is by now a familiar fact that the war has led not only to the extinction of India s external public debt but to a change in her international position from a debtor to a creditor status. This fact is bound to have a profound influence on the course and character of India s international trade in future. I would suggest that this is a subject which might well engage the careful attention and study of Indian economists and research workers. For I am convinced that it is a sphere in which there cannot fail to be scope for constructive thinking It is not merely the outward aspect of our foreign trade which must inevitably be transformed, but I would anticipate the most far-reaching effects upon the structure of India s whole economy When it is remembered that India s export trade in the past rested largely upon the necessity of making remittances for the service of her overseas debt that henceforth not only will this factor be absent but on the contrary India will have to accommodate an excess of imports in order to receive the payments due to her it will be realised that the change which has occurred is one of the deepest significance.

I turn now to the political field. As Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee I had been most closely associated with the discussions leading up to the Act of 1935 I came out here in 1936 following on the passing of that Act. My object, when I accepted this great responsibility was in the first place to see Provincial Autonomy introduced, and to give it every help in my power to work smoothly and successfully In the second place, to secure the introduction of Federation. I was confident that in no way could the interests of India s constitutional development or the achievement of all her aspirations better be forwarded than by these two successive stages that were contemplated in the constitution Act of 1935. Nothing has happened since 1935 to shake me in that view

The scheme of Provincial Autonomy has been tested by experience now over many years. It is a workable scheme and a sound scheme. Today it is in operation in six Provinces out of eleven. Where it is not in operation, that is because those to whom it gave great power, great authority and great responsibility have not been willing to carry that responsibility. That there may be difficulties from time to time, that the machine may fail under certain stresses can surprise no one with experience of public life. But taking it all in all, the scheme has fully justified itself. I can think of no way in which, consistently with safeguarding the rights and the legitimate claims of all parties, the devolution of power to popularly elected Ministers, supported by a majority in the Legislature, and willing to carry the burdens of the time, could better have been made

At the Centre, as I have often said in recent years, I have felt with increasing force as the war has gone on, that the federal scheme, for all the imperfections that it may have contained, would have solved the bulk of India's problems had it been possible to bring it into being. No scheme is perfect · no scheme will satisfy everyone , every scheme admits of being improved on by experience. And I know well that on various grounds the federal scheme has been the target of attacks. But, as in the case of the provincial scheme, I have no doubt as to its essential soundness Parties, interests, individuals, all have to be prepared to make some sacrifice when it comes to matters such as this No one in any modern State can hope to have a hundred per cent of what he wants or what he thinks he ought to have. Compromise, adjustment, reasonable regard for the legitimate claims of other parties is the only basis on which progress can be made Federation, had we achieved it, based as it was on the maximum measure of agreement that could be realised when the scheme was framed, would have welded together for matters of common interest the Indian States and British India. It would have secured balanced and reasonable representation of parties and interests at the Centre. It would have achieved the desire of His Majesty's Government to transfer to Indian hands those great powers at the Centre the transfer of which is provided for in the Act of 1935 And India would have participated in the War under the leadership of her own Federal Government, and her prestige and the prestige of that Government would thereby have been enhanced still further for the future

Well, Gentlemen, the outbreak of the war and the absence of agreement between those concerned in India, made the postponement of Federation at that time inevitable His Majesty's Government in those circumstances could not, in that way, give the early effect that they desired to their intentions It was my duty and my happiness in those circumstances to try to find in what other way Indian public opinion, Indian public men, the great parties, could, pending the achievement of a final solution, best and most closely be associated with the government of the country and the management of the war.

If I have not been able to achieve the measure of success I hoped for, I have at any rate during the time of the war been able to bring

into being changes of great significance and far reaching importance. It is true that I have not been able to persuade the great political parties to take their share in the government of the country But the Government of India, a body of 7 of whom the majority were officials has been expanded into a body of 14, 11 of whom are non-officials and four only (including the Commander in-Chief) Europeans. Of its broad basis of the representation it gives to communities and interests of the quality of its Members, there can be no question whatever The National Defence Council, a body representative of the Indian States and of British India, has met regularly under my chairmanship since October 1941 It has established its reputation throughout India it has constituted a most valuable liaison between the Centre the Provinces of British India and the Indian States and its importance from the point of view of the war effort has been very real indeed.

In other fields India s international status has been enhanced in a variety of ways. She is represented at Washington and at Chungking China and the President of the U.S.A. are represented here. For over a year now she has had representation at the War Cabinet She has been most closely associated with all developments of importance in connection with the war The splendid work of her fighting men, whether by sea, by land or in the air has added to her renown through out the world the magnitude of her contribution to the war effort of the Allies is known to everyone

I regret the more that at a time when India s contribution has been so great when in so many ways her stature has been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war That there should have been no greater progress is due to no lack of effort or enthusiasm or goodwill on the part of His Majesty's Government or of myself. From the very beginning of the war I have done everything that man could do to bring the parties and their leaders together to remove doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty s Government to achieve that sufficiency of common agreement among the parties and communities in this country and that necessary preliminary acceptance of the legitimate claims of all, that must be the pre-condition of any constitutional advance that is worth having or that can hope for permanence. It will always be a sharp disappointment to me that these four years of war should, for all that effort have seen us no nearer to our goal and that as I speak today these internal divisions these communal rivalries that reluctance to place India first and to subordinate sectional ambitions and jealousies to the common interest of the country should still stand in the way of progress.

As I have said elsewhere those divisions that lack of agreement are due not to the reluctance of His Majesty's Government to transfer power to Indian hands but to their very readiness to do so But the fact, the lamentable fact remains that to the grief of all of us those divisions exist. Nor during all that time has a single constructive proposition—and I deeply regret to say it—been put forward by any Indian party The whole burden of framing constructive proposals

in relation either to the interim or the final solution has been left to His Majesty's Government and to myself. We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us The best that we can devise, informed as we are by centuries of experience of Parliamentary Government, has been freely offered. Yet, while one endeavour after another by His Majesty's Government to find a solution, fair to all parties and communities in India and acceptable to India as a whole, has been rejected by one party or the other, not one such practicable alternative proposal has been put forward by any one in this country.

Yet it is India herself, if India wants a change, that must find the solution to this problem. I sometimes think that public interest and discussion in this country has, in the past, centred too much on interim constitutional changes, which, in the nature of things, must be transitory. Such changes cannot be a substitute for a constitution determined by ordinary processes and agreement, processes which cannot be completed under the stress of war. Short cuts can only be a danger alike to present unity and post-war solutions. At the stage now reached the real problem to be faced is the future problem, we must look forward and not backward.

And it is the need for India herself to find the solution that, in all friendliness and sincerity, I would most earnestly commend, Gentlemen, to your consideration today. I have said it before, and I say it again quite plainly, that the path to full and honourable co-operation with the Government of the country has always been open to those who desire it for its own sake. His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy can try to help, as they have tried in the past But the burden is on India, on her leaders, on the principal elements in her national life. It is the discordance between those principal elements, the lack of trust, the lack of readiness to accept the legitimate claims of the minorities, or of parties, or of interests, that stand in the way. Those are obstacles that only Indians can remove.

And it is most important, and I would most earnestly urge this on you, that if there is to be any progress, Indian public men should without delay start to get together and to clear the way for it. The post-war phase is drawing rapidly nearer. His Majesty's Government, as you will remember, have voiced the hope that on the conclusion of the war Indians themselves may sit round a table and hammer out a constitution having the general support of all the principal elements in India's national life. Is India, are India's leaders, to be found unprepared when the day comes for those discussions ? Is it not the course of wisdom to set to work at once, without wasting a day, to try, by discussion among themselves, to find in readiness for those discussions an accommodation of the differences that prevent progress at the moment, and to build a bridge over the profound gulfs that divide party from party and community from community ? They alone can do it. The burden is on them, and not on His Majesty's Government.

into being changes of great significance and far reaching importance. It is true that I have not been able to persuade the great political parties to take their share in the government of the country But the Government of India a body of 7 of whom the majority were officials has been expanded into a body of 14, 11 of whom are non-officials and four only (including the Commander in-Chief) Europeans. Of its broad basis, of the representation it gives to communities and interests, of the quality of its Members there can be no question whatever The National Defence Council a body representative of the Indian States and of British India, has met regularly under my chairmanship since October 1941 It has established its reputation throughout India it has constituted a most valuable liaison between the Centre the Provinces of British India and the Indian States and its importance from the point of view of the war effort has been very real indeed.

In other fields India s international status has been enhanced in a variety of ways. She is represented at Washington and at Chungking China and the President of the U.S.A. are represented here. For over a year now she has had representation at the War Cabinet. She has been most closely associated with all developments of importance in connection with the war The splendid work of her fighting men whether by sea, by land or in the air has added to her renown throughout the world the magnitude of her contribution to the war effort of the Allies is known to everyone.

I regret the more that at a time when India s contribution has been so great when in so many ways her stature has been so enhanced, greater progress should not have been possible in the constitutional field during these years of war That there should have been no greater progress is due to no lack of effort or enthusiasm or goodwill on the part of His Majesty's Government or of myself. From the very beginning of the war I have done everything that man could do to bring the parties and their leaders together to remove doubts as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government to achieve that sufficiency of common agreement among the parties and communities in this country and that necessary preliminary acceptance of the legitimate claims of all, that must be the pre-condition of any constitutional advance that is worth having or that can hope for permanence. It will always be a sharp disappointment to me that these four years of war should, for all that effort have seen us no nearer to our goal, and that as I speak today these internal divisions these communal rivalries that reluctance to place India first and to subordinate sectional ambitions and jealousies to the common interest of the country should still stand in the way of progress.

As I have said elsewhere those divisions that lack of agreement are due not to the reluctance of His Majesty's Government to transfer power to Indian hands, but to their very readiness to do so But the fact, the lamentable fact remains that to the grief of all of us those divisions exist. Nor during all that time has a single constructive proposition—and I deeply regret to say it—been put forward by any Indian party The whole burden of framing constructive proposals

in relation either to the interim or the final solution has been left to His Majesty's Government and to myself. We, for our part, most anxious to give all the help we could, have tried one proposal after another, and we have done our best to harmonise the sharply conflicting claims that have faced us The best that we can devise, informed as we are by centuries of experience of Parliamentary Government, has been freely offered. Yet, while one endeavour after another by His Majesty's Government to find a solution, fair to all parties and communities in India and acceptable to India as a whole, has been rejected by one party or the other, not one such practicable alternative proposal has been put forward by any one in this country.

Yet it is India herself, if India wants a change, that must find the solution to this problem I sometimes think that public interest and discussion in this country has, in the past, centred too much on interim constitutional changes, which, in the nature of things, must be transitory. Such changes cannot be a substitute for a constitution determined by ordinary processes and agreement; processes which cannot be completed under the stress of war. Short cuts can only be a danger alike to present unity and post-war solutions. At the stage now reached the real problem to be faced is the future problem, we must look forward and not backward.

And it is the need for India herself to find the solution that, in all friendliness and sincerity, I would most earnestly commend, Gentlemen, to your consideration today. I have said it before, and I say it again quite plainly, that the path to full and honourable co-operation with the Government of the country has always been open to those who desire it for its own sake. His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy can try to help, as they have tried in the past. But the burden is on India, on her leaders, on the principal elements in her national life. It is the discordance between those principal elements, the lack of trust, the lack of readiness to accept the legitimate claims of the minorities, or of parties, or of interests, that stand in the way. Those are obstacles that only Indians can remove.

And it is most important, and I would most earnestly urge this on you, that if there is to be any progress, Indian public men should without delay start to get together and to clear the way for it. The post-war phase is drawing rapidly nearer. His Majesty's Government, as you will remember, have voiced the hope that on the conclusion of the war Indians themselves may sit round a table and hammer out a constitution having the general support of all the principal elements in India's national life. Is India, are India's leaders, to be found unprepared when the day comes for those discussions? Is it not the course of wisdom to set to work at once, without wasting a day, to try, by discussion among themselves, to find in readiness for those discussions an accommodation of the differences that prevent progress at the moment, and to build a bridge over the profound gulfs that divide party from party and community from community? They alone can do it. The burden is on them, and not on His Majesty's Government.

And the whole field is open to them. If the proposals which His Majesty's Government have at one time or other put forward in default of any proposals from the Indian leaders are unacceptable to India as a whole there is nothing to stop India s leaders from considering and devising an alternative whatever its nature or from trying by private negotiation with other parties in this country to secure their support for any such alternative. All I would say—and I say it again as a friend of India, and as one concerned to see her progress in whatever manner is best suited to her national genius and to the interests of all within her borders—is this—that whatever alternative and whatever scheme is devised must take account of practical considerations must have the general support of all the important elements in India s national life. No scheme however good it may look on paper that ignores important elements or interests that overlooks the essential necessity for substantial agreement inside India as its basis has any hope of surviving for long A national Government can be a reality only if it is generally representative, if it has the general support of the major parties and of the people as a whole if its establishment leads to the assuaging of communal and other bitterness and rivalry and to the harmonising of all the many divergent points of view that a country such as India, with its great range of climate of races its different historical traditions, must always present.

I would like to take this occasion to say a word of warm thanks to the Indian Press for all the help that it has given me during my time in India. Occasions there may have been when there were differences of view on matters connected with the Press misunderstandings there may have been from time to time. But I remain deeply grateful to this great institution for its fairness its eager anxiety to serve the public its concern to observe, and if possible to improve, the best traditions of journalism. And I would not like to leave India without paying this public tribute to it, and to that hard working body of intelligent and able men by whom India is so well served in the Press

In a few weeks now I shall hand over the reins of office to my successor In Field-Marshal Viscount Wavell India will have as Viceroy one who has proved himself through a long and glorious career one of the great leaders of men in the field and one of the outstanding soldiers of our time. But you will find in him also and this I can say from personal experience of two years of close intimate and most friendly collaboration an understanding wise and sagacious statesman a man of sound political sense and judgment a leader of courage and tenacity whose wide human sympathy whose affection for India and whose profound interest in her problems is well-known. In the difficult days that lie ahead—for the problems of peace are no less exhausting and complex than the problems we have had to face in the war—his ripe experience his fresh and up-to-date knowledge of India and his sincerity and openness of mind will be of a value to this country that cannot be overstated.

I cannot leave you today Gentlemen without in conclusion paying a tribute to the spirit of the people of India, whether British India or the Indian States to the confidence enthusiasm and courage

which they have shown through four years of a devastating and exhausting war, and to the cheerful readiness with which they have borne the many burdens that total war involves and the privations and hardships inseparable from it. Theirs has been a great achievement on the home front, as well as in the field, and one on which India will look back with pride and the world with admiration.

I would like, too, to say a word of sincere and heartfelt thanks to the personnel of all the Services in this country. To them is due great credit for all that they have done to maintain law and order, to deal with the innumerable problems of administration that war throws up, to grapple with the vital tasks that fall to be discharged by them in the interests of the people of India as a whole Without their loyal, unfailing, and self-sacrificing public work, the administration of the country could not have been carried on, or India have made the contribution that she has so proudly and so gladly made to the victory of the Allied cause

Gentlemen, I will keep you no longer. I thank you most warmly for the attention with which you have listened to me today. My best good wishes go to you, both individually, and as a Central Legislature, for the future, and my most cordial gratitude for all the work that I have been privileged to see you perform during my term of office, and for that public spirit that has so consistently marked your conduct of affairs "

59. "I WAS WITH YOUR FATHERS"

" Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the $7\frac{1}{2}$ years that I have held charge as Viceroy than my close association with the armed forces in India", said Lord Linlithgow addressing a parade of British and Indian units at Poona on August 28, 1943. **Aug. 1943**

He recalled: " A quarter of a century ago I was with your fathers in another great war, so I know very well how you all feel about your minds." Extracts from the speech.—

" I am very glad to see today, representative detachments from units in the Poona area Nothing has given me greater pleasure during the seven and a half years that I have held charge as Viceroy than my close association with the armed forces in India Your efficiency for war and your welfare have been to me matters of abiding interest and concern

Many of you are serving far from your homes and from your own folk on the fourth year of a world-wide war A quarter of a century ago I was with your fathers in another great war, so I know very well how you all feel about your minds I know, too, that in the end you will be immensely proud to have taken part in this tremendous struggle. Many of you were at home in Britain during the fierce German attacks from air upon our cities in 1940 You can testify to the sublime courage with which that formidable onslaught was met and overcome by the men and women of our land They endured and they triumphed because they felt that the causes for which we are waging this war were worth fighting for.

They will be watching us those brave and patient people here in this theatre of war during the months before us and through the battles that must be fought The cause at stake here is the very plain one, what they struggled for in the streets of our cities and villages throughout the blitz of 1940 It would not be of much use to have beaten the Germans and the Italians if we were unable to settle accounts with the Japanese. I know your patience is being tested now and I know too how very wearisome can be the time of waiting I am sure you are keen to be at them and to get done with the job Well you will not have very long to wait now and when the call comes I have every confidence that you will do yourselves high credit and bring fresh renown to the Imperial Arms.

To Indian troops represented on this parade I would say also this Model your conduct in battle upon the performance of those of your brothers in arms who upon many a hard fought battle have in this war added new laurels to the great name of their motherland. The safety of this country and its honour are in your care. When the day of battle comes fight hard!

Meantime the duty of all of you is quite clear It is to do your utmost every man in his job to raise the fighting efficiency of every unit and the co-operation between units to the highest possible pitch. Do not allow staleness to creep in. The tide has turned and things everywhere are going well for us. Now is the time to redouble our efforts and when the opening comes to go for the knock-out

Work on weapon drills and tactical exercises for all you are worth. You will be very well repaid for your pains when the days of trial come that I can promise you Wherever you go and whatever task you are called upon to perform I wish you one and all the very best of luck

60. MUKTESWAR AND IZATNAGAR

. 8, *He could think of nothing likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator than sound livestock improvement which must be based on three major sciences namely animal genetics animal nutrition and animal medicine—all provided for at Mukteswar and Izatnagar said Lord Linlithgow addressing the staff of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute He regretted however that the war had interrupted greater progress in the work of the institution*

Lord Linlithgow travelled by air to Izatnagar on September 6 1943 *to pay a farewell visit to the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute a large section of which he had opened in* 1939

Speech to the assembled staff —

It has been a real pleasure to me to have the opportunity of flying over here today and I am very glad to see you all. I think you all know how deep has been my concern for the advancement of research work in the veterinary field ever since I first made an intensive study of India s needs when I was Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. As Viceroy for 7½ years I have watched your progress

with sympathy and interest and I should like to assure you what very high importance I attach to the work which you are doing here.

Your main institute was founded as long ago as 1890 but I can say with certainty that experience has fully justified the setting up of the Izatnagar sub-station in 1913 for the purpose of manufacturing biological products In 1939 I had the privilege, when the Government of India decided to expand the available facilities for the study of other sciences connected with livestock improvement, of opening the Animal Nutrition Wing here and very valuable work has been done in the new laboratories I opened then.

It is unfortunate that buildings for the Animal Genetics Section and for two new blocks for vaccine production and Wool Research could not be constructed during the war. Many good causes have suffered during these years of strife and India would certainly have been the richer if this expansion of your accommodation had been achieved. At the moment, however, we all rejoice in the extremely encouraging war news and I trust that when we have defeated Germany and Japan it may be found possible to proceed soon with the construction work you need.

Sound livestock improvement must be based on three major sciences, namely, animal genetics, animal nutrition and animal medicine all of which are now provided for at Mukteswar and Izatnagar If individual research workers play their part I think there is every reason to anticipate in the not too distant future great advances in this subject, advances that will be of lasting importance and I can think of nothing that is likely to be of greater benefit to the Indian cultivator and so to India at large In such advances I have every confidence that Dr. Minett and his expert team will play a distinguished part. . . . "

61. CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF HEALTH

Oct. 4, 1943

" We are all anxious to see after the war ", said Lord Linlithgow in a farewell message to the Central Advisory Board of Health on October 4, 1943, " an era of determined effort to raise the Indian standard of living ". The message was read out by the Hon'ble Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Text of message —*

" When I spoke at the inaugural meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Health in 1937 I expressed the conviction that the Board would serve a useful purpose in providing facilities for discussion of the problems of common interest affecting the health and well-being of the inhabitants of the Provinces and States in India. The reports issued

*The Hon'ble Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh said in the course of his inaugural address —

" It is my hope before the year 1944 ends to give the country a programme of agricultural development which would aim at providing nourishing food for all, a programme of health and housing aiming at improving living conditions and a programme of education aiming at equipping our whole population with knowledge It is my hope that if our people are physically fit and mentally alert, there is nothing that can prevent their taking their proper place in the comity of nations, if political and economic integrity of India is maintained."

by the Board during the past five years provide an authoritative basis for the development of health administration in many directions and show that my confidence was justified. It is largely owing to the war and certainly no fault of yours that in many cases effect has not yet been given to your recommendations. We all are anxious to see after the war an era of determined effort to raise the Indian standard of living and I have no doubt that the work of the Board will be of great assistance to provincial Governments in preparing their post war planning programmes in the public health field.

One of the main questions you have to consider at the present meeting is planning for this post war development. Health administration if it is to achieve any substantial results demands a considered programme and any attempt to deal piecemeal with the many and varied problems involved can but lead to a dissipation of effort and of financial resources I would like to emphasise again in that connection the importance of securing that as our towns expand their housing and sanitation schemes are prepared on the right lines It has been a great pleasure to me to authorise the appointment of the Central Health Survey and Development Committee which has recently been announced and I am convinced that it will produce results of the utmost value Your work in the past and your deliberations at this meeting will I know assist that Committee in its task.

I am very glad indeed to have had this opportunity before I leave India of conveying to you all my good wishes. I trust and believe that public opinion will become steadily more conscious of the imperative need to spend money and thought on planning for public health. I am sure that the Board will prove equal to its ever widening opportunities and that it will be able to continue to contribute to the solution of the vital problem of public health on which so largely depends the happiness and well being of India and of her people. Good-bye and all success to you.

62. "I WAS PROUD OF HIS FRIENDSHIP"

14, *Speech in unveiling the bust of His late Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in the Chamber of Princes Hall on October* 14, 1943 —

YOUR HIGHNESSES

In spite of the profound feelings of loss and regret which must inevitably pervade this sad prelude to our session I count myself fortunate to be afforded, in response to the kind invitation voiced on Your Highnesses behalf by your Chancellor this opportunity to pay in this Chamber which he loved so well and which has so often resounded to his eloquence one more tribute to the great personality of Maharaja Sir Ganga Singhji of Bikaner and his outstanding services to the Princely Order

The occasion when in March 1941 I had the honour to unveil the effigies of three other distinguished Princes all of whom as I then remarked, had just claims to be described as fathers of this Chamber

is still fresh in my memory. To many who were present on that occasion the thought must have occurred, as it certainly did to me, that the last of the four niches in the wall before me was inevitably reserved for the Maharaja of Bikaner, whose services to this Chamber, which His Highness the Chancellor has just recounted, were—and are perhaps likely to remain—unique and unparalleled And in all our minds that thought must have been accompanied by the hope that His Highness might yet be spared for many years and that India and the King-Emperor might count upon him at least until the war had been won But that hope was not to be fulfilled and the fourth niche is no longer empty.

The services and achievements which we are commemorating today have been so fully and feelingly reviewed by your Chancellor that it is unnecessary for me to recapitulate them. I would only associate myself with all that he has said and again express my gratitude for the opportunity to salute the memory of His late Highness not only as a great and inspiring leader but as one whose personal friendship I am proud to have enjoyed through so many years The inspiration of a great poet enables him sometimes to say in a few pregnant words some thing that an ordinary mortal could not achieve even in pages of laboured prose. And no one, I think would grudge to the late Maharaja of Bikaner the application of familiar lines which, though written centuries ago, seem to me incomparably appropriate on this sad occasion —

> 'He was a man. Take him for all in all, we shall not look upon his like again'"

63. VICEROY'S INTEREST IN NEW DELHI

Quite properly, said Lord Linlithgow in his reply to the New Delhi Municipal Committee's Farewell to him, they expected to be able to look ultimately to the Viceroy himself for special interest and encouragement They would, therefore, share his deep satisfaction that his successor was to be of "such exceptional distinction and well-proved wisdom as Lord Wavell" Text of His Excellency's reply to the address on Oct 16, 1943 — **Oct. 16, 1943**

"On Her Excellency's behalf and my own I thank you most warmly for your address by which we have been deeply touched Your city has been our home for $7\frac{1}{2}$ eventful and laborious years, years in which we have known both satisfaction and disappointment, years of sunshine and shadow, of storm and intermittently of calm, years certainly that will live in our recollection always Let me at once say how much pleasure it has given my wife and myself to receive a token of such generous appreciation from a body of such standing and distinction as yours

As you say, we have both taken a very real interest in the capital city and I for my part derive very special pleasure from your tribute to Her Excellency's work in India You have in New Delhi a permanent anti-Tuberculosis Clinic started as the result of her great

appeal. The initiative she took has led to a considerable measure of solid achievement in this vital field and I can testify to the many hours of hard labour and thought that she has devoted to this and other good causes

The interrupted schemes for developing further the amenities of the capital were dear to both of us and we shall hope after the war to read of their completion. At present as you fully recognise it is out of the question to go ahead with any building projects unless they are immediate necessities and usually they must be connected with the war effort. It is however gratifying to think that the anti malaria scheme thanks to the devoted efforts of an expert band of workers has been so very successful and has become a model for the whole world. It is good of you to recognise my own share in the inception and carrying through of this great scheme for which many thousands have daily (and nightly) reason to be thankful.

Your municipality quite properly expects to be able to look to the Government of India and ultimately to the Viceroy himself for special interest and encouragement. So you will I know share my own deep satisfaction that I should be handing over this office to a successor of such exceptional distinction and well proved wisdom as Lord Wavell. The burden on the Viceroy was always heavy and the war has made it doubly so But I know Lord Wavell, and I feel very confident that in his assistance to you over the affairs of New Delhi as in the wider sphere he will demonstrate most conclusively that His Majesty the King Emperor could not have made a sounder choice of Viceroy I am glad also to think too that you will have a friend at Court in the new Private Secretary whom I appointed as Chief Commissioner of Delhi and who is exceptionally well aware of your needs and of your difficulties.

You express anxiety about the removal after the war of the many temporary buildings which must be admitted to mar the beauty of the city As I announced in my recent speech to the houses of the legis lature it is the definite policy of the Government of India to remove those buildings as soon as possible. It is the intention that all the temporary buildings that have been constructed for use as offices and hostels etc. in the neighbourhood of the Secretariat in the Irwin Stadium near the Willingdon aerodrome in the neighbourhood of Connaught Circus and in various blocks which, under the New Delhi Development Scheme had been allotted for other purposes will be removed as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities. That removal will be a welcome sign of the outright victory which we all intend to win When the day of victory dawns and the enemies of man s progress are humbled and cast down, we shall all look forward, and I think with good reason to a brilliant future for this city Resources will be available for undertaking a great effort to raise the standard of living throughout India s territories and New Delhi will certainly gain at least indirect benefit while additional advantage will accrue from the development of air travel for which this seems likely to be an important nodal point.

Her Excellency and I will watch your progress with intense and personal interest We thank you again most warmly for coming to bid us farewell and for the very generous terms of your address We wish you all good fortune and success

Goodbye to you all "

64. FAREWELL ADVICE TO PRINCES

In his farewell address to the Chamber of Princes on October 14, 1943, Lord Linlithgow reaffirms his "faith and confidence" in the Federal ideal from the point of view equally of British India, Indian States and India as a whole. Indian unity is "wholly consistent with the survival and orderly development of the Indian States". **Oct. 14, 1943**

The Viceroy draws attention to "the great developments of recent years, profound changes, new forces, new ideas, a new attitude of mind in the international field". In the face of them, no reasonable man amongst the Princes would deny that "the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding obligations to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection".

His Excellency reviews the progress of the scheme designed to secure for the smaller States, through co-operative measures among themselves or under the aegis of larger States, a standard of administrative efficiency beyond their individual resources He deeply regrets that final decisions could not be reached during his Viceroyalty on the "scheme for safeguarding standards of administration, particularly after the period of a ruler's minority, by the application of formal constitutional methods for the transaction of State business", and on the problem as to what proportion of a State's revenue should be earmarked for the Ruler and his family and the items which should come within the scope of Civil Lists and Privy Purses

He refers to Indian States which have become "an example and an inspiration to other parts of India" and urges that it must be their object "to ensure that that shall be the case in every area"

It is the "true and legitimate function" of the Crown Representative "to awaken the indifferent to consciousness of the dangers that threaten them, to point out deficiencies, to suggest remedies, to co-ordinate individual initiatives for the benefit of all"

The Viceroy pays a glowing tribute to the Indian Princes' co-operation in the war effort In presenting a united front, the States have also most willingly and comprehensively applied to their territories the British Indian Ordinances and other arrangements devised to meet emergencies

Lord Linlithgow assures the Princes that in his successor, Lord Wavell, "the great soldier and distinguished administrator", the States would have "a wise, sagacious and sympathetic friend"

Extracts from the address .

"Let me first pay tribute to the memory of those who are no longer with us Since our last meeting, six members of the Chamber have passed away—Their Highnesses of Bikaner, Jhalawar, Ajaigarh and Jhabua, the Raja of Khilchipur and the Raja of Kurundwad

(Junior) who was a Representative Member and I have just heard with very great regret of the death of His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin whose State I had the pleasure of visiting less than two months ago and who had done so much in the short period of his rule for the good of his people.

His Highness the Chancellor will be voicing our tribute to these departed Princes. I will only add to what I have already said this morning about His Highness of Bikaner a special word of deep regret at the untimely demise of His Highness of Jhalawar a prince of exceptional promise selflessly devoted to the discharge of his high responsibilities. Rarely if ever did he fail to attend the meetings of this Chamber and his absence today leaves a gap which we all deplore.

To those who have succeeded to Rulership and membership of this Chamber I offer a most cordial welcome. To His Highness of Bikaner we confidently look to carry on the great services rendered to the Order of Princes by his illustrious father It is a pleasure too to see here today for the first time the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and Their Highnesses of Dhrangadhra, Manipur and Jhabua, and also the Rajas of Baghat and Kurundwad (Senior) and the Rao of Jigni who have been elected as Representative Members since our last meeting Nor must I omit to mention the recent admission to membership of the Raja of Shahpura the Nawab of Kurwai and the Rajas of Talcher Kalsia and Phaltan four of whom we are glad to welcome in person today

Naturally my thoughts turn first to the sphere of active operations and I would at the outset warmly thank and congratulate those of Your Highnesses who have been able to hearten and encourage the troops by personal visits to the various Fronts.

I would wish too to pay a special tribute to the invaluable assistance in the war effort that has been given by His Highness the Chancellor Not only has His Highness rendered service of great value as one of the Representatives of India at the War Cabinet, he has taken advantage of his absence from India to perform sterling service as one of the spokesmen of this great country overseas. And he has spared no pains to acquaint himself in the fullest detail with the organisation of war effort in the United Kingdom. I hope that in the course of this session we shall hear from His Highness himself some account of his experiences. But for myself I would like to add my testimony to the value of his contribution the importance of the contacts he has made the encouragement that his visit has given to the troops and to the munition workers that he has visited.

The Indian States Forces have taken full advantage of the opportunities that have come to them to win fresh distinction on the battlefield. Comparisons are rash. And such distinction is of course largely dependent upon opportunity But I would mention the gallant record of the Kashmir Mountain Battery the 1st Patiala Infantry the Jind Infantry the Jodhpur Sardar Infantry two Jaipur Battalions the Tripura Rifles and the Tehri-Garhwal and Malerkotla

Sappers and Miners Nor should I fail to record my gratitude for the manner in which the States as a whole have adopted the scheme devised to raise the standard of efficiency among the higher ranks of their Forces I realise and appreciate the difficulties that may on occasion confront Your Highnesses in these and other connected matters But I know too that you on your part will recognise that the first duty of the Military Adviser-in-Chief is to devise schemes to rectify such deficiencies as come to notice under the stress and strain of war. A new scheme for the exchange of officers, and another for providing advanced training for State units will I understand shortly be put forward I am convinced that Your Highnesses will continue to view such proposals with sympathy and realism, and that I and my successor can look for your full co-operation over them . . .

But it is not only to humble homes that the war has brought sad and untimely bereavements I spoke last year of an Heir-Apparent who had met his death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force Since then a similar blow has fallen upon two other members of this Chamber and I feel sure that Your Highnesses would wish me to tender deep sympathy and condolences to the Raja of Sangli and the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj. . . .

I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent response consistently made by the Indian States to the urgent needs of this critical time They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation thanks to their help, great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind, have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been most readily granted not only to British and Indian forces, but to the forces of our Allies , and in particular certain States, at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new science of jungle warfare

I referred in my last address to the steadily expanding scope of measures to achieve the maximum co-ordination of effort between the States and British India Instances of such co-operation could be multiplied indefinitely and there is no time to catalogue them today But I would make mention of one notable incident in which a group of hostile agents were arrested with most commendable, promptitude almost immediately after they had landed from an enemy submarine on the shores of an Indian State Further and most valuable demonstrations of this united front as between the States and Provinces, are to be found in the more prosaic but not less vital sphere of war time legislation, where States have most willingly and comprehensively applied to their territories the British Indian Ordinances and other arrangements devised to meet the various emergencies which have been constantly arising

Let me add one further instance in which the States and their subjects are making an important contribution to our resources The Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department was, up to the outbreak of war, functioning on commercial lines as a self-supporting organisation making no contribution to the general revenues of British India

Such an arrangement is of course only fair to the States who by entering as the vast majority of them have done into postal unity with British India undertook no liability to submit to indirect taxation in the form of surcharges on the normal economic rates for the transmission of letters and telegrams. The exigencies of war time finance have however compelled the Government of India following in this matter the lead of the Government of the United Kingdom to raise the postal and telegraphic rates for the express purpose of making a substantial surplus available as a contribution towards war expenditure. It was of course impracticable to confine this process to British India, and it is with deep appreciation that I learn that the States are pressing no objection to the additional financial burden which it places on themselves and on their subjects. The financial value of that burden cannot immediately be precisely computed. But given the areas and the populations affected it cannot but be substantial. And its acceptance is yet another and a most valuable voluntary contribution by the Indian States towards the prosecution of the war

The same uniform and wholehearted co-operation has been shown in regard to those grim problems of the war which have been so distressingly prominent during the current year—food cloth inflation. In our efforts to combat the food crisis we have had the benefit of full association at every stage with accredited representatives of the States. Those who have a surplus have freely placed it at our disposal. Those in deficiency have of course participated in the common resources. I could but wish that those resources had proved more adequate to their needs. I have particularly in mind the States to Travancore and Cochin which deprived of their normal supplies of Burma rice have borne a particularly heavy burden. I would like to pay a tribute both to the efforts made by the States Governments concerned with which I was able to acquaint myself at first hand during my recent visit to South India, to cope with a situation so distressing and to the patience and fortitude of the population *so sorely tried.*

In the steps that have had to be taken to remedy the shortage of cloth there is the same record of friendly helpfulness. Many important centres of the textile industry are situated in Indian States and I am deeply grateful to the States concerned for the manner in which they have placed the products of their looms at the disposal of the Central Government often at no small sacrifice to themselves.

Inflation is one of the gravest problems that faces us today It is a problem in the handling of which the States and British India are equally concerned, and in which they have a common interest. Action to combat inflation is essential for it is a threat to everyone of us and to India as a whole. I realise that anti inflationary measures present a complex problem in the case of the States having regard to the varying conditions of their fiscal arrangements and their relative backwardness in industrial development. But I know that Your Highnesses share my view that the question is one that must be resolutely tackled. And I look for valuable results from the discussions

that I myself have had with some of you on this topic, discussions which my Political Adviser is, on my behalf, continuing and developing during this week I would like to take this opportunity to make it clear beyond any question that such checks and prohibitions as it has been necessary to apply are based solely upon the present overriding need to conserve and regulate the resources of the country as a whole so that the output of essential supplies should not be curtailed or disturbed for the benefit of local or personal interests There is not, and there cannot be, any question of their being designed to stifle the birth, or the progress, of industrial development in the Indian States

Matters such as these, and others too numerous to mention, will of course come under review in connection with post-war development and reconstruction. The plans of the Central Government for dealing with that great problem are already well advanced I am glad to be able to assure Your Highnesses that they contain full provision for associating your States with its numerous ramifications, and I am glad too to think that many of your ablest Ministers are included in the various Committees that are being set up

Public opinion must inevitably take the closest interest in these activities of reconstruction I am the more grateful for the response of so many States to the advice which I offered to you at our last session in regard to the National War Front movement That movement was established when the war outlook was dark and threatening As the intervening months have passed, it has developed into a publicity organisation concerned with every aspect of public morale It is some measure of Your Highness' support of this vital work that in 15 months, 287 States have brought War Front organisations into being. That is a response of which the States have every right to be proud and, as the founder of the Movement, I congratulate Your Highnesses on it And, though the name of the War Front Movement must ultimately die, the spirit and work behind it should live For it contains tremendous potentialities for establishing means by which the good in man and in life may be more widely known and the things that are evil challenged and destroyed

Before I leave the dominating topic of the war I would add a few words of appreciation of the generosity shown by so many of Your Highnesses towards refugees from other countries whose sufferings have been immensely greater than ours In particular I have in mind your aid towards establishing a temporary refuge in India for a great number of Polish children Here again I must refer to the outstanding energy and personal interest, and to the most generous personal aid, which has been given by His Highness the Chancellor. What he has done for Polish children will long be remembered, not only by those children to whom his kindness has been so real, but by the great Polish nation I should mention also the similar settlement in the Kolhapur State where facilities have been most readily and generously provided and where the personal sympathy of Her Highness the Maharani Regent has been of the utmost value

Time presses and I have much to say on matters of even greater importance but I could not forgive myself if I failed today to thank Your Highnesses for your lavish support in two matters unconnected with the war but specially near to the hearts of Her Excellency and myself. I refer of course to my wife s Anti Tuberculosis campaign and to the activities of the All India Cattle Show Society

I cannot over-estimate my sense of the importance of the Anti Tuberculosis campaign. It is I am certain of profound significance to the future of this country And it is a very real happiness to my wife who has spared no effort for it during her time here and to myself to think that we leave India with the campaign against this scourge so firmly established. The support of the All India Cattle Show Society by more than 60 States has been continuous and invaluable. I am grateful in particular that it should have been greater even than before in this current year in spite of the other numerous demands on your resources. I feel certain that the work of the Society merits in the fullest degree the friendly co-operation of Your Highnesses and that it responds to instincts deeply rooted in every great agricultural country The fight against tuberculosis the struggle to improve India s cattle and so the condition of the peasant and the countryside are very close to the hearts of both of us and my wife and I I can assure you, will in the days after we have left India continue to take the liveliest and most vivid interest in both.

It has been suggested to me more than once that the immense aggregate importance of these States as an element in the Indian continent, and their vital concern in the solution of all Indian problems have not always been fully appreciated. I cannot believe that that can be the case or that any well informed observer can fail to realise the vast area which the Indian States occupy the size of their population their great resources the outstanding place which they hold in the history of India, and the extent to which the future of this great sub-continent must be and is of immediate and profound concern to them. But the very size and importance of the Indian States as a whole makes the problems that Your Highnesses and the Crown Representative of the day have to face the more significant.

Your Highnesses have often heard me refer both in my previous addresses to this Chamber and in other places to my own view of the significance and value of the Federal scheme which was the coping stone of the Act of 1935 There was no doubt that much could be said in point of detail against that scheme. Equally as I have said before much could have been and can be urged against any scheme that can be devised for the constitutional future of India. But just as I have always believed that the Federal scheme was the best answer that could at that time have been devised for the problems of British India equally it was, and is my sincere belief that such a scheme is the best answer from the point of view of the Indian States and from the point of view of India as a whole. Events beyond our control have necessitated changes in our plans and to some extent have altered the circumstances with which we have to deal and in which we have

to build But speaking here to Your Highnesses today for the last time I wish to reaffirm my faith and confidence in the Federal ideal, and in the contribution which the realisation with general support of that ideal, whatever adjustments might prove necessary in regard to particular aspects of it, would make to Indian unity and to the constitutional future of India.

And when I speak of unity I need not emphasise to Your Highnesses the importance of all of us standing together in the conditions of the modern world It is very difficult for units, however large; whatever their form of Government, whatever their resources, to exist save in relation to, and as part of a larger whole The bonds that link units one to another may be light as gossamer. But they exist. they are there. and their strength and their significance cannot be denied. If that is true of a continent as large as Europe, it is true, I am certain, equally of this great sub-continent of India, and inside that sub-continent it holds good equally especially when common interests are so largely involved, of the Indian States That that unity is wholly consistent with the survival and the orderly development of the Indian States, that the Indian States with their distinguished history, with their special relations with the Crown so fully recognised, based as they are on treaties, sanads, and engagements, with their long tradition, can make a great and useful contribution to India's future I never have doubted, and I do not doubt today It must be our business to see in what way that contribution can best be made, and what best can be its character.

I spoke just now of survival accompanied by development The juxtaposition of these two words is of deep and vital significance, as I know that Your Highnesses fully realise. There have been great developments of recent years, profound changes, new forces, new ideas, a new attitude of mind in the international field All these facts have to be taken into account. And in the face of them you and I, who have to live in the world of today, must think and act realistically It would be an injustice to Your Highnesses were I to assume that any reasonable man amongst you would deny that the Crown's obligations to protect carry with them equally binding responsibilities to ensure, if need be, that what is protected continues to be worthy of protection On the contrary I am glad to think that that most important proposition is widely accepted among you I can claim during the period of my Viceroyalty to have spared no effort to assist Your Highnesses to give effect to the principles that underlie it And I should indeed have regarded it not only as a dereliction of my duty but as a grave disservice to the Princely Order had I in the least degree relaxed my efforts to do so

When I last addressed this Chamber I referred to three particular directions towards which those efforts were, in consultation and co-operation with Your Highnesses, being exerted

I spoke firstly of the decisive necessity in regard to the smaller States of some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency which is beyond their individual resources

That progress has since continued with encouraging results—particularly in Eastern India from which area I am glad to see so many Rulers present today I congratulate them on what they have been able to achieve and I look forward with confidence to its consolidation and extension In other areas too progress has been made and new ideas are afoot. But I have become increasingly conscious of the difficulties which arise not so much from any lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Rulers concerned as from the nature of the foundations on which they have to build I devoutly wish that these difficulties could before my departure from India have been surmounted by the formulation and application of general principles acceptable to all concerned. But in matters so delicate undue haste might well have defeated the object in view I have had to content myself therefore with giving instructions that the progress hitherto achieved and the difficulties thereby revealed shall within the next few weeks be systematically reviewed and considered by my advisers so that thereafter so soon as can conveniently be arranged, my successor may be able to initiate discussions either with the Standing Committee or with selected *representatives of the category of States principally concerned*, from which discussions a clear plan of action may emerge. I appeal most earnestly to Your Highnesses to co-operate whole-heartedly in these processes. For I regard them and I cannot emphasise this too strongly as being literally of vital importance for the vast majority of you.

Your Highnesses will realise that measures such as these to which I now refer involving as they do a certain measure of sacrifice on the part of those small units to which I have mentioned do at the same time represent a most valuable contribution to the improvement of administration and to the removal of criticism consistently with the survival and development by means of co-operation among themselves or under the *ægis of larger States of the smaller States* affected. The sacrifices involved, as I have observed to Your Highnesses on previous occasions are an inevitable accompaniment of the co-operative method. But I feel no shadow of doubt that they are justified in terms of the benefits involved whether we test those benefits by the improvement of the standard of administrative services and amenities or by wider political considerations. A heavy obligation rests upon us all. And that obligation makes it difficult—and I am certain that Your Highnesses agree with me—to view with equanimity conditions in which owing to the smallness of the area or of the resources of individual States it may be impossible to secure the application of modern standards of justice or of administration to the inhabitants of the area concerned.

I would add that the line of argument which I have been following in regard to small States is no less applicable to the Jagirs and *Thikanas* which though forming an integral part of certain States still maintain some semblance of jurisdictional and administrative machinery Let me make it clear beyond any question that the times are no longer propitious for Jagirdars and Thakurs who seek to assert or perpetuate a semi-independence wholly incompatible with their limited resources

and so, inevitably harmful to the interests of the inhabitants of the areas concerned

I spoke also at the last session of this Chamber of a scheme for safeguarding standards of administration, particularly after the period of a Ruler's minority by the application of formal constitutional methods for the transaction of State business I referred too to the difficult and delicate problem of determining what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be ear-marked for the use of the Ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of Civil Lists and Privy Purses Here again I am denied the satisfaction of seeing final decisions reached during the period of my Viceroyalty. I deeply regret that that should be the case For the issue is one of prime importance And it is one in which close and critical interest is taken not only in India, but far outside the borders of this country I do therefore sincerely trust that in regard to it an early solution, and one that may command general commendation not only in this country but outside, may be forthcoming The recent discussions between representative Princes and my advisers have been of real value, and I confidently hope that they will shortly yield those solid and generally acceptable results to which I have just referred

I would like to take this occasion to say how much as Crown Representative I value the advice and the frank expression of the views of representative Princes in matters such as this For the decisions that have to be taken by the Crown Representative are often grave ones, and he will, I am sure, at all times be anxious to be assured, before he reaches a conclusion that he is fully cognisant of the views of the Princely Order on matters so directly concerning members of that Order, and of the considerations that weigh with them

Your Highnesses will realise, as I do, that the problems that face you today are far from simple, and that there lies ahead a period in which problems more difficult still may have to be confronted. If the best interests of the States, the best interests of India, are to be safeguarded, we must be at pains to face the facts and be willing, even at the cost of sacrifice, to make such adjustments as the turn of world events makes necessary I know from my own extensive journeyings among the States to what an extent certain Indian States have become an example and an inspiration to other parts of India It must be our object to ensure that that shall be the case in every area And, indeed, it is essential in the interests of the States and in the interests of their survival that they should not fall below modern standards of administration in any way I need not assure Your Highnesses as I talk of those difficult and delicate matters that to the extent that I, or my representatives on my instructions, have had to take a particular line in regard to co-operative measures and the like, I have been concerned solely—and it is the true and legitimate function in this sphere of the Crown Representative—to awaken the indifferent to consciousness of the dangers that threaten them, to point out deficiencies, to suggest remedies, to co-ordinate individual initiatives

for the benefit of all. But you may be certain that at all times the underlying consideration that has governed any decisions that I have had to take and that will, I am sure govern such decisions as may fall to be taken by my successors is that the Indian States shall fit themselves to play that great and positive part in the development of India as a whole which their importance and their history justifies and that it is to the interest of the Princely Order that such weaknesses as may today exist whether in administration or organisation shall be eliminated with the minimum of delay

I would not like to conclude my observations today without again thanking Your Highnesses and the Princely Order for the invaluable help that you have given to the war effort, and without thanking you too for the help that I have had in the efforts I have made while I have been Viceroy to further the modernization of administration in the States and for the help you have given me on so very many critical issues directly affecting the well-being and the future of your States. These are testing times—all of us realise that. But Your Highnesses represent great and distinguished traditions and the Indian States do as a whole represent a great potentiality for good in the times that lie before us. On the eve therefore of my laying down the great office which I have had the honour to hold I appeal to Your Highnesses here today and through you to the Princely Order and to all who exercise authority and influence in the Indian States to see to it that the splendid opportunity lying before the Rulers of those States is not missed, and to ensure that advantage is taken of it with such vigour and foresight with such judicious blending of old and new with such subordination of narrow personal and local interests to true patriotism that the future of India—of the Indian States in close collaboration with British India—may be ensured, and that future generations may remember with gratitude the part played by the leaders of Princely India in securing the stability of that common and glorious inheritance.

When next this Chamber meets it will be under the Chairmanship of the great soldier and distinguished administrator who is now about to succeed me as Viceroy Lord Wavell s wide range of knowledge and experience the interest that he has always taken in the Indian States are well known to Your Highnesses and in the difficulties and the problems that have to be faced by the Indian States, I know that in him the States will have a wise sagacious and sympathetic friend. And now before I close my address let me thank you all once again and that most warmly and sincerely for all the help and the constant and generous support that you have given to me in the 7½ years during which I have had the honour to preside over the deliberations of Your Highnesses and to represent the Crown in its dealings with the Indian States and the Princely Order

PART IV

CONTACT WITH PARTY LEADERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

1. VICEROY MAKES MR. GANDHI'S PERSONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Perhaps for the first time in the history of British Indian Government a Viceroy took the initiative and invited a party leader to meet him when about the middle of 1937 Lord Linlithgow intimated to Mr Gandhi that he would welcome an opportunity of meeting him and was " anxious to make his personal acquaintance ". This was after Congressmen had formed Ministries in six out of the eleven autonomous Indian provinces as a result of the general elections of the year

In his broadcast immediately after taking the Oaths of Allegiance and of Office on April 18, 1936, Lord Linlithgow had declared that the working of representative Government, amongst other things, required that he should as far as practicable be in touch with the leaders of all political parties as well as with the trend of opinion in the electorates. He was anxious at the same time that it should be understood that when he granted an interview to a party leader, it did not indicate that he favoured the leader or the party. " This rule and convention ", he added, " is well understood in Great Britain as between the Crown and political leaders in that country "

I.

Text of the communique on Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy on August 4, 1937 *

His Excellency the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr M K Gandhi on the 4th of August

The interview was in response to a letter addressed by His Excellency during his recent tour to Assam to Mr Gandhi, in which the Viceroy intimated that he would welcome the opportunity of meeting Mr Gandhi if the latter was able to come to see him at Delhi on his return journey, that he had no public business to discuss, but was anxious to make his personal acquaintance, and trusted, therefore, that it would be convenient to Mr Gandhi to accept his invitation

* Lord Linlithgow saw Mr Jinnah on Sept 4, 1937

Mr Gandhi in reply informed the Viceroy that he had already been intending to ask His Excellency to grant him an interview to discuss the ban on the entry of Khan Sahib Abdul Ghaffar Khan into the North West Frontier Province and his own entry into that Province since while there was no bar against his visiting the North West Frontier Province he had not intended to do so without the approval of the authorities The interview with the Viceroy would in these circumstances be doubly welcome and Mr Gandhi assumed that His Excellency would see no objection to discussing these matters

The Viceroy listened with interest to Mr Gandhi s views on the matters in question and undertook to communicate them to the Governor of the North West Frontier Province. The interview otherwise was entirely general and personal in character the principal subject of discussion being rural uplift and the improvement of the condition of the peasantry

II

Text of the communique on Mr Gandhi s interview with the Viceroy on April 15 1938

Towards the end of March His Excellency the Viceroy wrote to Mr Gandhi to say that it would give him pleasure to renew their acquaintance before His Excellency moved to Simla, and to suggest that it might be convenient for Mr Gandhi to pay him a visit if he could pass through Delhi on his way from Calcutta.

His Excellency added that he had no special business to discuss with Mr Gandhi but would welcome an opportunity of seeing him again

Mr Gandhi replied that he had pleasure in accepting His Excellency s invitation, and the interview took place on April 15

The meeting which was of a very cordial character dealt with general topics and lasted about 1½ hours

2. JOINT MEETING WITH PARTY LEADERS

Following his announcement of October 18 1939, Lord Linlithgow proceeded to explore the means of giving effect to the proposals He discussed the position with Mr Gandhi and the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League jointly on November 1 He suggested that they might enter upon discussions between themselves in order to reach a basis of agreement in the provincial field and thereafter let His Excellency have proposals for participation of representatives of the two parties in the Central Government as members of his Executive Council He added that it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of differences in the provinces

Text of the correspondence between His Excellency and the party leaders which was published along with Lord Linlithgow's statement of November 5 (page 211) —

I

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr M K Gandhi, Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian National Congress, and Mr M A. Jinnah, M L.A , President, All-India Muslim League, dated The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, 2nd November 1939

You will remember that I agreed during our conversation yesterday to let you have in concrete form the proposition which I put to you and the other gentlemen who were present at the meeting, emphasising that I did so with a genuine desire to help, a desire fully shared by His Majesty's Government

2. The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider, as leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the Provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organisations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre

3 I added, in regard to any arrangement at the Centre,—

First, that one would hope that it might be found practicable to include also one or possibly more representatives of other important groups, and that that was a question on which I should value your advice when we came to grapple with the details

Secondly, that the arrangement which I invited you to consider for the Centre would be an *ad hoc* arrangement for the period of the war, and quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war , and I mentioned that on that last point my declaration had set out the position of His Majesty's Government I attach a copy of the extracts from that declaration which I brought to the notice of the meeting yesterday

Thirdly, that the position of anyone appointed to my Executive Council as a member of a political party would be identical, in privileges and in obligations, with that of the existing members of my Council and

Fourthly, that the arrangement would be within the general scheme of the existing law It would be admittedly and inevitably a makeshift arrangement for the duration of the campaign I brought out that what was required now, if we could get a workable scheme together, was to put it into operation with as little delay as possible

pending the more general review of the whole constitutional position which His Majesty's Government have expressed their readiness to undertake after the conclusion of hostilities.

4. I think the above makes the position clear Let me in conclusion repeat that as I said yesterday I am at any time at your disposal or that of the other gentlemen who attended our meeting, whether jointly or singly to give any assistance in my power in reaching conclusions on these most important matters. I feel certain as I said yesterday that the suggestions I have put to you reflecting as they do very real and substantial evidence of the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to reach a complete understanding will receive full and sympathetic consideration from you

[Enclosure.]

Extracts from the Viceroy's Declaration of 18th October 1939

His Majesty's Government recognise that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorised now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities parties and interests, in India, and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable.

I added—

I have I trust in what I have just said made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor-General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear too that it will be their object as at all times in the past it has been to spare no pains to further agreement by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal.'

I remarked finally speaking of the demands of the minorities for an assurance that full weight would be given to their views and interests—

It is unthinkable that we should now proceed to plan afresh or to modify in any respect any important part of India's future constitution without again taking counsel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament

II

Reply dated Birla House, New Delhi, November 3, 1939, from Dr Rajendra Prasad, President, Indian National Congress, to His Excellency's letter dated The Viceroy's House, New Delhi, November 2, 1939 —

I thank you for your letter of November 2nd, embodying in concrete form the proposition which you had placed before us when we saw you on November 1st. My colleagues and I have given our earnest consideration to it We have had also the advantage of full talks with Mr M A Jinnah. But we find ourselves unable to vary the answer we gave you during the interview

At the outset I would like to say that both Gandhiji and I missed at the interview any reference to the main and moral issue raised by the Congress about clarification of war aims without which it was impossible for the Congress to consider any subsidiary proposal

The present crisis has arisen owing to the outbreak of the war in Europe and the action of the British Government in declaring India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people. This crisis is entirely political and is not related to the communal issue in India It raises vital questions in regard to the war aims of the British Government and the position of India in relation to them. The Congress Working Committee, as you are aware, issued a lengthy statement on September 14th, 1939, in which they invited the British Government to declare these war aims and, in particular, how these aims were going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present It was further stated that the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own constitution through a Constituent Assembly, without external interference, and should guide their own policy On the 10th of October, 1939, the All-India Congress Committee approved of and endorsed this statement, and stated that in the declaration to be made by the British Government, India must be declared an independent nation and present application should be given to this status to the largest possible extent. The Committee further added that Indian freedom must be based on democracy and unity and the full recognition and protection of the rights of all minorities

Subsequent to this, the policy of the British Government was declared in the Viceregal statement, extracts from which you have been good enough to send me This statement was considered by the Congress Working Committee soon after and the Committee expressed their opinion that it was unfortunate and wholly unsatisfactory As a consequence of this, they felt compelled to declare that they were unable to give any support to Great Britain and to call upon the Provincial Governments, in provinces where the Congress is in a majority, to tender their resignations

It is worthy of note that the Viceregal declaration of British policy met with disapproval of the overwhelming body of opinion in India, even outside the Congress

Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government in Parliament have not made any essential difference to the policy

outlined in the Viceregal statement, and as you have rightly pointed out that policy is still governed by the extracts from it that you have kindly sent us. I am afraid it is quite impossible for us to accept this policy or to consider any steps to further co-operation unless the policy of the British Government is made clear in a declaration on the lines suggested by the Congress.

It has pained us to find the communal question being dragged in in this connection It has clouded the main issue. It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Congress that it is our earnest desire to settle all points of communal controversy by agreement and we propose to continue our efforts to this end. But I would point out that this question does not in any respect come in the way of a declaration of Indian freedom as suggested above. Such a declaration applies to the whole of India and not to any particular community and the Constituent Assembly which will frame India s constitution will be formed on the widest possible basis of franchise and by agreement in regard to communal representation. We are all agreed that there must be full protection of minority rights and interests and this protection should be by agreement between the parties concerned. The British Government taking or sharing the burden has in our opinion made a settlement of the question much more difficult than it should have been It should allay all real anxiety on the part of the British Government when the Congress declares that it contemplates no constitution which does not carry with it the protection of real minorities to their satisfaction

It seems to us that a clear declaration of the kind suggested is an essential preliminary to any further consideration of the matter I should like to add that recent developments in the European war have made it all the more necessary for a clear enunciation of war aims If a satisfactory declaration is made a discussion of the proposal made by Your Excellency will be appropriate and useful and we shall gladly discuss it with you.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that Gandhiji is in full agreement with this letter We propose to leave tomorrow evening for Wardha unless Your Excellency desires otherwise.

III

Letter dated November 4 1939 from Mr M A Jinnah M.L.A President All India Muslim League in reply to His Excellency the Viceroy s letter of November 2 1939 —

With reference to the joint interview which Mr Gandhi Dr Rajendra Prasad President of the Congress and myself had with you on the 1st of November and in reply to your letter dated the 2nd of November I beg to inform you that I understood that the Congress leaders and myself were to consider the proposals of Your Excellency namely—to quote from Your Excellency's letter— The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider as



The Viceroy examines an old soldier's medals during a visit to Chawla village near Delhi

leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves in the Provincial field consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as Members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgment it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces such as to make it possible for my visitors, and the organizations which they represented, to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre ", without prejudice to the resolution of the Muslim League of the 22nd of October stating that the Declaration of Your Excellency on behalf of His Majesty's Government was not satisfactory and required further clarification and assurances and also without prejudice to the demand of the Congress for a Declaration as adumbrated in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the 10th of October 1939

In consequence I met the leaders of the Congress and I was informed by them finally that they had come to the conclusion that they could not discuss any questions with regard to matters referred to in your letter of the 2nd instant relating to the Provincial field or "at the Centre" until the British Government had complied with their demand as embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, hence these two questions were not further discussed.

3. THE MUSLIM LEAGUE POSITION

Letter from Mr Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, dated New Delhi, November 5, 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW,—I wish to thank you for giving me the interview on the 4th of November as you had promised in your letter of the 28th October, wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League of the 22nd of October

In my interview with you on the 4th of November the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply

(1) That so soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo*,

(2) That no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government

or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, *viz* the Mussalmans and the Hindus

(3) That His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine

(4) That the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country

I have already in my interview fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above what is indicated in the statement of the 18th of September and the resolution of the 22nd of October of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency

There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of the 18th of September *viz* the question of securing justice and fairplay to the Mussalmans in the Congress-governed provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessly trampled upon but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present.

May I inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning ?

Yours sincerely
M. A. JINNAH.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr Jinnah dated New Delhi November 7 1939.

DEAR MR. JINNAH—Many thanks for your letter of the 5th November I fully appreciate the importance of the points which you raise and I will not fail to let you have as early a reply as practicable

Yours sincerely
LINLITHGOW

Letter from Mr Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow dated Bombay November 18 1939

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW—Thank you for your letter of the 7th November 1939. Since the receipt of your letter I have been pressed with inquiries from different parts of the country as to how and where we stand. Would you, therefore mind if I were to publish my letter to Your Excellency dated the 5th November and your letter under reply ?

Yours sincerely
M. A. JINNAH.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Viceroy's Camp, November 26/27, 1939.

DEAR MR JINNAH,—Thank you for your letter of the 18th November. I quite understand your anxiety to publish your letter to me of the 5th November and my acknowledgment of it I should welcome it if you could postpone publication for, say, another ten days, as I am anxious that the interval between publication by you and my reply (which naturally must take some little time to prepare as I have to consult His Majesty's Government) should be as short as possible. But if you feel that it is essential for you to publish without waiting so long, I can raise no objection, though I would ask you to be kind enough to let me know in advance the date you contemplate.

Yours sincerely,

LINLITHGOW

Telegram from Mr Jinnah, Bombay, to Lord Linlithgow, New Delhi, dated November 29, 1939.

Hope my letter of 18th has reached Your Excellency. Am waiting for reply as soon as possible.

Telegram from Viceroy, dated November 29, 1939, *to Mr. Jinnah, Bombay*

Many thanks for your telegram of today. I hope you will by now have received my letter of the 27th November posted from Bahawalpur —VICEROY.

Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. Jinnah, dated Calcutta, December 23, 1939

Dear MR JINNAH,—I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5, in which you submitted certain points for my consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will none the less serve to remove your difficulties

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October 18 last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based

3 With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be underrated

4. In framing their policy for Palestine His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

5 Finally you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power You will appreciate, however that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter which would have the effect of limiting India's right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be foreseen in the present situation however as you are aware every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

Yours sincerely
LINLITHGOW

League Committee's Resolution of Feb. 3, 1940

Letter from Mr Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow dated New Delhi February 6 1940

DEAR LORD LINLITHGOW —I am herewith sending a copy of the Working Committee's resolution passed on the 3rd of February 1940 regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely
M. A. JINNAH.

The following is the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League dated February 3rd —

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr Jinnah the President and His Excellency the Viceroy ending with his final reply dated 23rd December 1939 The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory as certain important points still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee therefore empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated 18th September and 22nd October 1939 and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.

Letter from Mr Jinnah to H.E the Viceroy dated February 23 1940

The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency with the approval

of His Majesty's Government, on October 18, 1939, does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards the second point the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made for a definite assurance has not been met, *viz*, that no declaration should, either in principle or, otherwise, be made or any constitution be enforced by His Majesty's Government or enacted by Parliament without the approval and consent of the Mussalmans of India We recognise Your Excellency's assurance when you state that 'His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional development in India You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily give their views will be underrated.' But, I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the ninety million Mussalmans of India only in the region of consultation and counsel, and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain, to determine the fate and future of Muslim India We regret that we cannot accept this position

As to the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands and they continue to be fully alive to that issue But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay

With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim Power or country, the Committee feel that Your Excellency has misunderstood the position When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim Power or country, it was not intended that they shall not be used for the defence of the country in case of an attack on or aggression against India While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government, at the instance of the Government of India, to insure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected, we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

It is required of the Muslim League to give assurance of the whole-hearted co-operation and active support on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war The Committee are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Mussalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently, we do not consider it unreasonable on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitments will be made with regard

to the future constitution of India or any interim settlement with any other party without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat with the leadership of the Mussalmans as a responsible body then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire unjustly to harm any community The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India s constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Mussalmans but may be disastrous for them.

As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops our demands as explained by me above cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details but if Your Excellency so desires I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller detail at an early date.

THE VICEROY S REPLY

Mr Jinnah was granted an interview by the Viceroy on March 13 and on April 19 His Excellency wrote with reference to Mr Jinnah s letter of February 23 1940

I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expects anything further from me in regard to the first and the third of your points—the scope of the re-examination of the constitutional position to follow the war and policy in Palestine.

You ask, however for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim Powers or countries, while explaining as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. I presume that you do not expect a guarantee which it would obviously be impossible to give binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee. But you need have no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration under lying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately however so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim Powers to some of whom indeed they are bound by alliance while with the rest they are on terms of most cordial friendship

You represent that your second point was not felt by the Work ing Committee to be adequately met by the terms of my letter You have no doubt noticed the passage in the Secretary of State s speech in the House of Lords on April 18 in which he used these words

But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking

given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation Admittedly, a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen is to become a reality, for I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly'

This statement, I am sure you will agree, has removed any possible doubts on this point.

League Committee's Resolution of June 16, 1940.

The next development was a letter from Mr Jinnah enclosing a copy of the Working Committee's resolution of June 16, 1940 This resolution read as follows.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, while being of the opinion that the further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated April 19, 1940, with regard to the assurances asked for by the All-India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr M A Jinnah, on May 27 "Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war

The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for and, in particular, that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent

Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law

But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress

A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word

With regard to Mr Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—there are

many ways of doing so—and as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation. And we shall not fail.

The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee therefore authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India.

The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all India basis—and not province-wise—between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved. The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country the real purpose will not be served by the Mussalmans and others merely joining the proposed provincial and district war committees with their present scope and functions.

The Viceroy suggested a meeting with Mr Jinnah on June 27

On July 1 Mr Jinnah sent to Mr J G Laithwaite Private Secretary to the Viceroy "a rough note of the points I discussed with him on June 27 in the course of an interview" This was as follows —

That no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would in any way militate against the basis and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore resolution for division of India and creating Muslim States in the north west and eastern zones and it may be stated that that ideal now has become the universal faith of Muslim India.

That His Majesty's Government must give definite and categorical assurance to the Mussalmans of India that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India.

In view of the rapid developments in Europe and the grave danger that is facing India, it is fully realised that everything should be done that is possible to intensify war efforts and mobilise all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquillity, and to ward off external aggression But this can only be achieved provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the provinces In other words, Muslim India leadership must be fully trusted as equals, and have an equal share in the authority and control of the Governments, Central and provincial.

Provisionally, and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with an equal share in the authority of the Government.

(A) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged, within the framework of the present constitution and existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussions. but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Mussalmans in that case

(B) In the provinces where Section 93 has to operate non-official advisers should be appointed, the number to be fixed after further discussion, and the majority of the non-official advisers should be the representatives of Mussalmans and, where the provinces can be run by a combination of parties or a coalition, naturally it would be for the parties concerned to adjust matters by agreement among themselves

(C) There should be a war council consisting of no less than fifteen members, including the president, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy I don't like the expression 'war consultative committee' This council should regularly meet to deal with, and review, the general situation as it may develop from time to time, and advice the Government with regard to matters in connection with the prosecution of the war generally, and in particular, the fullest development of the defence possible, and finance, and to make a thorough economic and industrial drive In this body it will not be difficult to secure the representation and full co-operation of the Indian Princes and, as far as I can judge, they would have no difficulty in joining it It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured Here again, the representation of Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

Finally, the representatives of the Mussalmans on the proposed war council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the additional non-official advisers of the Governors should be chosen by the Muslim League

In a letter dated July 6 1940 the Viceroy said that in the above letter certain of the points taken suggest that there may be some slight misapprehension which you will I think agree that it would be desirable that I should clear without delay

As regards my expansion of the Executive Council this would, as you rightly observe in your memorandum be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words any Council so expanded would co-operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation there are parties other than either Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion and there is a very definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion At the same time I readily accept the importance in the event of any expansion of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind.

There is however as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General-in Council as a whole. Again it will be clear that under the existing law and practice it must remain with the Secretary of State in consultation with the Governor-General to decide upon such names as we may submit to His Majesty the King for inclusion in the Governor-General's Executive Council and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties however important though it may of course be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would, in all cases do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community

I need not remind you that under law the whole responsibility for the Government in Section 93 provinces vests exclusively in the Governor although a Governor can of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether and if so at what point and in what strength non-official advisers from political parties should be appointed in provinces under Section 93 administration in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General s Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of the circumstances of each province. You will I think agree with me also that the importance of the community from which advisers are drawn in a particular province has a direct bearing

Your idea for a war council is in my view well worth while considering though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or Congress.

As regards section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as non-official advisers to rest with the Muslim League

holders under the Bettiah Estate, especially *Biritdars*. In a very large number of cases the estate had not been realizing cess from these tenures, but it claimed that we should record the cess as payable. In such cases the superior landlord must prove that he included the rent free tenancies in the assets of the estate of the last valuation. If he has not done so, he is not entitled to recover cess. The staff of the Estate were allowed to produce plain paper copies of the valuation rolls with the Collector's permission, and were allowed to show that notices under section 51 of the Cess Act had been served on the rent free tenure-holders. Where the Estate could prove the inclusion of the tenants' assessment at the last valuation and service of notices upon the tenure-holders, the cess was recorded as payable by the latter, even though it had never been realized. It is to be remembered, of course, that rents from tenures of which the annual value is less than Rs. 5, and which have been amalgamated for the purposes of valuation with the estate, are exempt from cess.

112. When the revision operations commenced the district was due for a revaluation of the cess, and the question of carrying out this in conjunction with the settlement operations was considered. As proposals had already been submitted for the amendment of Chapter II (A) of the Cess Act, and as this Chapter had been found very cumbersome and practically unworkable, it was decided to postpone the revaluation until the settlement was finished. This decision has had the additional and important advantage of giving us ready to hand a complete record of the enhanced assets of the district at the present day. Steps, however, were taken during attestation to collect materials. So far as lands held on cash rents or the cash equivalent of produce rents are concerned, no information beyond the record is needed. To supplement this, however, and to complete the assets for assessment we require—

Revaluation.

(1) some estimate of the average annual outturn of the land held on produce rent ;

(2) an estimate of the annual value of *zirat* and *bakasht* land, or lands liable to assessment ;

(3) a statement of the annual profit accruing to the landlords from *sairat*, *hats*, rights in trees, etc.

With this object three schedules were prepared and attached to the record of each village in the following forms :—

Schedule I.

Thana   Village   Thana No.

	Average rate of cash or cash equivalent of produce rent per bigha.				Average outturn of crop in pakka Maunds per bigha.				
	Dhanhar.		Bhit.		Dhanhar.		Bhit.		
Tauzi No.	Irrigated.	Non-irrigated.	Irrigated.	Non-irrigated.	Irrigated.	Non-irrigated.	Irrigated.	Non-irrigated.	Remarks.

Schedule II.

Name of Mauza.......... Tauzi Number ....

Thana No............ Separate Account No.........

Name of Thana .... Khewat No ....

Serial No	Kind of income	Area.	Number	Annual value.	Remarks
	Sair				
	(Salt, bones, etc)				
	Mutar'a				
	Kathiari				
	Hat				
	Mela				
	Mines				
	Orchard				
	Timber grove				
	Jangal				
	Jhalkar				
	Bankar				
	Grazing fees				
	Ahars				
	Pokhars				
	Jhils				

Schedule III

Name of tree	Annual value	Remarks
Am		
Mahua		
Kathal		
Jamun		
Tar		
Khajur		
Imli		
Lichi		
Banskothi		

In Schedule I will be found a statement of the average incidence of cash rents, which cannot in practice be separately specified for different classes of soil The Revaluation Officer, for information on this subject, will, of course

consult the *Goshwara*, which gives accurate averages. The Schedule also shows an estimate of the average outturn of rice land and upland. The estimate is arrived at by the Attestation Officer after considering the statement of landlords and tenants and results of crop experiments. The oral testimony was usually worthless, as landlords' representatives overstated, and the *raiyats* understated the produce. In Schedule II will be found a statement of the actual income derived by the landlords from miscellaneous sources. In Schedule III the Attestation Officer, after general enquiries for each tract, makes an estimate of the annual income derivable from the chief fruit bearing trees, and these values can be applied to the numbers of trees actually given in the record.

It is to be hoped that the information compiled will be of use to the Revaluation Officer, though it cannot claim to be complete. It is estimated that from the great increase in assets since the time of the last settlement the revaluation operations ought to raise the local cess and the income of the District Board by at least Rs. 50,000 per annum.

The identity of Revenue-paying Estates.

113. The identity of estates is not a matter of great difficulty in Champaran, in which Estates are few, but nevertheless the existence of discrepant maps and Records may give rise to difficulties in future. The question is of importance where one village contains several *Tauzis*, or parts of several *Tauzis*. It may be said at once that in such cases the Revenue Survey is altogether worthless, as it neither identified estates within mauzas, nor had any precise idea as to the definition of an estate. The *thakbast* maps which preceded revenue survey are equally worthless, because they are not to any scale, and are not identifiable with any now existing marks in a district that has changed so much within the last 60 years. We are confronted then with the fact that although estates have been borne on the Collectorate register for more than 100 years they were never identified, except in those cases where Judicial partitions were effected on the basis of maps, until the last settlement. For all practical purposes then the last settlement record is the first authentic account of unpartitioned estates. The practical question with which we were confronted in the Champaran operations was whether the present possession should in all cases be slavishly followed in the preparation of proprietary records, even when this possession was not in accordance with the record of the last settlement. If the two sets of maps and records prepared under Chapter X of the Bengal Tenancy Act do not agree with reference to the identity of Estates we are likely to encounter serious difficulties in subsequent proceedings, relating either to Revenue or to title, or both, as we have two discrepant lines of evidence, each having a statutory presumption of correctness attaching to it. It was decided that, except in cases where the old record was proved or admitted to be wrong, and cases in which partitions had been since effected of lands formerly held jointly by two or more estates, the exact identity of the estates as recorded and mapped in the last operations should be preserved, and that possession should be correctly shown within the tauzis thus identified. In Champaran where a proprietor of Tauzi A was found to have encroached into Tauzi B, the encroached area was preserved in Tauzi B and the proprietor of A was shown under B as a tenure-holder liable to rent. Apart from the general question of the preservation of estates the correctness of this method of entry is open to question, and further consideration of the matter in the Saran operations led to the entry of such encroaching parties in the proprietary khewat of the correct tauzis. It is argued that these entries will create disputes and litigation, and that as a matter of public policy it would be better to record estates exactly as they are found. In view however of the universal tendency of the parties to accept, and to abide by, the old record in all such matters I do not think that this criticism has much real force, and in any case it is very undesirable to accentuate such doubts as may exist as to the identity of estates.

Revenue free Estates and Rent-free tenures and holdings

114. Care has been taken to prevent the increase of revenue-free estates and rent-free tenures, and for each village after attestation a statement was prepared in which the areas of each such estate and tenancy at the last settlement and in the present operations were compared, and all differnces, especially increases, were carefully investigated. Thus it is

[illegible] ndeavoured to extend the [illegible] ls which they held also. [illegible] brought to the notice of [illegible] y. Thus time was saved. [illegible]

[illegible] the Bettiah Estate properly made claims under the latter head. As a matter of [illegible] an equivalent area of the new lands rent [illegible], on condition of their not subsequently claiming the latter on its reformation. The estate merely wishes to prevent increases of rent free area, and can afford to be-generous to this extent to its ancient tenure-holders. The difficulty of the *britdar's* position in *Diara* areas is that when his original tenancy diluviates he is unable to identify it subse- [illegible] om the river, it is usually settled as rent-paying [illegible] Thus the *britdar* has no opportunity except [illegible] ever claiming his tenancy again. I quite [illegible] laiming the lands now held as liable to assessment, but I also think that as a matter of policy and fairness it would be well to replace such genuine *brits* as have been lost.

Missing Estates

115. In the original operations in North Bihar it was found that a considerable number of the estates, though entered in Register D, were not identified on the ground, and could not be located either from the Settlement Records or from the *mauzawar* register C. Although, from the limited number of estates in the district, the subject was of less importance in Champaran than elsewhere, the Collector was asked in December 1914 to furnish a statement of such estates as were not identified. Thirteen estates were listed, and investigations were made in regard to them during the operations. Seven of the estates belong to the Bettiah Estate, and the Estate Office was able to give considerable help in regard to these. For the others the registered proprietors were summoned and questioned, and such information as was available in the Collectorate was scrutinized. The following table will show the result of the investigations:—

Tauzi No.	Name of Mahal.	Identified as	Thana.	Thana No.	Remarks.
103	Gardahia ...	Mauza Gardahia ...	Bettiah ..	397	Under water at last Settlement
618	Madhopur Babuarwa.	Madhopur urf Dand.tala.	Motihari ..	40	Wrongly recorded under Tauzi No 614 in last Settlement.
665	Mathia				
670	Mathia Erazi	Mauza Mathia ...	Bettiah ...	141	The 3 Tauzis though in this village could not be identified separately.
678	Manjalkarwake Mathia				
660	Machhaha Talke Tengrahia	Mauza Rampur Tengrahia	Gopalganj district Saran	601	
631	Barwa .	Mauza Barwa ..	Shikarpur ...	340	
1014	Char Pucharia ...	Mauza Pucharia	Gobindganj ..	193	A. T. S. Estate relinquished to Bettiah Estate under Board's order No. 7644, dated the 10th December 1905. Alluvial.
631	Madhopur ...	Mauza Madhopur Kousal.	Madhuban	174	
515	Sariaria	Mauza Sariaria ...	Gobindganj ...	171	
640	Majra Chandi Asthan.	Mauza Sangrampur	Gobindganj ..		
918	Shahpur ...	Mauza Chakia ...	Gobindganj	...	Wrongly amalgamated with Tauzi No. 836 in last Settlement.
1197	Diara char Pucharia	...	Gobindganj ...	...	Not now borne on the Revenue Roll or Tauzi Ledger.

With regard to Tauzi No. 1197 the recorded proprietor states that he has been dispossessed by the Bettiah Estate, the land being included within Tauzi No. 886. The estate is not borne on the Tauzi Ledger of the Collectorate, and a further enquiry should be made as presumably no revenue is being paid.

116. Objections against recorded entries were numerous, as might be expected from the keen interest displayed by the parties at every stage of the operations. The figures are :—

Objections under section 103 A.

Year.		Number of objections.	Allowed.	Percentage.	Disallowed.	Percentage.
1914-15	...	16 255	4,493	27	11,762	73
1915-16	...	26,198	9,769	37	16,429	63
Total	...	42,453	14,262	33	28,191	67

The number of objections allowed is large. While it is certain that the Revenue Officers who heard these cases did their work carefully, it must not be assumed that the high percentage allowed is due to faulty attestation. Many of the decisions under section 103 (A) were based on compromises subsequent to attestation, many are mere corrections of technical errors in the record, and a large number were based on claims not advanced at any previous stage. An analysis of the figures of 1915-16 has revealed the fact that if objections under these heads are excluded the percentage allowed is reduced to 23. The experience of 20 years has taught all parties the use and value of the record, and proceedings in revision are subjected to a critical scrutiny that is quite unknown in original settlements. The chief subjects of objections were possession, the amounts of money rent, trees, and the legality of the indigo enhancements. The latter were attacked again on a general scale, but, beyond a re-scrutiny of the facts in accordance with the principles already described, no considerable changes were made. In the meanwhile the law officers of Government had been consulted on the whole question, and the views of the department have been generally approved. It is in general inadvisable that officers deciding cases under this Section should re-open the whole question of attested entries on the merits. It is true that new evidence may be produced which was not available when the record was attested, and that compromises may be arrived at between the parties, and that obvious mistakes may be detected and pointed out. While full consideration should be given to these cases, it is certain that an Objection Officer, who has no previous experience of the area, can never hope to obtain the accurate knowledge of agrarian economy that the attestation officer must acquire by the very nature of his work, and he is not therefore in such a strong position to ascertain the true facts in disputed cases.

Office work.

117. It is not necessary to describe here the various technical processes to which maps and records are subjected before final publication. The maps are scrutinized, to see that all changes necessitated by orders passed have been given effect to, and that they are ready for final printing. The number necessary, both for administrative purposes and for distribution to landlords and tenants, is calculated. The records are checked with the dispute lists and order lists. Omissions are supplied, and corrections made where necessary. Obvious mistakes or inconsistencies are removed, after consulting the parties where this is necessary. The records are then fair copied, three copies being prepared, one of which, the Collectorate copy, is finally published and regarded as the original record-of-rights, and the remaining two copies are distributed, while costs are being recovered from the landlords and tenants. The fair copies are compared with the working copy, and are then ready for publication. The progress of this work was seriously hampered by the insufficiency and inexperience of the subordinate staff available, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in

obtaining copyists capable of writing records either clearly or correctly. In this stage as throughout the operations the main difficulty of the Champaran Settlement was in obtaining correct technical, as distinct from judicial, work, and such defects as may emerge in the records are entirely due to this cause.

FINAL PUBLICATION.

118. The progress of final publication appears from the following statement :—

1915-16	The whole of Bettiah Subdivision excluding the Diara portions of thanas Bagaha and Bettiah.
1916-17	The remainder of Bettiah Subdivision, and the whole of the Sadr Subdivision.

These proceedings are purely formal. Records are read out at fixed centres by Kanungos in the presence of Revenue Officers, and in the presence of such parties as care to attend, notices having previously issued to the landlords and tenants. The parties take extremely little interest in the publication, and the officer is useful mainly for local enquiries in connection with matters that are in doubt and have been marked for further investigation. The actual certificates of final publication, from the date of which the statutory limitation under sections 105 and 106 runs are signed subsequently at headquarters lists of villages with the dates of signature being exhibited at the headoffice.

Thana Lists and Maps

119. The question of revising the Thana Maps and Lists of the district was considered at an early stage of the operations. When the suggestion for amalgamation and subdivision of the existing villages was dropped, the necessity for this revision was not so clear, but an examination of the existing records showed that the lists required reprinting and correction, and that the maps required amplification. Three defects were found in the existing lists :—

(1) There were *numerous inaccuracies in the names and spelling of* villages, which were corrected during revision operations.

(2) In a number of cases the areas were wrongly shown.

(3) Since the original lists were prepared 38 mauzas have been transferred [illegible] Bettiah, and 10 mauzas from [illegible] New numbers and thana [illegible] maps of these mauzas and corrections had to be made in the lists accordingly. New lists were prepared for all the thanas of the district, and sent to the Director of Land Records for reprint.

With regard to the Thana maps, it was found that the standard sheets had already given effect to the changes of jurisdiction, and that, the village units remaining the same, no immediate correction was necessary. These maps are out of date in one respect, that is, they do not show such new features as have *come into existence in recent years, viz; the Tribeni Canal and the new rail*way extensions. It was decided that for the present no re-issue was necessary, and that these additional features could be incorporated in the maps when the next edition is issued by the Bihar and Orissa Drawing Office. As there is some confusion about the nomenclature of lists, it may be well to state briefly the position. The office of the Boundary Commissioner was created in the year 1853 with the object of adjusting and defining the boundaries of the various civil and criminal jurisdictions in the Lower Provinces as then constituted. Under the supervision of that officer the lists of survey villages or mauzas were prepared thana by thana for all districts in which there had been a revenue survey. These are known as the Boundary Commissioner's lists They became obsolete owing to changes of jurisdiction, and are now replaced by either Jurisdiction Lists or Thana Lists. Jurisdiction Lists were prepared in 1903 by a Special Officer, Mr. Rowland Chandra, for 18 districts including 7

districts of this Province, viz., Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Champaran, Saran, Shahabad, Cuttack, and Puri. In the remaining districts the Boundary Commissioner's Lists have been superseded by Thana Lists prepared by the Settlement Department. In the case of Champaran we have merely revised the Jurisdiction Lists, the order and arrangement of which have been maintained.

CHAPTER VII.

RECOVERY OF COSTS.

Apportionment and recovery of cost.

120. The total gross costs of the actual

		Rs.	a.	p.
operations were		10,18,888	11	2
To this amount we must add—				
Costs of maps for distribution ...		61,750	0	0
Cost of maintenance of boundary marks, at Re. 1 per square mile.		3,255	4	0
Grand total ...		10,73,893	15	2

In order to arrive at the net costs recoverable, deductions are made on account of receipts. The total area of Government and temporarily settled estates (for which land revenue was not settled) is only 1·98 square miles, and this may be neglected. The total receipts amounted to Rs. 2,54,752-12-3. Thus the total net costs were Rs. 8,19,141-2-11. This total gives a rate of Rs. 251 per square mile, or Re. 0-6-3 per acre. It was decided before the revision commenced that the whole costs should be borne by the landlords, and tenants, the only contribution of Government being the loss of interest on all the money advanced for the operations, calculated from the date of expenditure in each case to the date of recovery. There being nothing in the geography or agrarian economy of the district that would justify the imposition of differential rates for separate areas, it was decided to apply a uniform rate. I proposed that the Re. 0-6-3 should be apportioned as follows:—

Landlord's share	Re. 0-3-6	Per acre.
Raiyat's share	Re. 0-2-9	

The Collector agreed. The Officiating Member of the Board of Revenue was at first disposed to doubt the equity of this distribution, and consulted the Commissioner, who in return consulted the Manager of the Bettiah Estate who was the landlord most concerned. The Commissioner and the Manager were of opinion that the landlord's share should not exceed one-half. They were under the erroneous impression that the proposals were an innovation, and that landlords were being specially penalized for such irregularities as were found in the district. The Director of Land Records and Surveys cleared up this misapprehension and pointed out that in all Bihar operations the landlord has paid a higher share of the costs than the raiyat, and that the present case was not in any way a departure from the normal. The Board and Government accepted this view, and the proposals were sanctioned in Notification No. $\frac{9901R}{S183}$, dated the 25th October 1916. The apportionment order followed the usual lines.

The Bettiah Estate agreed to pay the whole of the landlord's share for those thikadars who were holding over from year to year pending a reconsideration of the terms and conditions of their leases. The *mukarraridars* were for all purposes treated as proprietors.

Recovery operations were undertaken for the Bettiah Subdivision in the cold weather of 1916-17, the Camp being under the control of Babu Radha Mohan Patnaik. In 1917-18 two Camps under Babu Vindeshwari Saran Sinha and Babu Bhuvaneshwari Saran Varma were sent out. Consolidated demands were furnished to the bigger landlords who generally paid up in a lump sum. The field operations were mainly concerned with recovery from

raiyats. The following figures will show the progress of the collections:—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1916-17	3,41,476	9	9
1917-18	2,93,691	10	6
1918-19	97,939	12	3
April to September 1919	88,378	6	9
Total up to date ...	8,21,456	7	3
The recoverable demand was ...	8,21,632	4	3
Which was arrived at as follows :—			
Demand according to recovery proposals ...	8,19,141	2	11
Add for Boundary marks at Rs. 3-12-0 per square mile	8,944	12	0
Total ...	8,28,085	14	11
Total completed demand ...	8,29,207	13	3
Deduct for Kaisar Hind, Railway land, etc.	7,575	9	0
Net recoverable demand	8,21,632	4	3

The outstanding balance is only Rs. 145-13-0.

It was necessary to suspend recovery in the area covered by *sharah* ... as the khatians could not be distri- ... ordance with the special legislation. ... he collection of the demand presented no ... landlords, owing to the agitated state of ... onsequent withholding of rents by the raiyats, found it difficult to pay up, the Bettiah Estate in particular having to default in large sums for two years in succession.

History and explanation of apportionment.

121. As the equity of the apportionment of these costs has been questioned, I propose to deal with the history of this matter, and the considerations that are ...

... tively. The law provides that the parties shall defray the whole or part of the ...

North Bihar. The following is the statement of the proportions borne by landlords and tenants in those operations: —

			Landlord's share.	Raiyat's share.
Champaran	...	...	3½ annas.	2½ annas.
Muzaffarpur	...	...	3½ „	2½ „
Darbhanga	...	...	4¼ „	3 „
Saran	...	...	4½ „	$3\frac{1}{12}$ „
North Bhagalpur	...	...	3½ „	2½ „
Surajpur (Purnea)	...	...	7 „	4 „

It will be seen that the landlords of Champaran have been treated leniently in comparison with those in other areas. The usual considerations for determining apportionment are:—(1) the benefits derived by the parties from the settlement, and (2) the accepted principle that the party who renders the operations necessary should bear the greater portion of the costs. So far as these operations are concerned, their chief effect on the economy of the district has been a general raising of rents. The rise in the prices of staple food crops since the last settlement gave the landlords a claim to an enhancement from 3 to 4 annas on the rupee. Enhancements were applied for on more than 40 per cent of the holdings, and the general rate allowed was 3 annas in the rupee. It is estimated that proprietors and tenure-holders will recover the assessed costs in less than 5 years from enhancements alone. It must be remembered that enhancements to this extent are neither legally allowable nor possible by contract, and that such enhancements on a large scale are not practicable so far as the civil court is concerned. These operations then furnish the only existing agency for the periodic adjustment of rent that the landlords demand under the law. The position of the landlord is singularly privileged as compared with that of the raiyat. The latter is liable to contribute to his rent receiver a large portion of the increment due to the advance in prices; the former appropriates his share of the increment but pays no extra revenue to the State, except in road cess. The raiyat derives no material advantage from the operations except an up-to-date title deed. The causation of the operations is not an equally important consideration in the present case. It is the fixed policy of the Government of India that the record-of-rights should be either continuously maintained or periodically revised; so that revisions will occur in automatic rotation without any particular faults of commission or omission on the part of either landlords or tenants. In Champaran the agrarian problems that confronted the administration for the previous 10 years rendered the preparation of a new record-of rights a matter of urgent necessity, and it is not necessary to allot, in this part of the report, the blame between landlord and tenant. A third consideration which is of local importance is that of sums already levied in respect of land records. The levy of a cess called *Farkawan* has been universal over the district. The incidence of this cess is ordinarily 6 pies on every rupee of rent. It goes to the Patwari, and is taken from the raiyat either by the Patwari himself, or by the landlord, who pays it to him in turn. I have calculated that in *Farkawan* alone the raiyats have paid since the last settlement more than 5 times the total costs demanded from them in the present operations. On the whole I do not think that in this case the apportionment is in any sense inequitable. The main objection to settlement costs from the landlord's point of view is the heavy demand at one time. This I have found by experience to be a real difficulty, and in certain circumstances it may constitute a hardship. There is much to be said in favour of a small annual cess recoverable with rent, and under the same procedure as road cess, to meet settlement charges, if it can be assumed that the present policy of revisions is to be followed in future. The advantage of such a cess would be that the small annual charges would not be felt by the parties concerned. The disadvantage is the necessity of keeping separate accounts and the trouble of calculating infinitesimal charges on small holdings. In the case of the latter, however, the charge might well be biennial or triennial.

122 I now come to a consideration of the expense of revision as compared with the original settlement The following are the comparative figures —

Original Settlement and Revision costs compared.

—	Last Settlement	Revision
	Rs	Rs
Total gross costs	10 14 080	10 18,[illegible]88
Net costs	9 14,655	8 1[illegible] 141
Recoverable	7 8[illegible] 487	8,19 141

In comparing the gross costs the new items of maps and boundary stones which were not included in the original operations have been omitted The gross cost is nearly the same as in the last settlement while the net cost is much less in the revision The reason for this differnce is that the receipts from court fees and copying fees are now much greater With regard to the figures for the original settlement I have adopted those finally accepted by the Accountant General which are somewhat different from those in the Final [illegible] at the revision could be done much [illegible] The anticipated costs for Cham- [illegible] with the greatest possible economy, is an impossible figure being based on insufficient calculations of expenditure in the 3rd and 4th years It may be added that wherever conditions are similar to those in Champaran there is an essential fallacy in the theory that revision should cost less than original settlement It is conceded that in this district neither the minimum cost nor the maximum efficiency has been attained as a start had to be made with a completely new system and a very imperfect subordinate staff It is clear that, if we are to preserve the same standard all the stages of revision subsequent to *khanapuri* must be as costly as the corresponding stages in the original settlement and in practice will be more costly The only real saving in revision is the absence of a traverse survey, which represents about Rs 35 per square mile All estimates based on areas are fallacious as no payments are made on the basis of area all calculations being on the number of fields The number of fields tends to increase as time goes on for reasons that have already been stated In Champaran we have dealt with nearly 7 lakhs of fields more than in the original record and this item alone accounts for an expenditure proportionately calculated of over Rs 1 70 000 The following figures show the incidence of costs in the various North Bihar operations on the basis of the number of plots —

—	Cost per 100 plots		
	Rs	A	P
Champaran (original)	33	[illegible]	6
Muzaffarpur	26	0	0
Darbhanga	29	0	0
Bhagalpur	4[illegible]	0	0
Saran	26	0	0
North Monghyr	4[illegible]	0	0
Purnea	5	0	0
Champaran (Revision)	29	12	0

Economies are possible in the utilization of existing buildings, the avoiding of new construction so far as possible the maintaining of reasonably large programmes and a really efficient staff I have already suggested in official

correspondence that steps should be taken to bespeak in good time before the start of operations in each District such buildings, public or private, as may be available.

CHAPTER VIII.

CASE WORK.

Case work Sections 105, 106, 108 and 40, Bengal Tenancy Act.

123. The judicial work subsequent to final publication was of unprecedented proportions, mainly owing to the almost universal claim to enhancements of rents by landlords under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In the Appendices will be found complete statements of the results of cases under the various sections. In this Chapter I propose to discuss at some length the important principles that came under scrutiny, and the method in which they were treated.

Section 105.

124. Applications were made for the settlement of fair rents on 2,07,220 tenancies, or nearly 40 per cent of the tenancies in the district. When we exclude from consideration the large number of holdings affected by *sharah beshi*, the percentage is much higher. Two main claims were made :—(1) for enhancements under section 30, and (2) for the assessment of excess area under section 52. The total result of these cases may be summarised as follows:—

					Rs.
Tenancies in suit	...	...	...	...	2,07,220
Existing rent	...	...	...	...	1 ,01,199
Rent settled	...	...	...	...	15,63,845
Increase	...	...	...	...	12 per cent.

Section 30 details four grounds on which the rents of occupancy raiyats can be enhanced by a Court. Of these three may be left out of account, as claims were not made on the ground that the productive powers of the land had been increased either by fluvial action or at the landlord's expense, and claims on the ground that raiyats were paying rents below the prevailing rate failed for very obvious reasons. To the application of the prevailing rate theory it is essential (1) that there should be in the area and holdings in question recognized classes of soils, and (2) that there should be recognized rates of rent appertaining to those classes. It would appear from very old papers of Zamindars that at some remote period there existed a somewhat vague distinction of soils and rates, but these are now of merely historical interest, as within living memory this system has not been in practice, and in any case the preparation of the original record-of-rights, which did not recognize classes of soils, or make any mention of rates, was fatal to the continuance or the revival of any such method of assessment. At present such rates as are found in *jamabandis* have no connection with classes of soils, but are merely the calculated average incidence of the total lump rent of the holding obtained by dividing the sum by the area. This ground, therefore, was not seriously pressed.

Section 31-A provides a different and artificial prevailing rate, and in fact propounds the novel axiom that the fact that a tenant without sufficient reason pays a lower rate than his fellows is a just cause for enhancement. Under this section the prevailing rate may be paid only by a single field in a whole village. This Section is not in force in any of the Bihar districts. The consideration of its extension was recently raised by a non-official Member in the Provincial Legislative Council but the matter has not been pursued. The fact is that the application of even this definition of prevailing

rate is subject to almost insuperable difficulties in Bihar as lump rentals are now practically universal and the application of the Section would require just as Section 31 does the determination of classes of soil In the cases before the Revenue Officers the claim based on prevailing rate was never seriously urged and was in fact made only as a matter of form

125 The question of enhancement on the ground of rise in prices gave rise to extensive discussion both in Court and outside The position is this Section 30 (*b*) states as a ground of enhancement that there has been a rise in the average local prices of staple food crops during the currency of the present rent Section 32, in describing how enhancements on this ground should be calculated prescribes an arithmetical formula by which the average prices for two decennial periods are compared and enhancements are fixed at ⅔rds of the difference between the earlier and the latter periods The Court may substitute shorter periods where it is not practicable to adopt the decennial periods Section 35 provides that notwithstanding anything in the foregoing Sections the Court shall not in any case decree any enhancement which is under the circumstances of the case unfair or inequitable In accordance with the law lists [illegible] the 10 years 1906 16 [illegible] of section 32 would [illegible] pee of rent Rents [illegible] *ma facie* the application of this enhancement would not have rendered them inherently unfair In view however of the formidable rise indicated and the serious disturbance of agrarian economy that would result, the reasons for the enhancement were carefully examined, and a conference was held of all the Revenue Officers concerned, at which the Director of Land Records was present There were two very important points on which a decision had to be given (*a*) what is the minimum period of currency of a rent that justifies enhancement under section 30 (*b*) ?

Section 30 (*b*)

(*b*) Should the full enhancement calculated on the arithmetical formula be allowed ? Both questions are of great economic importance and can be argued with considerable force from either the landlord s or the tenant s point of view With regard to (*a*) the general sense of the Tenancy Law is that a rent of an occupancy raiyat once determined should not be disturbed fo 1[illegible] years This is specifically provided in cases where rents have been commuted under section 40 or where rents have been settled under section 105 or 109 C, or where enhancements have been contracted under section 29 but no minimum period has actually been prescribed in connection with section 30 (*b*) for rents which though current have not been dealt with under any of those sections It seems that under section 32 where evidence for two decennial periods is available these periods should be considered and not any shorter periods It does not seem right then in any case that a rent current for not more than 10 years should be enhanced on this ground because such an enhancement would mean the penalizing of the tenant for a rise that had occurred or had proceeded from a period previous to the inception of his tenancy and the fixing of his current rent This view is strongly supported by the original draft of the Landlord and Tenant Bill drawn up by the Rent Commission Clause [illegible]

[illegible] *or at any time* [illegible] two decennial [illegible] agency [illegible] at the expense of [illegible] *annual* (page 141 volume [illegible] The general opinion of the [illegible] agree was that no rents current for less than 10 years should be enhanced under section 30 (*b*) I considered however, that some what lower minimum should be adopted provided that rent was really current from a period within the preceding decennium and eventually 12 years was adopted as the minimum period

(b) The other question was of much greater difficulty. To explain the position a statement of the prices is given in the following table:—

Statement showing Retail Prices of Staple Food-crops in the district of Champaran from 1896 to 1915.

Year	Sadr Subdivision.				Bettiah Subdivision.				Remarks.
	Upland.		Lowland.		Upland.		Lowland.		
	Maize.		Rice.		Maize.		Rice.		
	Seers.	Chhataks.	Seers.	Chhataks.	Seers	Chhataks.	Seers	Chhataks.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1896 .	10	15	14	11⅜	10	7¾	15	4	
1897 ...	13	1¼	16	1¼	13	12	10	9¾	
1898 ...	21	12⅓	13	8⅜	24	0	15	5⅓	
1899 ...	21	3	14	4	22	11⅓	14	15⅓	
1900 ...	18	2 3/16	13	0⅔	10	14⅛	14	0⅔	
1901 ...	20	15	12	12⅓	22	2	13	13⅔	
1902 ...	24	13⅜	14	2¾	26	4⅔	15	7 1/16	
1903 ...	25	14	16	4	28	12	17	8	
1904 ...	30	0	16	15⅓	30	14⅔	17	4¾	
1905 ..	20	12	14	11	10	14	14	10	
1906 ...	11	16¼	9	15¾	12	6¼	9	15¼	
1907 ...	13	2½	8	12	13	5	9	4¾	
1908 .	11	8	8	3¼	12	8¼	8	15¼	
1909 ...	17	1	10	4	18	3	11	6	
1910 ..	19	2	13	5	18	13	12	12	
1911 ...	19	14	13	4	19	9	13	8	
1912 ...	23	4	12	2	22	2	12	8	
1913 ...	15	3	9	4	15	7	9	6	
1914 ...	11	4	8	10	11	8	9	5	
1915 ...	12	10	8	13	12	10	9	1	

It will be observed that the earlier decennial contains only one abnormal year 1897, while the latter contains six years in which prices were quite abnormally high, the period starting with three years of depression and finishing with three years of depression, with an interval of four years of normal prices in the middle. It will be noticed also that the figures do not indicate on the face of them any gradual or progressive rise, but are subject to very violent fluctuations. The reasons for the abnormal prices were investigated from contemporary literature. The Administration Reports of the Province and the Census Report of 1911 were consulted. It appeared that in 1906 the Bettiah Subdivision was visited with floods and that considerable damage was done to the rice crops, while in 1907 and 1908 the outturn was poor owing to

scanty and unevenly distributed rainfall. It appeared also that from similar causes the years 1913 and 1915 were years of agricultural depression. It was decided that judicial notice could be taken of the Government publications under section 57 of the Evidence Act, and subsequently these documents were duly mentioned in the judgments of the Revenue Officers. The position then briefly was that we were confronted with two decennial periods of which the average prices showed a large difference; that this difference was due to an extraordinary preponderance of abnormal years in the latter period, and that the high prices in these years were due to temporary causes. It seemed then that, so far as the averages for these years were concerned, they were not

therefore that the whole calculated enhancement should not be allowed, and it was suggested and accepted that a sliding scale should be adopted whereby rents should be enhanced according to the length of time for which they had been current.

For rents 12 to 15 years old—12½% (2 annas in the rupee).

For rents 16 to 18 years old—15⅝% (2½ annas in the rupee).

For rents over 18 years old—11¾% (3 annas in the rupee).

ed by Babu Haridas Roy se No. 147 of 1916 (mauza scrutiny and classification nvolved great labour, I still consider that the principles adopted were entirely correct and in accordance with equity, and I have no doubt whatsoever, nor has any Revenue Officer who was concerned, that practically all the raiyats of the Bettiah Subdivision would have compromised without hesitation on this basis, and that all the parties concerned would thus have been saved the trouble and expense of the subsequent litigation.

The Bettiah Estate claim.

126. The Bettiah Estate strenuously contested our interpretation of the law, and was advised that the wording of section 32 was so imperative as to leave in granting the full calculated enhancement. 35 of the Act was only meant for individual r instance, the case of a raiyat whose rent was already as high as he could bear, and was not intended to be applied on a general scale in this way. Accordingly appeals were filed to the Special Judge.

Delay in getting a clear decision of Special Judge.

127. The actual hearing of enhancement cases began in June 1916 with one Camp, Babu Haridas Roy. It was desired to collect at first all the materials

Special Judge was an appeal by the Parsa Factory in respect of a mukarrari village, mauza Gokhula, thana Shikarpur, No 483. This was a case decided very early, in which the Revenue Officer had not fully stated the principles I have described, and the Special Judge accepted the contention of the landlord on this account, and allowed the full enhancement claimed on all tenancies with a currency of 10 years and upwards. In the case of tenancies with shorter currency he considered that we should decide whether there were grounds for applying the provisions of section 32, and he held that there was no reason for distinguishing between the tenancies with various periods of

currency so far as the question of the rate of enhancement to which the landlord is entitled was concerned. On the 14th January 1917 in letter No. 836-S., I referred the whole question to the Director of Land Records, forwarding copies of the original and appellate judgments, and stating my views on the course to be followed. So far as the period of currency was concerned, I considered that we should follow the decision. The main point at issue, however, was the application of section 35. The Special Judge agreed that the arithmetical rule of section 32 was subject to section 35, but in the case before him he held that the lower court had not shown grounds for the exercise of the discretion vested in it by section 35, and that in the absence of such grounds the full enhancement calculated on the basis of section 32 should be allowed. I was of opinion that our application of the law on this point was correct, and that we need not depart from the application of the principle adopted, to which the Special Judge had agreed, merely because in an individual case he had held that reasons had not been shown for the exercise of an admittedly wide judicial discretion, and I suggested that before altering our decision on this point we should await the Special Judge's ruling in a fully considered case. The Director while generally agreeing with my views replied on 27th March 1917 after consulting the Legal Remembrancer. "You are not legally bound to follow the opinion of the Special Judge, but there is obviously no use in continuing to give decisions which you know he will upset. It is clear, however, that you do not differ from him on any point of law, and that the Special Judge has not yet expressed any final opinion as to the amount of enhancement which might equitably be allowed either in the district generally or in any particular class of cases". At the end of March the Manager of the Bettiah Estate suggested to the Collector that we should withhold further decisions in the enhancement cases until a test case should be decided by the Special Judge. While sympathizing with the Manager's desire to avoid expense and to get a speedy decision, I opposed the suggestion as not feasible. The principal and the heaviest part of the work is the writing of judgments in these cases, and I found, from the experience of one big case, which I heard personally, that the preparation of a judgment took as much as 24 hours. To go on hearing the cases without delivering judgments would thus entail an enormous loss of time, and a consequent heavy expenditure. We proceeded with the cases, following the Special Judge in the matter of length of currency and adhering to our original decisions in other matters. On the 9th April the Bihar Planters' Association addressed a memorial to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, asking that the Executive Government should stop the Settlement Officers from exercising their powers and deciding the cases until the hearing of appeals. In consequence of this it was decided to postpone judgment in the pending cases until the Special Judge had given a further decision. Eventually on the 9th May 1917, the Special Judge, having fully considered all the points at issue in a batch of cases of the Bettiah Subdivision decided the general principles to be followed. There were two matters in the memorial of the Association which I consider it necessary to refer to. It is stated that the decision of December of the Special Judge was regarded as a test case. I have shown that even from the words of the decision itself it could not be described in any sense as a test case in the circumstances. It is further stated that hundreds of appeals had to be filed by the landlords at great expense owing to the fact that the local Settlement Officers had ignored the decision of the highest court of appeal. The registers which were referred to showed that only 23 appeals had been filed up to that time by members of the Association, 18 of which came from one landlord alone. It is scarcely necessary to state that we did not ignore any definite decision which the Special Judge had given, though I still consider that the original decisions were more in accordance with equity than any subsequent ones.

The Special Judge's decision.

128. The effect in brief of the Special Judge's test decision was—

(1) that no enhancement for more than 3 annas in the rupee should be allowed;

(2) that all enhancements should be at the 3 anna rate, and not differentiated according to the period of currency,

(3) that section 32 is clearly subject to section 35

The Judge clearly stated that if the first appeal were before him he now should decide it differently with reference to the amount of enhancement The Bettiah Estate was advised that this decision was wrong in law, and the High Court was moved to decide the question The High Court in January 1918 decided that it had no power to interfere in this case with the discretion of the Special Judge Meanwhile it was decided that the cases should proceed on the basis of the Special Judge's decision

129 The next important matter for decision was the question of the assessment of exce s areas Landlords claimed the assessment of the area represented by the difference between their *jamabandis* and the record of-rights The correctness of the claim rests on two considerations —

Excess areas and their assessment

(1) Were the *jamabandis* based on measurement ?

(2) Was the standard of measurement the same as in the record of-rights ?

On these claims the decisions of course varied, but the following was the general tendency Where a comparison of the new and old record of rights for

atter was assessed

with the practice

were not real but

be observed that

different extractors very rarely get identical results, though the figures must

mit is the working rule. To

ecorded areas in the old and

per cent when the two maps

of the field Where holdings

question arose whether any

measurement was done at the time, or in the alternative whether in the particular zemindary concerned there was a practice of settlement after measurement

granted to the raiyats, were fatal to any assertion that such a practice prevailed The Special Judge upheld the decisions of the Department on this question Where specific lands had been recorded as liable to assessment rents were of course settled The problem of excess area has proved a difficulty in practically every settlement in Bihar, and there are certain general considerations in connection with it that it is important to remember In the first place the areas in a record of rights will generally exceed those in *jamabandis* even if the latter be founded on measurement, because zemindari measurements are of a rough and ready description and do not accurately account for the *merhs* or small embankments between fields, and the corrugations in the shape of fields They are rough results of the length and breadth of fields, both of which vary It is necessary then in any case to make an allowance for the more accurate survey measurements, and this is always done when such claims are allowed Again, the majority of fields are surrounded by other cultivated fields, and it is *primâ facie* improbable that the raiyats concerned would allow encroachments The extensions of fields that actually occur are generally on the borders of waste land, where there is no such resistance to encroachment Claims to excess are readily advanced by landlords in respect of fields entirely surrounded by cultivation, and this consideration is almost always forgotten It is a great mistake then to suppose that the rejection of claims of this kind is generally, or even in a large number of instances due to the insistence on legal technicality as distinguished from facts and equity, and I have no doubt that the decisions in the main are entirely co t

currency so far as the question of the rate of enhancement to which the landlord is entitled was concerned. On the 14th January 1917 in letter No. 836-S., I referred the whole question to the Director of Land Records, forwarding copies of the original and appellate judgments, and stating my views on the course to be followed. So far as the period of currency was concerned, I considered that we should follow the decision. The main point at issue, however, was the application of section 35. The Special Judge agreed that the arithmetical rule of section 32 was subject to section 35, but in the case before him he held that the lower court had not shown grounds for the exercise of the discretion vested in it by section 35, and that in the absence of such grounds the full enhancement calculated on the basis of section 32 should be allowed. I was of opinion that our application of the law on this point was correct, and that we need not depart from the application of the principle adopted, to which the Special Judge had agreed, merely because in an individual case he had held that reasons had not been shown for the exercise of an admittedly wide judicial discretion, and I suggested that before altering our decision on this point we should await the Special Judge's ruling in a fully considered case. The Director while generally agreeing with my views replied on 27th March 1917 after consulting the Legal Remembrancer. "You are not legally bound to follow the opinion of the Special Judge, but there is obviously no use in continuing to give decisions which you know he will upset. It is clear, however, that you do not differ from him on any point of law, and that the Special Judge has not yet expressed any final opinion as to the amount of enhancement which might equitably be allowed either in the district generally or in any particular class of cases". At the end of March the Manager of the Bettiah Estate suggested to the Collector that we should withhold further decisions in the enhancement cases until a test case should be decided by the Special Judge. While sympathizing with the Manager's desire to avoid expense and to get a speedy decision, I opposed the suggestion as not feasible. The principal and the heaviest part of the work is the writing of judgments in these cases, and I found, from the experience of one big case, which I heard personally, that the preparation of a judgment took as much as 21 hours. To go on hearing the cases without delivering judgments would thus entail an enormous loss of time, and a consequent heavy expenditure. We proceeded with the cases, following the Special Judge in the matter of length of currency and adhering to our original decisions in other matters. On the 9th April the Bihar Planters' Association addressed a memorial to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, asking that the Executive Government should stop the Settlement Officers from exercising their powers and deciding the cases until the hearing of appeals. In consequence of this it was decided to postpone judgment in the pending cases until the Special Judge had given a further decision. Eventually on the 9th May 1917, the Special Judge, having fully considered all the points at issue in a batch of cases of the Bettiah Subdivision decided the general principles to be followed. There were two matters in the memorial of the Association which I consider it necessary to refer to. It is stated that the decision of December of the Special Judge was regarded as a test case. I have shown that even from the words of the decision itself it could not be described in any sense as a test case in the circumstances. It is further stated that hundreds of appeals had to be filed by the landlords at great expense owing to the fact that the local Settlement Officers had ignored the decision of the highest court of appeal. The registers which were referred to showed that only 23 appeals had been filed up to that time by members of the Association, 18 of which came from one landlord alone. It is scarcely necessary to state that we did not ignore any definite decision which the Special Judge had given, though I still consider that the original decisions were more in accordance with equity than any subsequent ones.

The Special Judge's decision.

128. The effect in brief of the Special Judge's test decision was—

(1) that no enhancement for more than 3 annas in the rupee should be allowed ;

(2) that all enhancements should be at the 3 anna rate, and not differentiated according to the period of currency,

(3) that section 32 is clearly subject to section 35

The Judge clearly stated that if the first appeal were before him he now should decide it differently with reference to the amount of enhancement. The Bettiah Estate was advised that this decision was wrong in law, and the High Court was moved to decide the question. The High Court in January 1918 decided that it had no power to interfere in this case with the discretion of the Special Judge. Meanwhile it was decided that the cases should proceed on the basis of the Special Judge's decision.

129 The next important matter for decision was the question of the assessment of excess areas. Landlords claimed the assessment of the area represented by the difference between their *jamabandis* and the record of rights. The correctness of the claim rests on two considerations —

Excess areas and their assessment

(1) Were the *jamabandis* based on measurement?

(2) Was the standard of measurement the same as in the record of rights?

On these claims the decisions of course varied, but the following was the general tendency. Where a comparison of the new and old record of rights for the same tenancy showed a substantial increase of area, the latter was assessed to rent. An allowance of 5 per cent was made in accordance with the practice prescribed in the Survey Manual to cover differences that were not real but merely due to different results in area extraction. It may be observed that different extractors very rarely get identical results, though the figures must agree within certain limits, and a 5 per cent limit is the working rule. To illustrate the principle it may be stated that the recorded areas in the old and new records will often be found to differ within 5 per cent when the two maps show the same identical configuration and size of the field. Where holdings had been settled since the last settlement, the question arose whether any measurement was done at the time or in the alternative whether in the particular zemindary concerned there was a practice of settlement after measurement. In such tenancies the claims generally failed as it appeared that no measurement papers could be found in the whole Subdivision of Bettiah, and discrepancies in area in the *jamabandis* themselves, and between the *jamabandis* and receipts granted to the raiyats, were fatal to any assertion that such a practice prevailed. The Special Judge upheld the decisions of the Department on this question. Where specific lands had been recorded as liable to assessment rents were of course settled. The problem of excess area has proved a difficulty in practically every set

nection

a record

latter be founded on measurement, because zemindari measurements are of a rough and ready description and do not accurately account for the *merhs* or small embankments between fields, and the corrugations in the shape of fields. They are rough results of the length and breadth of fields, both of which vary. It is necessary then in any case to make an allowance for the more accurate survey measurements, and this is always done when such claims are allowed. Again, the majority of fields are surrounded by other cultivated fields, and it is *primâ facie* improbable that the raiyats concerned would allow encroachments. The extensions of fields that actually occur are generally on the borders of waste land where there is no such resistance to encroachment. Claims to excess are readily advanced by landlords in respect of fields entirely surrounded by cultivation, and this consideration is almost always forgotten. It is a great mistake then to suppose that the rejection of claims of this kind is generally, or even in a large number of instances due to the insistence on legal technicalities as distinguished from facts and equity, and I have no doubt that the decisions in the main are entirely co[rrect]

The statement below shows the alterations of rent made on the ground of eased or decreased areas.

Thana.		Increase under Section 52 (a).	Reduction under section 52 (b).	Net increase.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bettiah	... ...	939	1,949	...
Shikarpur	... ...	1,243	376	...
Bagaha	.. ...	1,028	906	...
Bettiah Subdivision	...	3,211	2,532	679
Adapur	... ...	638	698	...
Motihari	... ...	463	327	...
Gobindganj	... ...	474	142	...
Madhuban	... ...	499	421	...
Dhaka	... ...	835	555	...
Kesaria	... ...	768	371	...
Sadr Subdivision	... ...	3,679	2,515	1,164
District Total	...	6,890	5,047	1,843

The net result was thus insignificant.

In order to see whether landlords had actually suffered loss by decisions on this subject, I examined the records of a number of villages. In a fairly typical village Mauza Kharra, Case No. 579 of 1916, claims were made for the assessment of excess areas. They failed. I found that the total *jamabandi* area was 649 bighas, while the total area of the corresponding tenancies in the *khatians* was 642 bighas. It is clear that although excess might exist in individual cases, the application of the law for excess and deficit area to the whole village would result in a reduction of rent, not in an increase.

Revenue Officer's power to reduce rents.

130. A further question of some importance rose in connection with this subject. Different views are held as to whether a Revenue Officer on the landlord's application for enhancement and assessment of excess area, and without any application from the tenants, can reduce rents for areas found to have decreased. The view adopted was that he could reduce rents in such circumstances. Section 105 provides that on the application of either the landlord or the tenant the Revenue Officer shall settle a fair and equitable rent, and that in settling rents he shall have regard to the rules laid down in this Act for the guidance of the Civil Courts in increasing or reducing rents as the case may be. The wording of the section appears to give him full discretion to apply, when an application is made, such sections as may be applicable, which provide for reductions of rent as well as increases. This view gains support from the decisions of the Special Judge in the Shahabad cases, and, although the opposite view may be defended, the decisions given undoubtedly embodied an equitable principle.

Rate applied.

131. Where excess areas have been assessed in the course of enhancement proceedings they have been assessed at the rate of the tenancy as enhanced.

The question of currency of rent.

132. In a number of cases the present tenant was found to be the purchaser within recent years of the complete holding of the former tenant, and the question arose as to how far back the currency of the rent should be assumed for the purpose of enhancement. It was decided—

(a) That if the rent of original tenancy had not been enhanced the currency was uninterrupted by the mutation;

(b) That if the rent had been enhanced at mutation the currency should date from the enhancement. The decision is clearly equitable, but is open to criticism on the ground that the present tenancy, and hence the rent appertaining to it, only dates from the mutation.

Considerable difficulty was experienced in dealing with tenancies that had been altered by additional land and additional rent. The principles adopted in dealing with these cases were as follows. If a new portion had been added to an old tenancy at the same rate the currency of the old portion was regarded as not affected by the amalgamation, and an enhancement was allowed on the old portion. If a new portion had been current for a sufficiently long time an enhancement was allowed on it too. Similarly where a new portion had been settled at a separate rate and where there was a bona fide agreement that the additional rent was for this portion currency was not regarded as affected by the amalgamation so far as the original portion was concerned. But where there had been an obvious enhancement of the rent rate of the whole tenan

were

amalg

original rate the currency was allowed to stand as for the original tenancy. Where there had been a subdivision and an enhancement of rate currency was held to date from the subdivision. The law does not provide specifically for any of these matters and in applying it the Courts have to be guided by considerations of equity and common sense.

133. A large number of tenancies in the Bettiah Estate was *recorded as* *Iabil lagan*, that is rent free but liable to rent. The Estate applied for the settlement of fair rents for these tenancies, claiming comparatively high rates in all cases. The Revenue Officers took the average incidence of rent in the villages as the basis of assessment, and allowed from 2 to 4 annas in the rupee over this average on the grounds of the increased value of land and agricultural produce. The Estate *appealed* and the Special Judge agreed with the decisions given. The cases were then withdrawn and rents will be settled presumably either by agreement between the parties or by proceedings in the Civil Court. The average incidence of rent in a village is the result

ment over a long period and is influenced

It is difficult therefore to devise any

although from the landlord's point of view the lands could be settled at the present time by auction or otherwise, at very much higher rates. I think it is a pity that we were not allowed to complete these settlements as the raiyats are quite likely to assert afterwards that the landlord failing to obtain what he wanted in the revenue

to accept rates higher than they were

ures give the results of the *Iabil lagan*

The assessment of *Lab l lagan*

Thana	Number of [illegible] cases [illegible]	Area in acres	[illegible] settled	Average rate per acre
			Rs a p	Rs a p
Bettiah	61[illegible]	31[illegible] 13	75[illegible] 1 [illegible]	4 [illegible]
Shikarpur	31	6 03	131 [illegible] [illegible]	2 0 [illegible]
Bagaha	[illegible]3[illegible]	6 1[illegible]3	1[illegible] 14 3	[illegible] 3 9
Bettiah Subdivision	2[illegible]1[illegible]	1 615 09	[illegible] [illegible] 6	[illegible] 7
Adapur	[illegible]	[illegible]7	5 0 0	[illegible] 6 0
Motihari	[illegible]	[illegible]8[illegible]	[illegible] 1 3	2 [illegible]
Gobindganj	38	20 [illegible]7	4[illegible] 11 6	[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
Madhuban	1 8	[illegible] 3	[illegible]47 [illegible] [illegible]	3 [illegible] [illegible]
Dhaka	32	1 [illegible]	[illegible]77 [illegible] [illegible]	[illegible] 1[illegible] 0
Kesaria	1 1	40 [illegible]	10[illegible] 15 6	[illegible] 10 [illegible]
Sadr Subdivision	[illegible]	300 76	[illegible] 11 6	13 [illegible]
District total	[illegible], 05	1 915 [illegible]	4 3[illegible]0 11 0	[illegible] 3

134. There are in the Bettiah Estate numerous small permanent tenures known as *birit bandobasti*. They originated before the last settlement in the resumption and assessment by the Estate of additional land held rent free without title by rent-free tenure-holders or *biritdars*. The assessments were deliberately low, usually at the rate of one rupee per bigha. The Estate claimed an enhancement of these rents under section 7 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and, entirely disregarding the existing rent, claimed an assessment equivalent to the major portion of the assets of the tenure as indicated under section 7(3). A Privy Council ruling (VIII C.W.N., 1) was relied on in support of the application. It is true that in this one case the Privy Council found that the disproportion between rents and assets raised a presumption that the existing rent was not fair and equitable, but it has nowhere been laid down as a general proposition that mere disproportion between rents and assets is in itself a ground for enhancement. It was not attempted to prove in accordance with the law that there was a customary rate for such tenancies, and indeed evidence of this nature would have been quite fatal to the claim for enhancement. In the circumstances the rents, not being fixed for ever, could be enhanced up to such limit as the Courts thought fair and equitable. A Court proceeding under section 105 must presume the existing rent fair and equitable until the contrary is proved. The onus is on the applicant to prove the existing rent not fair and equitable. This could be done, not by proving merely that the assets far exceeded the rent, but by showing that the assets have increased since the existing rent was fixed. This increase could consist of (*a*) income from newly claimed land, (*b*) increase of rental from tenants holding under the tenure-holder, and (*c*) rise in the value of food crops. The last consideration would apply only to land in the direct cultivation of the tenure-holder. This was the view of the law actually adopted, and I think it would be difficult to defend the opposite view. If the proprietor's claims were accepted and tenure rents re-assessed without regard to existing rents, the literal result would be that A could give to B a permanent tenure of 10 acres at a rent of Rs. 10, and subsequently ask the Court to enhance the rent to Rs. 70, because the land yielded an income of Rs. 100, even though this income had continued since B had got the tenure. The statement below shows the result of fair rent settlements for tenures only.

Enhancement of rents of permanent tenures.

Number of cases.	Number of tenures in suit.	Existing rent.	Rent settled.	Percentage of increase.
		Rs.	Rs.	
171	416	4,868	4,977	2·24

In connection with these *birit bandobasti* tenures it must be said that there was no class of cases in which the interests of the tenants were so badly represented or put before the Courts. The Special Judge has held in some cases that these tenures are *mukarrari*, or held at a fixed rent. I am not aware at present of the particular considerations on which this decision was founded, but in all the evidence put before the Revenue Courts I saw nothing to justify such a finding. There were many *sanads* granting these tenures. They were described as *dowami*, and it was sometimes contended that this was equivalent to *mukarrari*. From the context, however, it seemed perfectly clear that the word merely indicated permanency at a time when short term leases, raiyati or otherwise, were the custom. Apart from this, however, it is clearly the existing law that if there be a customary rate for such a tenancy the rent can only be enhanced up to the limit of that rate. No attempt was made to prove the customary rate, although there was an abundant evidence that these tenancies were generally settled at a fixed rate of rupee one per bigha, and if this evidence had been put before the Courts the enhancement claims must have failed in the great majority of cases.

135 The Lalsaraya Factory holds a number of villages on a *mukarrari* lease from the Bettiah Estate After the last settlement it was found that the areas in the record of rights were much in excess of the *jamabandi* areas of the raiyats Indigo was grown by the raiyats for the Factory on the *Tinkathia* system, and in the *sattas* or agreements executed at that time it was stated that rents should not be assessed on the excess area thus discovered so long as the raiyats continued their *Tinkathia* cultivation In the year before the revision operations commenced, indigo cultivation having stopped the Factory assessed to rent those excess areas making an allowance of 3 kathas per bigha for differences in the method of measurement During the attestation of rents the Revenue Officer found that, as the *jamabandi* areas were founded on measurement the increased rents were legally payable on tenancies that dated back to the last settlement In cases where increases had been assessed on tenancies not dating back so far they were disallowed, as there was nothing to show that the raiyat now held more than the area which was settled with him The Factory again applied for enhancements under section 105 and the Revenue Officer who decided the first cases held that there was no proof that the old *jamabandi* areas were founded on measurement He therefore disallowed the claim and settled the existing rents I took up a test case on the subject in respect of village Aulnar Shaikh, Thana Bettiah, and went into the evidence for the whole Zamindari It was found that there had been before the last settlement a general measurement of all these *mukarrari* villages known locally as the *phati ka nap* (so called from *phati* which is a split bamboo used as a measuring pole), that khasras had been prepared showing the length breadth and areas of all the raiyats' fields and that the results had been embodied first in khatians for all the tenancies and subsequently in the *jamabandis* of the villages There was further evidence to the effect that when lands were newly settled they were measured before being entered in the *jamabandis* The papers, which were carefully analysed were genuine beyond question and I had no doubt whatsoever that the excess areas shown by comparison of the old *jamabandis* with the last settlement record were genuine The enhancement claims were therefore allowed so far as the original portion of the rent only was concerned, and the adverse decisions of the Revenue Officer were subsequently revised under section 108

Tawan and enhancement

136 Tawan is the name by which is known the lump sums paid by raiyats to indigo landlords for their release from [illegible] been taken by *thikadars* of the Bettiah Estate from their tenants it had [illegible] connection presumably, with rent and there was no *prima facie* reason why claims to enhancements made by the Estate should be rejected [illegible] enhancements were therefore allowed As however in equity it seemed [illegible] wrong that raiyats who had paid to their immediate landlords sums equal [illegible] to 20 years rental of the land under indigo should have enhancements [illegible] on at once the Agrarian Committee recommended and the Estate [illegible] not to collect the enhancements in these cases for 7 years It [illegible] to deal with the case of *tawan* in *mukarrari* villages, as in these [illegible] *dar* is the only landlord concerned It was always well understood that [illegible] long as *Tinkathia* indigo was cultivated rents should not [illegible] without the [illegible] to be clear but [illegible] expense of the [illegible] compensation is not a [illegible] that [illegible] violation of the old understanding It may [illegible] were found in which, although [illegible] per bigha the compensation was assessed on [illegible] of the Bairia Concern that [illegible] section 105 I considered the [illegible] should be reduced to two [illegible]

subsequent history of this has been, and whether appeals have been filed. It is fortunate that in general the rent settlement question was not complicated by considerations of indigo, as the *mukarraridars* in the Sadr Subdivision enhanced the rents themselves under circumstances that have already been described at length.

The effect of section 37, Bengal Tenancy Act.

137. Section 37 of the Bengal Tenancy Act provides that enhancement on the ground of rise in prices cannot be allowed in a suit if within the 15 years next preceding the application the rent of the holding has been enhanced by contract, or enhanced by a court on the grounds of rise of prices or prevailing rate, or commuted under section 40. A number of cases came up for consideration in which the application was in respect of tenancies in which rents had been illegally enhanced within the past 15 years. In these cases the claim was disallowed. The Special Judge upheld the Revenue Officer's decision. It may be argued that section 37 refers only to such previous enhancements as were according to law, but considerations of equity would tend to make the collection of illegal enhancements in the interval equally a bar to further enhancements. There were also cases in which rents which had been the subject of proceedings under section 104 at the last settlement were illegally enhanced within 15 years of that settlement. These enhancements if within two annas in the rupee would apparently become legal if paid for 3 years successively after the period of 15 years has elapsed. In all these cases, although the existing rent was recorded as legally payable, enhancements under section 30 had of course to be refused.

Ramnagar Raj cases.

138 The Ramnagar Estate was severely handicapped in fair rent proceedings by the scantiness, or defectiveness of its documentary evidence. It is fortunate that in a number of cases the raiyats compromised on an enhancement of 2 annas in the rupee, as the evidence would scarcely stand scrutiny, and scrutiny is clearly necessary wherever claims are contested, and even sometimes in uncontested cases also. The Estate experienced the greatest difficulty in getting *jamabandis* and collection papers from its *thikadars*, and the defects and discrepancies in the *jamabandis* themselves, and the general carelessness with which records had been kept rendered the proof of currency of rents very difficult indeed. Also rents were found to have been considerably tampered with since the last settlement, and such alterations were of course fatal to enhancement claims.

Section 105 A.

13'. In 1903 Mr. Chapman as Legal Remembrancer of Bengal gave the opinion that in an application under section 105, the applicant cannot depart from the record-of-rights which is the basis of his plaint, and cannot raise issues challenging the record under section 105. It was the opinion of the Legal Remembrancer and the Director of Land Records and Surveys, and has been the opinion of many Revenue Officers since that time, that in cases where an applicant wishes to challenge the record he should at the same time file a suit under section 106, and that his application for enhancement should be decided after the suit. The Calcutta High Court, however, in the case of Upendra Nath Ghose *versus* Jamini Mohan Pal, XVIII C.W.N., 268, decided that plaintiff in a section 105 case can impugn the correctness of the record, which becomes an issue to be tried and decided under section 105(A). The Director of Land Records and Surveys, in his letter No. 777, dated the 17th April 1916, communicated the Board's orders that the question should again be raised on the next opportunity with a view to obtain a clear decision from the Patna High Court, and that opportunity should be taken in the North Bihar Settlement to raise the issue. As, however, in view of the Privy Council ruling in the case of Puttu Lal *versus* Musammat Parbati Kuer, XIX C.W.N., 847, we were precluded from disregarding the High Court ruling, it was not possible during these operations to have the question further discussed, and accordingly plaintiffs were allowed to raise such issues. So far as policy and administrative convenience are concerned there can be no doubt that the view adopted by the High Court is the best possible one, so long as Government are allowed to realize the proper court-fees in respect of such

issues. If in such cases a plaintiff wishes to impugn the correctness of the [illegible]

second, an impossible position is created, as the decision under section 105 rests on ent[illegible] that have been successfully challenged. If, on the other hand, [illegible] is held over till all possible [illegible] we reach an administrative [illegible] lly, and the High Court's [illegible] have left the district. In this view the Board of Revenue have recommended with reference to the amendment of the Bengal Tenancy Act that all such matters or issues as are relevant to the settlement of a fair rent should be decided in the same proceeding. As to the interpretation of the existing law I do not feel competent to discuss the merits of the two points in view. Much can be said for both, and in any case the question will presumably be set at rest when the Act is amended at an early date. A second question arose out of section 105 A from certain decisions of the Revenue Officers with which I entirely disagreed. In a number of cases the landlord filed an application [illegible] that had been recorded as [illegible] an appearance, and the [illegible] definition of issue, held [illegible] arise, as the assertion [illegible] nied by the defendants. [illegible] le interpretation of the [illegible] defeat claims in such [illegible] ssed, which was finaly [illegible] ns for decision.

The meaning of *belagan.*

[illegible]

as in all recent Bihar operations, a clear distinction has been made between two classes of tenancies: (*a*) *belagan*, rent-free and (*b*) *kabil lagan*, [illegible]

continue.

141. For the Sadr Subdivision as the applications were filed one year after those of Bettiah [illegible] comp[illegible] 1916. The full enhancement calculated acc[illegible] three annas six pies in the rupee. The ci[illegible] in Bettiah, and the same principles were [illegible] an uniform enhancement of three annas in [illegible] in prices, and this has not been seriously disputed. Claims based on alleged excess area and on prevailing rate failed in general. It may be mentioned that here, as in Bettiah, the enhancement claims were carelessly framed, and varied from four annas eight pies to six annas in the rupee. Apparently the persons responsible for the plaints did not know how to calculate averages from the price lists.

The Sadr Subdivision cases under section 105

142. Although 6,231 suits under section 106 were filed in respect of entries in the record-of-rights, these cases gave very little trouble, and generally failed as the parties were not able to challenge successfully the entries that

Section 106

been made after full consideration. The following figures will shew the results of these cases :—

Thana.	Number of cases	Allowed.	Disallowed.	Withdrawn.
Shikarpur	1,076	392	575	109
Bagaha	768	126	537	69
Bettiah	768	260	436	82
Bettiah Subdivision	2,612	778	1,574	260
Motihari	725	281	362	82
Adapur	598	206	253	139
Kesaria	402	144	169	89
Dhaka	804	288	352	151
Madhuban	235	111	103	21
Gobindganj	855	295	465	95
Sadr Subdivision	3,619	1,325	1,704	590
District Total	6,231	2,103	3,278	850

The main subjects of these cases were possession, rents, status, trees and miscellaneous. I quote the following from a note by Babu Akhauri Gopi Kishore Lal in respect of all the cases decided at Bettiah up to the beginning of May 1918, when I was about to leave the settlement.

"The total number of cases under section 106 disposed of up to date is 1,982. They can be grouped under the following heads :—

Possession	327
Rent	892
Status	165
Title	32
Trees	498
Miscellaneous	68
	1,982

Of these 1,484 cases were dismissed and 498 cases were decreed either wholly or in modified form. Of the cases allowed 235 were decreed on compromises, and only 26 after contest. The cases decreed on compromises on admissions of the defendants were mostly relating to bona fide mistakes in the record, which could have been easily avoided if the parties themselves had been a little careful of their own interests when the records were under preparation. From the results of section 106 suits we cannot but say that the records prepared contained but few mistakes. The suits shown under the heading of rent included the suits filed by the Bettiah Raj regarding the alleged *bakasht* land of the Madhubani Factory. The history of these cases is so well-known to the Settlement Officer that we need not say anything about them here. Other suits about rent referred mostly to rents which were cut down as illegal, and for which the landlords filed the suits again. In most of these cases the suits failed. Next in order come the suits about trees. These were mostly filed by the Bettiah Raj claiming half right in trees on occupancy holdings in villages where the officers engaged in preparing the records held that by local custom raiyats were entitled to full rights in the timber of such trees and had prepared the records accordingly. In a few cases the Raj claim succeeded, but in the majority it failed."

These suits had one important sequel with which it is necessary to deal. In all these cases concerning trees the Special Judge held that in the suits, as according to law the trees belonged to the proprietor of the land, the onus was on the tenant to prove that the general rule of law had been modified or extinguished by custom. In the circumstances of course the tenants failed, and the suits were decreed on appeal. I venture to submit that this decision is contrary to the idea of a record-of-rights. When these records were

being prepared it was perfectly well understood that by law the ownership of trees, even on raiyati holdings rests with the proprietor so far as the timber is concerned, and the full rights of raiyats in the timber were allowed only in cases where, after a full enquiry and strenuous contest, the raiyats succeeded in proving that they had been in the habit always of appropriating the timber of their *anthrop* trees on their holdings without taking permission, and without any kind of let or hindrance The fullest opportunities were given to parties, who felt aggrieved, of substantiating claims on objections under section 103 A, as well as at attestation, and the record as finally framed was not based on any misconception as to the legal rights of the parties, or as to the value of the evidence adduced Now, the finally published record has by law a presumption of correctness, . " . under section 106 or else- onus must lie on the party . has rendered futile the preparation of the record so far as trees are concerned, and I am not prepared at present to estimate the harm that may be done by the prevalence of such ideas as to onus or the presumption attaching to the record. A precedent of this kind is specially to be deplored as we have found by experience that in these proceedings the raiyats are either unrepresented or very badly represented They are ignorant and careless and do not think of engaging a pleader until the last moment, and even then are quite incapable of instructing him There is one other important class of case in which the Special Judge reversed the decisions of the Revenue Officers I have described in the Chapter on Attestation how rents settled without authority by thikadars or temporary tenure holders were dealt with In a number of cases the proprietor revised such settlements and enhanced the rents of the raiyats by agreement The Attestation Officers held that as the enhancements were not legal under section 29, they should be disallowed Suits were filed challenging these decisions and were disallowed The Special Judge in appeals 231 to 240, 195 and 196 of 1917 reversed these decisions, and allowed the enhancements on the grounds that when the new rents were settled the proprietors had measured the lands, and that raiyats had agreed to the new rents

He stated —

> It may therefore safely be taken that the new measurements taken by the *malik* were fair and accurate and that the rents fixed were reasonable "

The view adopted by the Revenue Officers was endorsed by the Board of Revenue The question of measurement does not really alter the case at all, because in order to justify the new rents on that ground it would be necessary to prove that the previous areas also were founded on measurement, and that there had been an increase of area which was assessed in each case This was not proved, and the new assessments can only be regarded as enhancements to which, under the accepted views of the Tenancy Law, the proprietor was in no way entitled I am not aware whether the tenants have filed any further appeal, and in any case it is out of question to hope that they should be adequately represented Indeed it is very questionable whether a Court of Wards Estate should in these circumstances appeal against a view of the law that has been endorsed by the Board of Revenue

The Masin pain case

113 The Masin *pain* of which a history has been given in paragraph 9, was the subject of a spirited contest, which fortunately has been terminated by a compromise There were four questions for decision

(1) Who should be recorded as proprietor of the *pain*?

(2) What were the rights and obligations of the various proprietors ?

(3) What were the rights or the practice of the villages affected by the *Tain* as to the flow of water and irrigation facilities?

(4) What was the position of the raiyats of the villages with reference to irrigation ?

It was early evident that there would be many disputes, and, as the *pain* passes through several camps, I decided to have the whole length attested, and the record made on the spot, by Mr. H. McPherson, Deputy Collector, who, after an elaborate enquiry, and after inspecting the *pain* from start to finish, prepared a record of the rights of all the parties in a continuous form; which is illustrated by a map. The position with which we were confronted was as follows: The *pain* was constructed at Government expense as a famine relief work in 1897. It was kept up by subscriptions of Zemindars between 1899 and 1905. During this period the actual management was done by the District Engineer. This management lapsed in 1906, when subscriptions ceased and quarrels commenced, and since then no person of influence seems to have taken any interest in the *pain* except Fauzdar Debi Prasad Upadhya, a permanent tenure-holder of numerous villages under the Ramnagar Estate. When the settlement operations began, this *mukarraridar* at first claimed complete proprietorship of the *pain* up to village Narainapur, where it passes under the Tribeni Canal. I will deal with the points in the order in which they are noted above, premising that the cases were contested at every stage from attestation to section 106. Before the enquiry was taken up, all persons who could possibly be affected were given notice and the Collector, the Public Works Department, the Ramnagar and Bettiah Estates, the *mukarraridars* and the raiyats were represented at Mr. McPherson's investigation.

(1) *Proprietorship.*—The proprietorship was claimed formally by Government, and as far as Narainapur by Debi Faujdar. The claim of Government was clearly untenable. It was stated that as the District Board had the management before and as the *pain* was made as a measure of famine relief, it should now, if possible, be recorded in the name of Government. The land was never acquired by Government, and the District Board merely managed the concern for some years on behalf of those interested, in order to prevent confusion. Since 1907 Government had no connection with the *pain*.

This claim need not further be discussed. The Public Works Department claimed control merely over the head sluice, which was built by that Department, after land for the purpose had been duly acquired under declaration No. L. A.-3887, dated the 24th August 1909, published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 1st September 1909. After some discussion of this claim the parties agreed to the following being recorded :—

> "Water is taken from the Masan river through the head sluice which is the property of the Canal Department. The Canal Department has the right to control the inflow in times of flood, when the Canal property is in any way endangered."

So much for this claim.

The Faujdar finding that his claim to absolute proprietorship was contradicted by previous petitions filed by him when arrangements for management were being made, modified his position, and asserted that the *pain* had existed from time immemorial, and that the Faujdars and their predecessors in interest had always exercised exclusive rights and control over the flow of water. It was found that neither part of this position was tenable. The proprietary rights were finally recorded as resting with the proprietors of the villages through which the *pain* flowed, and in the circumstances no other decision was possible.

(2) and (3) Before the Attesting Officer it was clear that up to that time no further definite arrangement, and indeed no arrangement at all, had been made as to the succession of villages and the quantity of water that could be taken, and as to the parties liable for repairs. In the compromise effected under section 106 it was agreed that repairs should be done by the proprietors of the villages, or their permanent tenure-holders, as the case may be. With reference to the order of succession, or what is known in irrigation as *parabandi*, it was agreed that up to Narainapur the Ramnagar Estate and the Faujdar should take water in alternate weeks for their respective villages.

(4) There remains the question of the rights of raiyats. Up to the period of our operations no definite contracts had been made, and there was no possibility of any custom by which the raiyats were entitled to take the water free. As

the proprietors and the permanent tenure-holders subscribed for the maintenance of the *pain*, and have undertaken its repairs, they are clearly entitled to ... be made between them ... t, if possible, the rates ... at there may be difficul- ... still more desirable of ... , and utilized, by the ...

... l up to ... river, ... e *pain* ... le used ...

144. ...

... recorded as their holdings. ... the consent of the Estate ... on *hunda* or produce rent, at cash rents, taking large *salamis* at the same time. In certain cases the ... others. As the ... could not be ... the notice of ... I was asked ... the presence ... cally all the raiyats agreed to the cash rents settled, and most of those who were dispossessed made no claims. In the circumstances the new raiyats and the new rents were recorded. Such raiyats as objected to being dispossessed were retained in the record with their original *hunda* rents. Subsequently I found that one recusant raiyat Babu Nandan Tewari of Mauza Tumkaria, Thana Bettiah, was kept out of possession. He applied for ... the Estate ... ged from ... the suit, ...

or otherwi ... then was ... to give eff ... publicatio ... my decisi ... section 108-A, I have noticed a tendency of the parties to claim a record of transactions subsequent to the final framing of the record. It is clear that the function of recording finishes with the final publication, and that the record is presumed to be correct at the time when it is finally published. It is not meant to be a continuous chronicle of transactions for all time, as there is no legal provision for its maintenance. ... section 40, the Revenue Officer, c ... still, legally speaking, the raiyat ... Settlement Officer subsequently ... raiyat had been dispossessed, and was barred by limitation from regaining possession.

145. The Madhubani cases have been already described in connection with the attestation of rents. The suits filed by the Bettiah Estate in Mouzas Madhubani, Tauliha and Damri, challenging the finally published record, failed. I am not aware whether any

Madhubani case.

appeals have been filed in these cases, but they are not likely to be successful.

Section 108, Bengal Tenancy Act.

146. Section 108 of the Bengal Tenancy Act has been used to an unprecedented extent in these operations. It has already been stated that the cases under section 105 commenced in June 1916, that the first test appeal was not decided till May 1917, and that a further reference to the High Court was decided in January 1918. In this long interval the landlords, and especially the Bettiah Estate, were faced with the alternatives of either accepting the Revenue Officer's decisions or of filing appeals in all cases until the principles to be adopted had been finally and authoritatively determined. Instead of filing regular appeals, the Bettiah Estate in a very large number of cases put in applications for revision, which were in effect appeals. Now, while appeals have to be filed within one month of the original decision, petitions for revision can be filed at any time within one year, and the revision decisions can again be appealed from. The policy adopted then had the effect in practice of extending the period of appeal, and of increasing the appellate authorities. An incidental effect was to increase very considerably the burden of work that fell to the Settlement Officer, as he was the only person empowered under section 108. It may be argued that the course adopted constitutes an illegitimate use of the section, but I am not prepared to agree. While the multiplication of such applications creates departmental difficulties, they are undoubtedly within the rights of the parties, and if the cases for application are carefully selected there can be no objection. The following are the complete figures of these cases :—

Cases instituted.	Disposed of up to September 1919.	Claims allowed	Claims disallowed.
817	803	407	396

The large number of successful applications is due to the fact that the section was utilized to give effect to the Special Judges' decision of May 1917 in respect of all cases decided before them in which regular appeals were not filed. The petitions filed were in effect a renewal of the original claims made by the landlord, both as to the tenancies on which enhancements were to be given, and the extent of the enhancements. In deciding them I followed the Special Judge in substituting, where there was no reason to the contrary, uniform enhancements of 3 annas in the rupee under section 30 (*b*) for differentiated enhancements. Enhancements were allowed on all tenancies of which the rents had a currency of 10 years or upwards, and the claims were not pressed in respect of other cases. The claims for the assessment of excess areas almost always failed. In one important particular I had to revise certain decisions of the Revenue Officers. The landlord, in his claims for an enhancement and alteration of rent, conceded a reduction for tenancies in which there had been an apparent decrease of area. This was logical, and was fair in cases where there were grounds for either increase or decrease of rent on the ground of alteration of area. The genuineness of the case for both decrease and increase would obviously stand upon precisely the same evidence. Now, while rejecting the claims for assessment of increase, certain officers relying on the technicalities of the pleadings allowed the concession of reduction made by the landlord to stand. This was on the face of it unfair, and is, besides, not in accordance with law. A Revenue Officer must always remember that he is settling a fair rent, and must not allow the object in view to be defeated by merely technical considerations. It may be argued that the concession for reduction is an admission, but an admission is not conclusive proof, and in the circumstances must have extremely little force. In general the Revenue Officers' decisions were found to be full and explicit and sound.

147. Although the percentage of the cultivated area of the district held

Section 40

on produce rents is only slightly over 1, 3,081 cases were filed for the commutation

for decision. The hearing

herefore not in possession of

Number of cases disposed of	Number of cases in which commutation was			Commuted		
	Allowed	Disallowed	Withdrawn	Area in acres	Rent.	Rate per acre
					Rs.	Rs a. p
2,696	2,287	386	23	2,952	14,523	5 0 3

The average incidence of the commuted rents exceeds the total average incidence of cash rents in the district, after fair rent settlement, by more than 100 per cent.

The claims were generally allowed. Commutation was not allowed in the following cases:—

(1) where the applicant either withdrew, or did not pursue, the case,

(2) where the application was in respect of part of a holding only;

(3) where the applicant was found not to be in possession of the land in question; and

(4) where the landlord was a petty tenure-holder whose chief means of livelihood was the income in grain from the land in suit.

Where cases were contested, the general rule adopted was to fix as the rent of the holding the mean between the average cash rate for similar land in the vicinity and the estimated average annual income of the landlord from the produce rent. With regard to the former, as there are no rent rates, properly speaking, it was necessary to adopt the average incidence of rent in the village, which was easily ascertainable from the record-of-rights. With regard to the latter, the evidence was extremely unreliable, as appraisement or division papers of the landlords were either not produced at all, or not genuine, and, except where there had been proceedings under section 69, reliable evidence was not available. In a considerable number of cases the parties compromised, and it is worthy of notice that the average rates fixed

e Reve-
40 are
d. The
entitled
recom-
Bengal
ttee was
ar land,

and that the produce actually realized should be considered only when there was no evidence available as to the cash rate. In the Bill drafted by Mr. Reynolds the alternatives were made optional at the discretion of the Court, but it was provided that, where the average produce was taken into account, there should be a 33 per cent reduction from this as an allowance for the risk of the seasons, the effects of which the raiyat would have to bear. Eventually it was provided that the commuting officer should have regard to

(a) the average money-rent payable by occupancy raiyats for land of a similar description and with similar advantages in the vicinity, and

(b) the average value of the rent actually received by the landlord during the preceding ten years or during any shorter period for which evidence may be available.

We may leave out of account in the present discussion the other factors that are prescribed for consideration, as they did not occur in the Champaran cases. The difficulty of the section is in the fact that while the Revenue Officer is compelled to have regard both to the average money-rent and the average value of the produce, no guiding rule is laid down for determining the relative force of these two considerations. In practice the difficulty is solved by taking the mean between them. In the deciding of such cases officers are much handicapped by the absence or unreliability of evidence as to the average produce realized. The granting of receipts for rent, whether it be in produce or in cash, is a statutory obligation which is very seldom fulfilled by landlords. The North Bihar raiyat does not regard himself as having any right of occupancy in his produce-rented land, and it has not been customary either to demand or to grant receipts for such rent. The best kind of evidence then is seldom or never available, and the papers produced by Patwaris are often prepared *ad hoc*. Crop-cutting experiments are a useful guide to the estimation of produce, but their limitation must be understood. The crop varies in the same land from year to year with the seasons, the rainfall, and the labour expended on it, and in order to obtain average results it would be necessary to make experiments on the same land extending over a number of years. This is not ordinarily possible, and such experiments are usually made for the purposes of the case in hand. There is then the danger that the raiyat knowing the imminence of the proceedings may not cultivate the land properly for the year of the experiment.

Commutation of *Manhunda* rents.

148. It was argued by the landlords that there is only one legal method of commuting *manhunda* rents, that is, by applying to the fixed rent the average prices extending over the period of ten years as prescribed in section 40. I may explain that the *manhunda* rent does not vary with the seasons as *batai* rents do, but is a fixed number of maunds which the raiyat has agreed to pay annually, irrespective of the yield, for his land. The landlord's view may best be understood from the following note by the Manager of the Bettiah Estate which I quote :—

"The commutation of produce rent, especially that form of produce rent known as *hunda*, affects the Bettiah Estate so considerably that I have thought it desirable to explain the estate point of view in a short note. In some recent cases *hunda* rent has been treated as on the same footing as ordinary *batai* rent. In my opinion this is unreasonable. *Hunda* rent is to all intents and purposes a fixed rent only differing from money rent in the fact that the denomination used is the principal grain crop of the locality instead of cash, that is to say, the rent varies with the price of the crop, but does not vary in any other way. There is no equitable reason why this rent should be commuted into a money rent The rent fixed in the staple crop of the district can be dealt with by the raiyat as easily as the money rent. If commutation is allowed, the ordinary principles laid down in section 40, Bengal Tenancy Act, must of course be applied, but it is surely not necessary to introduce the methods made use of by Revenue Officers to reduce the amount of rent in an ordinary *batai* commutation. It is customary there to adopt a method which is not prescribed under the law, and which results almost invariably in a large reduction in the realizable rent, that is to say, a mean is taken between the average money rent payable in the vicinity and the average value of the rent realized by the landlord during the preceding ten years. All that section 40 directs is that the Revenue Officers shall have regard to both these points. The section does not lay down that the commutation is intended as a method of reducing the realizable rent, but it is almost invariably treated as such by Revenue Officers, and when the landlord can prove by reliable papers that he has been realizing a rent of Rs. 12 a bigha, while the average money rent of similar land is Rs. 6, he may think himself fortunate if he gets Rs. 8 after a mean between these two has been struck, and other concessions on account of the vicissitudes of the season, etc., have been allowed to the tenants. A landlord would not object so much to a reduction of his rent under a section of the law which declared that under certain circumstances such reduction might be made, but he does object to the existing law being twisted in favour of the raiyat on every possible occasion. I consider that the reductions effected in landlord's rents by commutation are a source of considerable ill-feeling, and that it would be advisable to lay down more clearly the intention of the Legislature in allowing commutation under this section, that is to say, whether it is intended to find out and fix the existing realizable rent, or to fix a new rent which the

Revenue Officer considers fair and equitable I consider that *hunda* rent stands on an [illegible] poses [illegible] oney [illegible] the [illegible] lands [illegible] *sht* lands, small portions of which [illegible] inary money-rent holdings They [illegible] ryats in cases I have enquired into [illegible] placed before them of giving up [illegible] ent, they will invariably, I believe, elect to pay the *hunda* rent. If they do not, the landlord is quite prepared to take back the land In such circumstances it seems to me most unreasonable that this rent should be [illegible] which is an extraordinarily rich rice area, there is [illegible] he money rent The total average rent of this [illegible] is by no means excessive, and if the capitalised [illegible] still remains a low rent Admittedly the rent [illegible] the District Board Road cess is [illegible] ve, as no demand is made on [illegible] be made use of to perpetuate these conditions

I quote another opinion dealing with the strictly legal aspect of the case from the same point of view. This opinion was given by a well-known pleader to a thikadar.

"In the case of a *manhunda* rent there could only be one legal commutation, a calculation of the money value of the grain reserved as rent. This calculation would have to be based on an average lasting ordinarily over several years, but an arbitrary reduction would be quite against law, and I am of opinion that a civil suit could be brought for a declaration, and if need be an order in the nature of a mandamus, that the revenue courts should proceed according to law"

Opposed to this view is that of certain Revenue Officers that the incidence of *manhunda* rents is so enormous, compared with that of cash rents, that the mean betw[illegible] le. I am not yet aware of [illegible] d the subject will eventually [illegible] Revenue. While on the one hand, from the landlord's point of view, such proceedings do undoubtedly amount to a confiscation of a certain portion of his rental, the law embodied [illegible] Officer to have regard [illegible] between the two seem [illegible] There is moreover much to be said for what might be called the raiyats' point of view in these cases The prevalent rent is a cash rent, and the average pitch of these rents is the result of an infinite number of transactions and contracts [illegible] for a long period Under the [illegible] r and equitable, and section 24 [illegible] n occupancy raiyat shall pay [illegible] I am unable to accept the general proposition that *hunda* lands are better than cash rented lands, and I do not think that even the most strenuous advocate of the landlord's interest would attempt to establish that the raiyats could afford to pay at *manhunda* rates for all lands in the district It is a real defect of section 40 that the relative value of the two main considerations prescribed for the determination of rents is not stated, and it is to be hoped that the obscurity attaching to the section will be removed at an early date. Although it is nowhere specifically stated, it was probably the intention of the Legislature that in commutation proceedings raiyats should not be compelled to pay at rates higher than those which the Court considered fair and equitable, and this theory obtains [illegible] ntioned that compromises arrang[illegible] resulted in rates of rent almo[illegible] e Courts in contested cases

Results of Appeals in case work.

110 The statement below shows the results of cases appealed to the Special Judge. It is perhaps unfortunate that four officers in succession have constituted the highest Court of Appeal in these somewhat specialised cases, and that

decisions in all points have not therefore been uniform. A Settlement officer has usually to deal with cases in more districts than one at the same time, and has thus to follow the lead of several Courts of Appeal, and it is of the utmost importance that some guiding principles in rent settlement cases should be standardised.

Statement showing number of Settlement Appeals instituted, disposed of and pending from 5th August 1916, the date from which settlement appeals began to be instituted, up to 15th September 1919.

Section under which the order of the Lower Court was passed.	For disposal.					No. of appeals decided.		Pending.		No. of appeals decided (column 7) in which the decree of Lower Court was				Remarks.
	Instituted.		Restored.											
	During the month (September 1919).	Up to date (1919).	During the month September 1919.	Up to date 15th September 1919	Total of columns 3 and 4.	During the month of September 1919.	Up to date, 15th September 1919.	Under 6 months.	Over 6 months.	Upheld.	Modified.	Reversed.	Returned for trial or otherwise.	
Section 105	..	581	..	2	583	...	583	..	—	368	81	128	6	
Section 106	...	531	...	26	557	4	452	1	102	190	30	215	17	
Section 108	4	249	...	...	249	2	74	171	4	31	17	26	...	
Total	4	1,361	...	28	1,389	6	1,109	172	106	589	128	369	23	

It will be seen that out of 1,109 appeals decided under sections 105, 106, 108 of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 589 decisions or 53·10 per cent have been upheld, 128 or 11·6 per cent have been modified, 369 or 33·3 per cent have been reversed and 23 or 2 per cent have been returned for further proceedings.

The figures are not quite fair as an index of the Special Judge's agreement with the judgments of the Revenue Officers, as the majority of the decisions reversed under section 105 were delivered before the test case had been decided, and were in accordance with the principles which had been adopted at the commencement of the rent cases. I understand that the adverse decisions under sections 106 and 108 were mainly on the question of rights in trees regarding which, for reasons already fully explained in paragraph 142, I am not prepared to alter my opinion.

CHAPTER IX.

STATISTICS.

150. This chapter will deal with the following six statements compiled during the operations:—

(1) *Milan Khasra* or abstract of land.

(2) *Jinswar* or crop statement.

(3) *Fard Hawala* or agricultural stock statement.

(4) *Terij Goshwara* or abstract of agricultural holdings.

(5) Transfer of occupancy rights.

(6) Transfer of proprietary rights.

Attention will be devoted also to rent, and to the outturn of lands and irrigation, and the light that these several matters throw on agricultural economy.

151. It is unnecessary to enter again into the question of the district area which was dealt with at length in Mr. Stevenson Moore's report. The area for which the statistics have been compiled in the present operations is precisely the same, though the figures obtained by summation of fields are, as might be expected, somewhat different from the figures of 1898.

District area.

The statement below compares the figures in acres for the two settlements.

Thana.	Area, last settlement	Area, present settlement.	Remarks.
Shikarpur	354,558	358,492	
Bagaha	396,272	383 151	
Bettiah	350,139	357,556	
Bettiah Subdivision total ...	1,100,969	1,099,199	
Madhuban	78,206	79,931	
Adapur	143,401	145,085	
Dhaka	214 528	215,351	
Kesaria	174,842	171,899	
Gobindganj	182,089	182,628	
Motihari	185,160	183,662	
Sadr Subdivision total ...	978,846	978,536	
District total	2,079,815	2,077,735	

The considerable differences in the two sets of areas for Bettiah Subdivision are mainly due to the transfer, since 1898, of 38 villages from Bagaha to Bettiah, and 10 villages from Bagaha to Shikarpur. The other differences are due to inevitable variation in the two series of area extraction, each of which, however, had to agree, within 2 per cent, with the unvarying U. T. areas (with off sets) of the individual village units

152. The new record-of-rights comprises 3,437,531 plots as against 2,807,976 in the old record, an increase of 22 per cent. The average size of the plot has decreased from ·74 acre to ·60 acre. These results follow inevitably from transfers and from the pressure of increased population. There is, as we found later in Saran, a limit beyond which the subdivision of fields is uneconomical, and does not proceed, but Champaran district is still

Fields and holdings. Defect in statistical system.

ly the raiyat may have several "*Jamabandis*" or the same joint family may have several *Jamabandis* in different names, for all of which separate *Khatians* are prepared. The statements based on Khatians therefore do not enable us to measure the property of the raiyat, and I think it would be well in future operations, especially in view of the need for a reliable franchise roll, to ... ging together ... or it. It may ... the

out of this project. The facts remain however that our present statistics are defective in a most important particular, and that the compilation of such a *terij*, if difficult, is possible.

153. Out of the total area, 2,077,735 acres, of the district, 1,429,859 acres or 69 per cent are cultivated, while 647,875 acres or 31 per cent are uncultivated. These figures of course exclude the 290 square miles of hill and jungle in the north of the district that have not been cadastrally surveyed.

The cultivated area.

The following statement compares the results of the last and the present settlements:—

	Last settlement.	Present settlement.	Remarks.
Cultivated area	1,447,668	1,429,859	
Percentage	70	69	
Uncultivated area	6,32,147	6,47,875	
Percentage	30	31	
Total	2,079,815	2,077,735	

While, for reasons already described, it is not practicable to adopt the nominal difference in cultivated area, i.e., 17,809 acres, as the real decrease in cultivation, the comparison of percentages shows beyond doubt that there has been a real decrease, though it is not considerable. The explanation is simple enough. On the one hand something over 8,000 acres of cultivated land has been acquired since the last settlement for Railways and Canals, and has thus become waste, and on the other hand natural development has been arrested at first by the depression following the famine of 1897 and the set-back in population that it caused, and later by a long period of agrarian trouble which, it is hoped, has now ended. There have been additional causes in the disappointing immigration due to the threatening agrarian outlook, the evil repute of the climate in the thanas where there is most room for expansion, and the lightness of the soil in some of the central thanas.

The figures below compare the percentage of cultivated and uncultivated land in the several thanas in the two settlements :—

Thana.	Cultivated.		Uncultivated.	
	Last settlement.	Present settlement.	Last settlement	Present settlement.
Shikarpur	69·04	67	30·96	33
Bagaha	50·17	49·50	49·83	5[illegible]·50
Bettiah	69·44	71	30 56	29
Bettiah subdivision	62 38	62·33	37·62	37·67
Madhuban	80 70	77·50	19·30	22·50
Adapur	85·21	85 14	14·79	14 86
Dhaka	82·90	83 90	17·10	16·10
Kesaria	79·20	76·30	20·30	23·70
Gobindganj	70·04	65	29·96	35
Motihari	70 92	69·50	29 08	30 50
Sadar Subdivision	77·74	76	22·26	24

The Bettiah Subdivision, which furnished nearly all the land acquired for Railways and Canals, has maintained its percentage of cultivation, and in fact there has been a decided advance in Bettiah thana. The Sadar Subdivision, with the exception of the Adapur and Dhaka thanas, shows a decided decline.

The uncultivated area

154. It has been seen already that 647,875 acres or 31 per cent. of the district area is uncultivated.

Out of this 43,083 acres are current fallow, while 384,753 acres more, or 18 per cent, are cultivable. The area of current fallow has declined since the last settlement, while the area available for the expansion of cultivation remains practically the same. Turning to the thanas we find that Bagaha has the enormous proportion of 34 per cent. of its total area available for cultivation. There is similarly room for great expansion in Shikarpur and Bettiah, the available land being mainly either old fallow or cultivable jungle.

155. [illegible]

The q[illegible]

furnish grazing grounds for village cattle, and the want, is now evidenced by disputes between landlord and tenant on this subject. The Champaran Agrarian Committee noticed the want and recommended that reasonable areas of waste land should be set aside for cattle. The Bettiah Estate has already taken steps on this recommendation, but it is practically certain that other landlords will not see their way to take similar action. In a well regulated [illegible] [rea]sonable to suppose that 10 per cent. of the [illegible] [gr]azing ground for cattle. Land suitable for [illegible] and the cultivable area is as we have seen 18 per cent. On this reasoning it would appear that the area available for [illegible] proper [illegible] [ho]wever [illegible] [th]e distri[ct] [illegible] prevailing in most parts of North Bihar, by [illegible] gradually taken up, and cattle are mainly trough-fed. In any case the areas available for cultivation in the Northern thanas are still very considerable, and it is to be hoped that the climate will improve with the advance of the plough.

Harvests and irrigation.

156. The following statement shows the distribution of area under the three harvests and the proportion irrigated according to the present and last settlements:—

Bhadoi		Aghani		Rabi.		Twice cropped		Net cropped area	Irrigated percentage	Remarks
Area in acres	Percentage of net cropped area	Area in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area	Area in acres	Percentage of net cropped area.	Area in acres.	Percentage of net cropped area			
663,727	4	587,063	41	756,972	53	661,867	47	1,420,859	8	Present settlement,
664,437	46	556,279	35	793,672	55	579,670	39	1,417,6[illegible]8	2	Last settlement

[illegible]

has increased by about 300 per cent. since the last settlement, the present area being 116,117 acres as against 27,829 acres. The figure 116,117 acres however does not give a complete idea of the irrigation system, as it covers only the area found irrigated by artificial means during the survey, which took place in a year of exceptionally favourable rainfall. I have already shown in paragraph 9 that the canal system now commands, and can irrigate, 300,800 acres, so that in reality 21 per cent. of the net cropped area is entirely protected, or 52 per cent. of the area under *aghani*, which is the main crop to be protected.

157. The fewness of wells in Champaran is striking. There are only 16,426 in the district, the Bettiah Sub-division having only 5,537. The reason of course is the abundance of water available from other sources, lakes, rivers and *jhils*.

Wells.

THE CROPS.

158. The officially recognized staple food crops of the district are rice and maize, the fluctuating values of which have been considered in a previous chapter. The area under rice has increased since 1898, the figures being—
Last settlement—782,661 acres or 54 per cent. of net cropped area.

Rice.

Present settlement—858,731 acres or 60 per cent.

The increase is due to the extension of irrigation. Rice is the chief crop of the district, and it is now so protected that a serious famine is impossible.

159. After rice the chief crops of the autumn harvest are maize, which covers 159,981 acres or 11 per cent. of the net cropped area, and *Kodo*, which accounts for 119,681 acres or 8 per cent. The corresponding percentages at the last settlement were 8·28 and 7·75, so that there has been an increase here also. Indigo has practically disappeared, for causes that have been described already.

Bhadai crops.

160. In the winter harvest again rice is the chief crop, accounting for 514,935 out of 589,088 acres. The only others that need mention are miscellaneous food crops (mainly *alua* and *suthni*) 23,638 acres, oil-seeds 17,103 acres, and sugarcane 19,688 acres, of which the growing importance has been noticed in the first part of this report.

Aghani crops.

161. The total area under the spring harvest is 796,922 acres a figure which, for reasons already stated, is somewhat misleading. In this harvest there is a much more even distribution among the crops. The most important figures are :—

Rabi crops.

Barley	... 167,335	acres.
Haldi	... 113,780	"
Wheat	... 107,182	"
Linseed	... 95,576	"
Arhar	... 66,457	"
Gram	... 61,934	"

The chief food crops of this harvest are barley and wheat. The percentages of the net cropped area under those in the two settlements are compared below:—

	Last settlement.	Present settlement.
Barley	11·79 ...	11·70
Wheat	7·27 ...	7·40

The differences do not call for any detailed investigation. Both crops are grown under precisely the same conditions, and are often mixed in the same field. The importance of the *arhar* crop is that it grows and thrives on very little cultivation, and under adverse conditions. It must be said however that in general the Champaran cultivator puts very little effort into his *rabi* cultivation, and gets a correspondingly small outturn, except in the manured *goenra* lands surrounding the homestead. This inferior cultivation was especially marked in comparison with the very careful and productive tillage of the Saran District. Excluding the cultivation of the Factories, the *rabi* outturn of the former district does not average much more than half the yield of the latter.

162. The railway system has opened out the export trade of the district, and as might be expected, the chief articles of export correspond to the crops under expanding cultivation. At the last settlement rice occupied 54 per cent. of the net cropped area. It now occupies 60 per cent. and constitutes 37 per

Production and export.

cent of the exports from the district according to the figures for 1900 to 1910 Oil seeds in 1898 occupied 6 50 per cent of the net cropped area They now occupy 11 per cent and account for 34 per cent of exports

Outturns

163 There are two methods of ascertaining the outturn of cultivated lands—by enquiry from the parties, and by experimental crops cutting Both methods were employed The first method is of very little practical value, as t under- t but has 1 of the 1 one year only, and the c individual discretion c roportion the crop cut bears to a normal crop Again for many reasons the field may not have been properly cultivated in the year of the experiment, although climatic conditions may be favourable Experiments if carried out in the same plots over a series of years would doubtless give very reliable data but repeated cuttings are not possible in the short time during which the Settlement staff is employed in a district

Results of crop experiments

The figures of the experiments made in each thana and the results for the chief crops are tabulated below —

Serial No	Thana	Number of villages in which experiments were made	Average yield per acre in maunds								
			Paddy		Wheat	Barley	Linseed	Matar	Gram	Rahar	Kodo
			Aghani	Bhadai							
1	Bagaha	29	25		40	8	1½			1½	
2	Dhanaha	61	18		4½	6½	8	11	3½	7	10½
3	Shikarpur	67	24	...	6½	6		5	5½	...	...
4	Adapur	35	14½	10	5½	6½		9½		...	...
5	Gobindganj	37	9½	...	2½	8		2½			
6	Kesaria	29	17½		6½	10	...				...
7	Madhuban	30	16		6	6½				...	...
8	Motihari ...	27	16½		6	6½	...	8	...		...
9	Dhaka	63	14½	11	4½	4½	...	3½	4½		...

Before proceeding to analyse these results it is necessary to explain that in the experiments of the Bettiah Subdivision (season 1914-15) the 'triangle' method was employed while for the Sadr Subdivision in the following year we reverted for the most part to the one tenth acre method The former method consists in the use of a wooden triangle equivalent to $\frac{1}{160}$ acre, which is set down on various parts of a field, the portion of the crop falling within the sides being cut, dried, and weighed, and the results being worked out in terms of acres Premising that a majority of the officers employed were inexperienced, I must say that this method is dangerous, and cannot be trusted to give accurate results It must be remembered that it is very possible to make a mistake in set- areas to show the ided, an arbitrary acing of a single l times the lly good land the On the whole experience of

country by the $\frac{1}{10}$th acre method in 1915 16 an equally good year, are, in my estimation, much nearer the truth.

157. The fewness of wells in Champaran is striking. There are only 16,426 in the district, the Bettiah Sub-division having only 5,537. The reason of course is the abundance of water available from other sources, lakes, rivers and *jhils*.

Wells.

THE CROPS.

158. The officially recognized staple food crops of the district are rice and maize, the fluctuating values of which have been considered in a previous chapter. The area under rice has increased since 1898, the figures being—

Rice.

Last settlement—782,661 acres or 54 per cent. of net cropped area.

Present settlement—858,031 acres or 60 per cent.

The increase is due to the extension of irrigation. Rice is the chief crop of the district, and it is now so protected that a serious famine is impossible.

159. After rice the chief crops of the autumn harvest are maize, which covers 159,984 acres or 11 per cent. of the net cropped area, and *Kodo*, which accounts for 119,681 acres or 8 per cent. The corresponding percentages at the last settlement were 8·28 and 7·75, so that there has been an increase here also. Indigo has practically disappeared, for causes that have been described already.

Bhadai crops.

160. In the winter harvest again rice is the chief crop, accounting for 514,995 out of 589,088 acres. The only others that need mention are miscellaneous food crops (mainly *alua* and *suthni*) 23,038 acres, oil-seeds 17,103 acres, and sugarcane 19,688 acres, of which the growing importance has been noticed in the first part of this report.

Aghani crops.

161. The total area under the spring harvest is 796,922 acres a figure which, for reasons already stated, is somewhat misleading. In this harvest there is a much more even distribution among the crops. The most important figures are :—

Rabi crops.

Barley	 167,335	acres.
Haldi	 113,780	„
Wheat	 107,182	„
Linseed	 95,576	„
Arhar	 66,457	„
Gram	 61,934	„

The chief food crops of this harvest are barley and wheat. The percentages of the net cropped area under those in the two settlements are compared below:—

	Last settlement.	Present settlement.
Barley	14·79 ...	11·70
Wheat	7·27 ...	7·40

The differences do not call for any detailed investigation. Both crops are grown under precisely the same conditions, and are often mixed in the same field. The importance of the *arhar* crop is that it grows and thrives on very little cultivation, and under adverse conditions. It must be said however that in general the Champaran cultivator puts very little effort into his *rabi* cultivation, and gets a correspondingly small cutturn, except in the manured *goenra* lands surrounding the homestead. This inferior cultivation was especially marked in comparison with the very careful and productive tillage of the Saran District. Excluding the cultivation of the Factories, the *rabi* outturn of the former district does not average much more than half the yield of the latter.

162. The railway system has opened out the export trade of the district, and as might be expected, the chief articles of export correspond to the crops under expanding cultivation. At the last settlement rice occupied 54 per cent. of the net cropped area. It now occupies 60 per cent. and constitutes 37 per

Production and export.

cent. of the exports from the district according to the figures for 1900 to 1910. Oil-seeds in 1893 occupied 6·50 per cent. of the net cropped area. They now occupy 14 per cent. and account for 34 per cent. of exports.

Outturns

163. There are two methods of ascertaining the outturn of cultivated lands—by enquiry from the parties, and by experimental crops cutting. Both methods were employed. The first method is of very little practical value, as

. . . roportion the crop cut bears to a normal crop. Again for many reasons the field may not have been properly cultivated in the year of the experiment, although climatic conditions may be favourable. Experiments if carried out in the same plots over a series of years would doubtless give very reliable data, but repeated cuttings are not possible in the short time during which the Settlement staff is employed in a district.

Results of crop experiments

The figures of the experiments made in each thana and the results for the chief crops are tabulated below :—

Serial No	Thana	Number of villages in which experiments were made	Average yield per acre in maunds								
			Paddy		Wheat	Barley	Linseed	Matar	Gram	Rahar	Kodo
			Aghani	Bhadai							
1	Bagaha	29	25		40	2	1½	...	...	1½	...
2	Bettiah	81	19		4½	6½	3	11	3½	½	10½
3	Shikarpur	67	24	...	6½	6		5	5½	...	...
4	Adapur	35	14½	10	5½	5½	...	8½		...	...
5	Gobindganj ...	37	9½	...	2½	3	...	2½			...
6	Kesaria ...	29	17½	...	5½	20	...	...	...		...
7	Madhuban	30	16	...	6	6½				...	...
8	Motihari ...	27	16½	...	6	6½	...	7½	...		...
9	Dhaka ...	63	14½	11	4½	5½	...	3½	4½		...

Before proceeding to analyse these results it is necessary to explain that in the experiments of the Bettiah Subdivision (season 1914-15) the 'triangle' method was employed while for the Sadr Subdivision in the following year we reverted for the most part to the one-tenth acre method. The former method consists in the use of a wooden triangle equivalent to $\frac{1}{1,600}$ acre, which is set down on various parts of a field, the portion of the crop falling within the sides . . . worked out in terms of acres. . . . were inexperienced, I must . . . be trusted to give accurate results. It must be remembered that it is very possible to make a mistake in set- . . . areas to show the . . . uded, an arbitrary . . . acing of a single . . . times the . . . lly good land the

. . . estimation, much nearer the truth.

157. The fewness of wells in Champaran is striking. There are only 16,426 in the district, the Bettiah Subdivision having only 5,537. The reason of course is the abundance of water available from other sources, lakes, rivers and *jhils*.

Wells.

THE CROPS.

158. The officially recognized staple food crops of the district are rice and maize, the fluctuating values of which have been considered in a previous chapter. The area under rice has increased since 1898, the figures being—Last settlement—782,661 acres or 54 per cent. of net cropped area.

Rice.

Present settlement—858,631 acres or 60 per cent.

The increase is due to the extension of irrigation. Rice is the chief crop of the district, and it is now so protected that a serious famine is impossible.

159. After rice the chief crops of the autumn harvest are *maize*, which covers 150,984 acres or 11 per cent. of the net cropped area, and *Kodo*, which accounts for 119,681 acres or 8 per cent. The corresponding percentages at the last settlement were 8·28 and 7·75, so that there has been an increase here also. Indigo has practically disappeared, for causes that have been described already.

Bhadoi crops.

160. In the winter harvest again rice is the chief crop, accounting for 514,995 out of 589,088 acres. The only others that need mention are miscellaneous food crops (mainly *alua* and *suthni*) 23,638 acres, oil-seeds 17,103 acres, and sugarcane 19,688 acres, of which the growing importance has been noticed in the first part of this report.

Aghani crops.

161. The total area under the spring harvest is 796,922 acres a figure which, for reasons already stated, is somewhat misleading. In this harvest there is a much more even distribution among the crops. The most important figures are :—

Rabi crops.

Barley	167,335	acres.
Khesari	113,780	"
Wheat	107,182	"
Linseed	95,576	"
Arhar	66,457	"
Gram	61,934	"

The chief food crops of this harvest are barley and wheat. The percentages of the net cropped area under these in the two settlements are compared below:—

	Last settlement.	Present settlement.
Barley	14·79 ...	11·70
Wheat	7·27 ...	7·40

The differences do not call for any detailed investigation. Both crops are grown under precisely the same conditions, and are often mixed in the same field. The importance of the *arhar* crop is that it grows and thrives on very little cultivation, and under adverse conditions. It must be said however that in general the Champaran cultivator puts very little effort into his *rabi* cultivation, and gets a correspondingly small outturn, except in the manured *goenra* lands surrounding the homestead. This inferior cultivation was especially marked in comparison with the very careful and productive tillage of the Saran District. Excluding the cultivation of the Factories, the *rabi* outturn of the former district does not average much more than half the yield of the latter.

162. The railway system has opened out the export trade of the district, and as might be expected, the chief articles of export correspond to the crops under expanding cultivation. At the last settlement rice occupied 54 per cent. of the net cropped area. It now occupies 60 per cent. and constitutes 37 per

Production and export.

cent of the exports from the district according to the figures for 1900 to 1910. Oil-seeds in 1898 occupied 6.50 per cent. of the net cropped area. They now occupy 11 per cent. and account for 31 per cent. of exports.

163. There are two methods of ascertaining the outturn of cultivated lands—by enquiry from the parties, and by experimental crops cutting. Both methods were employed. The first method is of very little practical value, as the raiyat is a confirmed pessimist, distrusts the enquiry, and invariably understates the produce. The crop-cutting method is useful so far as it goes, but has important limitations. What we want to ascertain is the average yield of the

Outturns

... one year only, and the ... individual discretion ... roportion the crop cut bears to a normal crop. Again for many reasons the field may not have been properly cultivated in the year of the experiment, although climatic conditions may be favourable. Experiments if carried out in the same plots over a series of years would doubtless give very reliable data, but repeated cuttings are not possible in the short time during which the Settlement staff is employed in a district.

The figures of the experiments made in each thana and the results for the chief crops are tabulated below :—

Results of crop experiments

Serial No	Thana	Number of villages in which experiments were made	Average yield per acre in maunds								
			Paddy		Wheat	Barley	Linseed	Matar	Gram	Rahar	Kodo
			Aghani	Bhadai							
1	Bagaha	23	25		40	8	1½		...	3½	...
2	Bettiah	61	18		4½	6¾	3	11	2½	½	10½
3	Shikarpur	67	24		6½	6		5	5½	...	...
4	Adapur	35	14½	10	5½	5½	...	8½		...	...
5	Gobindganj	37	9½	...	2½	3	...	7½		...	...
6	Kesaria ...	29	17½		5½	20	...	...	...		...
7	Madhuban	30	16		5	6½				...	...
8	Motihari ...	37	16½		5	6½	...	7½	...		...
9	Dhaka ...	53	14½	11	4½	4½	...	3½	4½		...

Before proceeding to analyse these results it is necessary to explain that in the experiments of the Bettiah Subdivision (season 1914-15) the 'triangle' method was employed while for the Sadr Subdivision in the following year we reverted for the most part to the one-tenth acre method. The former method consists in the use of a wooden triangle equivalent to $\frac{1}{1500}$ acre, which is set down on various parts of a field, the portion of the crop falling within the sides ... worked out in terms of acres. ... were inexperienced, I must ... be trusted to give accurate results. It must be remembered that it is very possible to make a mistake in set- ... the ...

of the stalk in the acre result. I found also that in co... ho...

for statistical purposes. The experiments made in the ... country by the $\frac{1}{10}$th acre method in 1915-16, an equ... estimation, much nearer the truth.

In general there has been a tendency for land to pass from the possession of landlords into the holdings of raiyats, the process being helped by the decline of indigo which was formerly the chief crop cultivated by the landlords. At the same time fixed rent and fixed rate raiyats and rent-free holders have been losing ground. In a small number of cases the *Sharahmuaiyan* or fixed rate status recorded at the last settlement was proved to be wrong, and in these cases the status of 'settled raiyat' was substituted. In other cases the status had been lost by transfer, or subdivision, or amalgamation, and consequent re-assessment. The very considerable reduction in the rent-free area is due partly to the decline of temporary *jagirs*, partly to the reversion to the landlord of numerous *birits* or grants, and in a very few cases to rent-free entries of the last settlement being successfully contested. There has been an increase in the non-occupancy area, which is mainly *diara*, but this does not call for any particular comment, as the position of the raiyat on the whole is stronger than before. The Kaisar-i-Hind area has grown from 9,578 acres to 22,305 acres owing to the extension of roads, railways and canals. Though under-raiyats, with the exception of those few who have occupancy rights, are an unimportant class, the figures of the area held by them show that subletting has been on the increase.

	Number of Shikmi tenancies.	Area in acres.		
		Cash-rented.	Produce-rented.	Total.
Last settlement	29,003	11,450	21,577	33,027
Present settlement	36,571	12,905	31,908	44,813

The average size of the *Shikmi* holding, something over one acre, is practically the same as at the last settlement. In striking contrast to their attitude towards their occupancy lands, cultivators displayed remarkable indifference about the *Shikmi* tenancies held by them, and in almost the majority of cases had given them up before the record was finally published. The subletting in any case is temporary, and for the raiyat's convenience, and there was an additional reason in that the under-raiyats thought they would be charged costs for these tenancies in which they had no permanent interest.

168. In dealing with rents it is proposed to describe first the rents legally payable, as the settlement officers found and attested them, and then the rents after completion of the proceedings under section 105 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The total attested rental of the district works out as follows :—

The district rental.

	Rs.
Cash rent	29,28,428
Produce-rented area 66,304 acres at Rs. 6 per acre ...	3,97,824
Total rental ...	33,26,252

The corresponding figures at the last settlement were

	Rs.
Cash rent	24,63,426
Produce-rented area 69,336 acres at Rs. 6 per acre ...	4,16,016
Total rental ...	28,79,442

Before undertaking fair rent settlements then we found that the district cash rental had increased by nearly 20 per cent., that the produce rent area had somewhat diminished and that the total rental had advanced by 15 per cent.

169. The following statement will show the comparative incidence of cash rent rates on the various classes of raiyati interests now and twenty years ago:—

The attested rates.

	Fixed rates			Settled and occupancy			Non-occupancy			Total.		
	Area.	Rent.	Rate	Area	Rent	Rate	Area	Rent	Rate.	Area	Rent	Rate
			Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.
Last settlement...	26,803	30,632	1 2 3	1,253,967	2,363,256	1 14 1	38,824	69,538	1 12 10	1,321,394	2,463,426	1 13 9
Present settlement	16,876	21,034	1 4 4	1,299,424	2,916,495	2 2 6	46,699	98,900	2 2 7	1,362,991	2,979,478	2 2 6

Although there is an increased incidence all round, the tendency to enhance has undoubtedly been restrained by the old record, and the advance of rents has been less than at any previous period. The pitch of rents is still remarkably low as the soil is for the most part very fertile and well protected, and with better cultivation should yield a far larger outturn than at present.

170 The following statement compares the rent rates of the Bihar districts —

District						Average incidence of cash rent per acre
						Rs. a. p.
Patna	...	...	...	...	...	7 7 7
Gaya	...	...	...	...	...	5 15 11
Shahabad	...	...	...	...	...	4 0 11
Bhagalpur	...	...	...	...	...	2 10 5
North Monghyr	...	...	...	...	...	2 15 0
South Monghyr	...	...	...	...	...	3 8 2
Purnea	...	...	...	...	...	1 13 11
Muzaffarpur	...	...	...	...	...	3 13 5
Saran	...	...	...	...	...	4 5 4
Darbhanga	...	...	...	...	...	3 12 4
Champaran*	...	...	...	...	...	2 2 5
						*as attested.

171. The area held on produce rent is 66,304 acres, which is 4.6 per cent of the total rented area or area held by raiyats. There has been a slight fall in the produce-rented area since the last settlement, and the commutation cases now proceeding, with those completed by the Settlement Department, will still further reduce the area by about 3,000 acres. As in the last Settlement, Bettiah (13,453 acres), Shikarpur (10,363 acres) and Motihari (9,561 acres) thanas are the chief contributors to this area, while it is worthy of note that there has been a decline in Adapur, where there were reasons to fear that the system might extend.

Produce rents

172. The following are the produce rent systems found in the district:—

Systems of produce rent.

Batai nisf, the commonest system, is the division of the crop in equal shares between landlord and tenant.

Batai tikuli, which is rare, is a division of the crop by which the tenant gets two-thirds and the landlord one-third.

Kankut nisf, also common, is division half and half by appraisement. It is the same as the *danabandi nisf* of South Bihar.

It is important to remember that in all divisions of crops the net produce and not the gross produce is divided, and that the raiyat invariably takes the straw. The net produce is what remains after certain deductions for labour, etc., have been made. The details are noted in each case in the record. The

paragraphs 125 to 128 of the report, was raised by the Bettiah estate. A comparison between the average prices of the period 1896 to 1905 with those of the period 1906 to 1915 showed that by the method of calculation prescribed in section 32 the landlords of the Bettiah Subdivision were entitled to an enhancement of four and a half annas in the rupee. The Settlement Officer, however, was of opinion that as the prices of the period from 1906 to 1915 were swollen by the inclusion of six abnormal years in which prices had been raised by failure of crops, it would be inequitable to grant the full enhancement which the Bettiah estate insisted on. There was considerable delay in obtaining the views of the Special Judge on this question, but he finally agreed with the Settlement Officer on the principle involved, and held that the provisions of section 32, which give instructions as to how the amount of enhancement allowable on the ground of rise in prices is to be calculated, are governed by section 35 which lays down that no enhancement shall be given which is not, in the circumstances of the case, fair and equitable. While rejecting the chief contention of the Bettiah estate, the Special Judge differed from the Settlement Officer as to the amount of enhancement allowable in rents which had been current for less than fifteen years.

17. Another question which arose was whether a rent which has been current for a short period can be enhanced under section 30(*b*). It seems probable, from the analogy of other sections, that the authors of the Bengal Tenancy Act did not contemplate the enhancement under this section of a rent which had been current for less than fifteen years. The Act, however, does not forbid such enhancement, so that legally there is nothing to prevent a landlord from applying for the enhancement of a rent fixed six months previously on the ground that prices have increased in the interval. The Settlement Officer decided to refuse enhancement of rents which had been current for less than twelve years. The Special Judge, on appeal, differed from him, and held that it was incumbent on the Settlement Officer, if a landlord asked for enhancement of a rent which had been current for a shorter period, to compare the prices for that period with the prices for an equal period previous to the date of settlement of the holding, and to calculate, in the manner prescribed in section 32, the amount of enhancement allowable. The application of this decision gave anomalous results, e.g. it was found that a rent which had been current for three years only was liable to a greater enhancement than a rent which had been current for five years. This result shows the truth of the principle underlying the Settlement Officer's original decision, viz. that it is impossible by examining prices for a short period only, to affirm that an increase of prices, due to causes which are not merely temporary, and sufficient to justify an enhancement of rent, has occurred within the period. It is clearly necessary to fix some minimum limit to the period that must elapse before a rent fixed by private contract can be enhanced under section 30(*b*), and it is preferable that it should be fixed by law. I would suggest that it should be fixed at fifteen years.

18. When a non-transferable holding has been sold to another raiyat, and the purchase has been recognized by the landlord, or when additional lands have been amalgamated with a holding, some doubt arises as to what should be taken to be the date of the fixation of its rent for the purpose of calculati[illegible] the increase in prices which has since taken place, and the enhanc[illegible] allowable in consequence. In Champaran the Settlement Officer foll[illegible] the principle, which has generally been favoured by the Settlement [illegible] ment, of assuming the rent to have been current from the date when t[illegible] of rent was last enhanced. A transfer or an amalgamation of lands, [illegible] panied by an enhancement of rate, does not, on this principle, [illegible] landlord of any right to enhancement which had previously accrued.

The soundness of this principle does not appear to have been before the Special Judge on appeal. The difficulty of obtaining gui[illegible] the appellate Courts in doubtful points, small in themselves, but [illegible] view of the number of cases in which they arise, is referred to in [illegible] of the report, where it is pointed out that a Settlement Officer f[illegible] may have his decisions revised by several Special Judges h[illegible] views. Although many of the points discussed in conn[illegible]

Champaran fair rent settlement have been under discussion ever since settlement operations began in Bihar, the prospect of obtaining an authoritative and final decision on them seems as remote as ever.

19. The result of the appeals to the Special Judge is given in paragraph 119. The percentage of successful appeals is high, but as Mr. Sweeney points out, most of the decisions under section 105 which were reversed were delivered [illegible] in which, [illegible] generally, [illegible] its current for less than 15 years. The adverse decisions given on appeals from orders under section 106 mostly related to rights in trees which I have already referred to.

20. The decision to revise [illegible] Districts has made the policy of granting [illegible] rise in prices a question of considerable [illegible] logically it is difficult to show any reason why a rent which was fair when prices were low should not be enhanced when they rise. Nevertheless I view with distrust the prospect of a general enhancement of rents throughout Bihar in the course of these operations. Whereas formerly raiyats found themselves compelled to [illegible] landlords might impose, they now [illegible] occupancy right, regard enhancement [illegible] also doubtless beginning to feel [illegible] up all claims to share in the [illegible] the landlords should continue to [illegible] the new scheme of [illegible] and that the land- [illegible] ed. Even admitting that the landlords also are entitled to a progressive increase of income it is questionable whether they would not receive such increase even if this ground of enhancement were abandoned. Mr. Sweeney's report shows that in Champaran although the area under cultivation had diminished since the last settlement the total rents paid by raiyats had increased by Rs. 4,65,000 or 19 per cent. In Champaran it is true that private enhancements had taken place on an abnormal scale and I await with interest the corresponding statistics for Saran, a district in which rents, even at the time of the last settlement, were many times higher than in Champaran, and in which they represent at the present day a greater proportion of the gross produce.

21. In paragraph 118 the commutation of *hunda* rents is discussed and the difficulties of interpreting the provisions of section 40 of the Bengal T[illegible] explained. The real crux of the [illegible] Act confers on a settled raiyat [illegible] of which he may take settlement, the value of the occupancy right can be reduced to nothing by the expedient of settling it with him on a very high *hunda* or produce rent. When a tenant applies for the commutation of such a rent, can the landlord legitimately [illegible] 40, which [illegible] the *hunda* [illegible] majority of [illegible] g regard to [illegible] sham into [illegible] rious kinds, [illegible] are unable [illegible] d although [illegible] one might reasonably expect the management of the Bettiah Estate to take a more enlightened view.

22. [illegible] will be read with profit by every one [illegible] conditions in North Bihar. The work [illegible] he Champaran Settlement is moreover [illegible] ettlement Officer in this Province has [illegible] of Settlement Officer of Champaran

involved not only arduous work and heavy responsibility, but called for the exercise of an unusual amount of tact, impartiality and patience. It is now generally acknowledged that Mr Sweeney's conduct of the operations exhibited these qualities in a high degree. The capable manner in which he grappled, from the first, with the investigation of the complicated questions in dispute between the indigo planters and their raiyats, enabled him to present to the Champaran Committee, on their arrival in the district, a complete and accurate report on the facts, thereby saving them from the difficult and tedious task of sifting these facts from the mass of falsehood with which the raiyats surrounded them. This itself is an achievement deserving of the highest commendation.

The members of the Settlement staff mentioned in paragraph 180 of the report share with Mr. Sweeney the credit of having brought to a successful conclusion the first, and it is to be hoped, the most difficult revisional settlement in Bihar.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant.

A. G. K. LALL,

for Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bihar and Orissa (on tour).

No 17-114—2

FROM

E R J R COUSINS, Esq, I C S,
OFFG SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE,
BIHAR AND ORISSA,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
BIHAR AND ORISSA, REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

Dated Bankipore, the 9th October 1920

SIR,

UNDER rule 615, Part II, Chapter XVI, page 1C2 of the Settlement Manual 1908, I am directed to forward for the information and orders of Government the final report on the survey and settlement operations in the district of Champaran prepared by Mr J A Sweeney, I C S, late Settlement Officer, North Bihar, together with a copy of a covering letter No 3510, dated the 1st September 1920, from the Director of Land Records and Surveys, Bihar and Orissa, reviewing the report

[illegible] the ground already covered by the [illegible] e Settlement Officer s report is a [illegible] with unquestionable administrative ability and a capable grasp of issues of a by no means ordinary character It also bears the impress of a sense of justice and impartiality maintained throughout under specially trying conditions, owing to the tension of feeling in the district and the strong conflicting interests concerned The Board cordially endorses the Director's commendation of Mr Sweeney's work

3 With regard to the Director's comments in paragraph 3 of his review on the possibilities of trouble arising from agreements to grow sugar on a portion of a holding and to sell at a specified rate, it is to be presumed that these possibilities have been discounted by the change introduced under the Champaran Agrarian Act, whereby such agreements have been made illegal. As observed in paragraph 12 of the review the only legal contracts now are those in which a raiyat agrees to supply a specified quantity of a particular crop to his landlord annually for a period not exceeding three years A stipulation to a plant a specified area with such a crop is not within the terms of the law

4 With regard [illegible] of the Director of Land Record's review on [illegible] the management of the Bettiah Estate the [illegible] most open to criticism [illegible] that in subsequent [illegible] s animated solely by [illegible] ests it felt bound to [illegible] ed legal advice

5 The Board is not prepared to endorse the Director's comments in paragraph 14 of the review on the tree question It does not consider that the elaborate enquiries made to ascertain customary rights in trees have been wasted, or that it is fair to allege it to be the policy of the management to deny established rights to a raiyat The management has been chiefly [illegible] with preventing encroachments upon the proprietor's legal r[illegible] matter Nor can the Board endorse the forecast that the policy of [illegible]

involved not only arduous work and heavy responsibility, but called for the exercise of an unusual amount of tact, impartiality and patience. It is now generally acknowledged that Mr Sweeney's conduct of the operations exhibited these qualities in a high degree. The capable manner in which he grappled, from the first, with the investigation of the complicated questions in dispute between the indigo planters and their raiyats, enabled him to present to the Champaran Committee, on their arrival in the district, a complete and accurate report on the facts, thereby saving them from the difficult and tedious task of sifting these facts from the mass of falsehood with which the raiyats surrounded them. This itself is an achievement deserving of the highest commendation.

The members of the Settlement staff mentioned in paragraph 180 of the report share with Mr. Sweeney the credit of having brought to a successful conclusion the first, and it is to be hoped, the most difficult revisional settlement in Bihar.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

A. G. K. LALL,

for *Director of Land Records and Surveys,*
Bihar and Orissa (on tour).

No 17-114—2

FROM

E R J R COUSINS, Esq, I C S,
OFFG SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE
BIHAR AND ORISSA,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF
BIHAR AND ORISSA REVENUE DEPARTMENT

Dated Bankipore, the 9th October 1920

SIR,

UNDER rule 615, Part II, Chapter XVI, page 102 of the Settlement Manual 1908, I am directed to forward for the information and orders of Government the final report on the survey and settlement operations in the district of Champaran prepared by Mr J A Sweeney, I C S, late Settlement
Officer, North Bihar, together
dated the 1st September 1920 fro
Bihar and Orissa, reviewing the report

2 The Board does not propose to go over the ground already covered by the Director of Land Records in his review The Settlement Officer's report is a well balanced account of operations conducted with unquestionable administrative ability and a capable grasp of issues of a by no means ordinary character It also bears the impress of a sense of justice and impartiality maintained throughout under specially trying conditions, owing to the tension of feeling in the district and the strong conflicting interests concerned The Board cordially endorses the Director's commendation of Mr Sweeney's work

3 With regard to the Director's comments in paragraph 3 of his review on the possibilities of trouble arising from agreements to grow sugar on a portion of a holding and to sell at a specified rate, it is to be presumed that these possibilities have been discounted by the change introduced under the Champaran Agrarian Act whereby such agreements have been made illegal As observed in paragraph 12 of the review the only legal contracts now are those in which a raiyat agrees to supply a specified quantity of a particular crop to his landlord annually for a period not exceeding three years A stipulation to a plant a specified area with such a crop is not within the terms of the law

4 With regard to the comments in paragraph 13 of the Director of Land Record's review on the attitude of those responsible for the management of the Bettiah Estate the Board believes that the irregularities most open to criticism were checked as soon as they were brought to light, and that in subsequent
agement was animated solely by
whose interests it felt bound to
under qualified legal advice

5 The Board is not prepared to endorse the Director's comments in paragraph 14 of the review on the tree question It does not consider that the elaborate enquiries made to ascertain customary rights in trees have been wasted, or that it is fair to allege it to be the policy of the management to deny established rights to a raiyat The management has been chiefly concerned with preventing encroachments upon the proprietor's legal rights in the matter Nor can the Board endorse the forecast that the policy of maintaining

such legal rights will prove injurious to both landlord and tenant. The views is not supported so far as the Board is aware, by evidence of any progressive denudation of timber hitherto.

The rights of the Estate, are with local variations, those of the landlords in general. Section 23 of the Tenancy Act recognises the existence of customary limitations on the raiyat's freedom to cut trees; and the general law on the subject was reviewed in the light of many previous decisions, by the High Court in Nafar Chandra Pal Chaudhri and others versus Ram Lal Pal, 1894, I. L. R. Cal,-XXII P, 742, their Lordships finding that "however the right of an occupancy tenant to cut down trees on his own holding may have been affected by legislation, the property in the trees is still, by the general law, vested in the zamindar". Their Lordships' statement of the common law is supported by rulings in other High Courts and is in accordance with the common sense principle that as the growth of trees is ordinarily due rather to the vertues of the soil, which belongs to the landlords, than to effort on the part of the tenant, it is reasonable that the landlord should retain a share in the benefit of the result. The assertion of the landlord's claim has however been made a widespread grievance in the Estate, and it is opportune to review the action taken. It was recommended by the Champaran Agrarian Committeee, without reference to the legal position, that the raiyats should be given the option of purchasing the landlord's half share in timber on their holdings at a fair valuation, subject to a limitation of the option, if there should be reason to apprehend that undue denudation would result in any particular area, and the Court of Wards was requested by the Government to give effect to the recommendation. The Board accordingly issued instructions to have it made known generally that any raiyat who so wished would be allowed to purchase the Estate's right in Anthrope trees at a fair valuation, unless in any particular village this would be undesirable on the ground that it would lead to a general denudation of timber. The management represented that it had always been the custom of the Estate to allow raiyats to cut Anthropo trees and purchase the Estate's share at a valuation and that permission was seldom refused; but that the new orders involved the capitalisation not only of the Estate's right in Anthrope trees in existence but of those which might be planted in future, and whether the raiyats wished to cut them or not. There was no reliable basis for the calculation, whilst the amount payable for the capitalisation of both present and future rights was likely to prove more than a raiyat would be willing or able to pay. It was accordingly directed that rights in existing trees only should be sold. The difficulty then arose that if the raiyat were allowed to purchase the Estate's share in trees not intended for immediate cutting, the way was opened for disputes after a few years as to which trees had been purchased and which were new growths. Moreover if the raiyat could purchase a tree at any stage of development, he would obviously elect to do so when the tree was young, because its value would then be insignificant. This might entail heavy loss to the Estate: and since it would be impossible to prevent the raiyats cutting trees they had purchased whenever they chose the Estate would be unable to check denudation in the manner suggested in the Committee's report. The question of denudation was also not free from difficulty. It seems impossible to fix a definite limit beyond which cutting cannot proceed without resulting in denudation. Every application therefore would have to be considered on its merits, and there would be a liability to frequent disputes and irritation. Even where it possible to fix a standard, it would be unfair that one raiyat should be prevented from cutting his trees because other raiyats had previously cut too many of theirs. The Board thereupon directed that the option of purchase should be withheld in the case of immature trees.

Thus, in sum, it has been widely made known to the raiyats of the Estate that permission to purchase and cut will be allowed whenever it is applied for unless there is some special reason to the contrary. Further, as the Manager was of opinion that the raiyats had cause for complaint in the delay and other inconveniences incidental to getting an application through a zamindari

office, arrangements have now been made for their prompt disposal [illegible] to effect at present, with- [illegible], for maintenance of which [illegible]esentation to Government [illegible] been referred to the Board [illegible]

6 The Board will consider the question raised in paragraph 15 of the Director's review concerning the entry to be made in cases in which the proprietor of one estate had encroached on the lands of another estate, but considers that the entries made should not be re opened

7. The Board refrains from comment on the questions raised with regard to the commutation of produce rents under section 40 of the Bengal Tenancy Act as there are many proceedings in Champaran and elsewhere still subject to appeal or revision

8 The Board cordially endorses the Settlement Officer's acknowledgments of the services of the officers employed under him.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

E R J R COUSINS,

Offg Secretary.

B. & O. G P (Bd of Rev) No 10-2[illegible]-15 8 1922-C J H

No 1813R—S 38

GOVERNMENT OF BIHAR AND ORISSA

REVENUE DEPARTMENT

RESOLUTION

Dated Patna, the 22nd April 1922

Read—

The Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the district of Champaran together with the reviews of the Director of Land Records and Surveys and the Board of Revenue thereon

THE Report deals with the first operations undertaken in Bihar to revise the record-of-rights for an entire district The original record was prepared between the years 1892 and 1899, while the operations now under review occupied the years 1913 to 1919 There has thus been an interval of about 20 years between the inception and completion of the two operations The question whether it is desirable to undertake revision operations in due course in the other districts of the Province, now that the preparation of a record-of-rights is almost completed throughout the province, is one which will require careful consideration in the near future The operations, which have been practically completed in the Saran district, indicate to some extent that it is unnecessary to undertake them as soon as was at one time believed On the other hand the Report now before Government supports the view that in some districts at any rate 25 years is, if anything, an over long interval

2 The most notable achievement of the Champaran revision settlement was the part it played in facilitating a solution of the very difficult agrarian problems which have afflicted the district for the past half century The task of the Settlement Officer in many of the original settlements of Bihar has been one of extreme difficulty, but it is doubtful whether any original settlement has surpassed in difficulty the revision operations of Champaran The district has been for many years the scene of agrarian unrest and this became so acute during the course of the revision settlement that Government were obliged to appoint an Agrarian Enquiry Committee, which included Mr Gandhi amongst its members A considerable portion of the Report is devoted to the agrarian troubles of the district and the history of the question has been admirably summed up in paragraphs 8 to 13 of the Review by Mr Murphy, Director of Land Records The chief causes of dispute were the levy of illegal additions to the rent (*abwab*), which was prevalent in the north of the district, and the exaction of compensation for the release of raiyats from the supposed obligation to grow indigo, which had been carried out in most of the remaining area before the operations started The labours of the Settlement Officer had exposed the extent of the practice of taking *abwab*, and that practice had been definitely prohibited throughout the area concerned by orders of Government passed before the appointment of the Enquiry Committee So far as the second cause of dispute came into play, the settlement operations had brought together all the relevant facts, and it was only this circumstance which rendered it possible for the Committee to submit the practical recommendations of compromise which were accepted by Government and given effect to in the Champaran Agrarian Act, 1918 The Act has released the raiyats from

crops on their holdings and has eff

the additional rent payable in return for this release It has prevented the revival of any such system, and has limited the possible contracts for the

supp

may

the

prov

cut out the amending clause in the Champaran Agrarian Bill and leave the question to be dealt with for Bihar as a whole when the Bengal Tenancy Act came up for general revision.

The other major causes of friction between landlords and tenants in the district are—

(a) the restrictions on transfers of holdings

(b) the disputes regarding trees

(c) the insufficiency of grazing land.

The first two have already been considered by the Bihar Tenancy Act Committee, who had this Report before them, and it will be for the Legislative Council to decide how they can best be removed, when the Amending Bill, which deals with all these points, comes under discussion.

4. The remaining question regarding grazing land was considered by the Agrarian Committee whose view was that it was advantageous that some land should be left for communal use, not necessarily large enough to provide for the grazing of all village cattle but at least adequate to provide the cattle with an exercise ground where they can move about freely without undue risk of trespass on cropped land. The Court of Wards has already given effect to this recommendation in the villages under the direct management of the Bettiah Estate and in those let in *thika*. To enforce the principle in other parts of the district would entail legislation, the need for which has yet to be considered. The problem is complicated not only by the fact that the disposition of the bulk of the waste lands rests under the existing law in the hands of the zamindars or their assignees, but also by the presence of large herds of cattle, not essential for local agriculture, but kept by professional graziers for profit. While it may be equitable, or at any rate in the best interests of the agricultural community as a whole, to limit by legislation the right of the landlord to dispose of waste lands, in order to improve the condition of the plough cattle which are essential for making the best use of the culturable land, it is far from clear why similar action should be taken to provide grazing for commercial stock at less than the market rate for this privilege.

The Settlement Officer has pointed to the conditions prevailing elsewhere in North Bihar, where cattle are mainly trough-fed. The best solution from an economic point of view may well be this, since the existing waste land or at any rate what remains after the provision of a minimum area for exercise grounds, should ordinarily be capable of more economic use when under crop, including fodder cropping for silage, than as ordinary pasture.

5. The most noteworthy fact brought to light by the statistics prepared during the operations is that the cultivated area of the district has not increased since the previous settlement, and has in fact, even after making allowance for areas acquired for public purpose such as roads and railways, decreased by some 10,000 acres on a total of 1,419,000 acres. This is all the more noteworthy, since, after excluding current fallow, the area found to be cultivable but uncultivated is 18 per cent of the whole. The census of 1891 gave a mean density of population of 527 per square mile. This fell to 507 in 1901 and rose again to 540 in 1911. The figures of 1891 and 1911 are the most apposite for use in conjunction with the two settlements. It appears from them that the pressure of population on the soil scarcely increased, and that as a consequence there was no great incentive to break up new land. The statistics of prices obtained from sales of occupancy holdings indicate that the money value of land has about doubled. Again Mr. Sweeney's estimates of the normal yield, though lower than his predecessors for the *rabi* crops and about the same for *bhadoi* crops, are markedly higher for the most important harvest of all, the *aghani*. The increase here is natural in view of the great increase in irrigation, the canal system now commanding 21 per cent of the net cropped area, and as much as 32 per cent of the area under *aghani* crops. Apart from yield, the money value of produce made a great advance in the period between the two settlements. That of rice was taken at Rs. 2-4-0 a maund in the previous

g the recent Settlement acres to less than 0,0 0 is have been released from Sir Charles Stevenson- ... erations, gave the raiyat ... ugarcane cultivation from has contributed to the cultivators' income

6 All these indications go to show that, though *the population has not* increased rapidly the prosperity of the bulk of that population, the cultivators, has advanced Trade, which in the quinquennium 1901 1905 averaged an annual total of 8 500 000 maunds import and export had risen to 28 500,000 maunds in 1911 1915, a striking result of railway development For those who judge prosperity by excess of exports over imports it may be interesting to note that that excess was 2 5 0 000 maunds in the earlier and 1 500,000 in the later period The co operative movement has obtained a firm footing in ... room for expansion in this direction whereas *up to and including the* ... early response in distress to bad monsoon conditions it has not had any serious distress since that year, in spite ... chief causes that operate to check the ... among the existing population and *to be the prevalence of disease especially* ... mselves and the long continued unrest, agrarian and political The first cause Government and the local bodies have endeavoured to mitigate by the provision of medical relief on a scale which has increased by fivefold the number of patients treated between the years 1908 and 1918 They will no doubt continue and expand their efforts For the unrest the main sources of friction have been or are likely to be removed, as far as it is possible to do so by legislation It is for the people themselves to rise superior to the remaining hindrances to their own advance

7 The operations involved a very general use of the procedure for the settlement of rents, and much of the report is devoted to this subject The rent incidence had risen from Rs 1 13 9 per acre at the last settlement to Rs 2 2 5 at the time of attestation in the operations now under review Rent settlements, including commutation of produce rents have raised this incidence to Rs 2 4 0 With the exception of Purnea where conditions are in many respects similar, no district in Bihar has a lower rent incidence and the increase effected since 1897 is in the view of the Governor in Council exceedingly moderate, *seeing that prices have advanced very considerably*, while the raiyats have been released from their legal obligations to grow indigo which were an operating cause for lowness of rental, and have gained greatly in irrigation facilities and widening of markets

8 The net cost of the operations was nearly one lakh less than the cost of the original survey and settlement owing to increase of receipts from court and copying fees What economies could be effected by utilizing prints of original maps as a basis of survey and omitting the traverse survey stage were more than swallowed up by the increased cost of establishments whether on fixed or contract pay *If the revision of a record of rights is to be carried* out with the same amount of care as is bestowed on its original preparation— and to devote less care is in every way unsatisfactory —the cost is unlikely to be materially reduced, and may well, with a diminished purchasing power of money, be heavier in actual monetary value The cost recoverable for the whole operatic ... was Rs 8 19 141 less than four annas per acre *of the area* concerned and ... tors to their ... 30 years for a ... *agrarian questions, which the operations brought to front* ...

9 The Governor in Council cordially endorses the appreciation by the Board and the Director of Land Records and Surveys of the services rendered

by Mr. Sweeney. The Settlement was of exceptional difficulty and called for special qualities of tact, impartiality and patience, which Mr. Sweeney, in addition to his industry and administrative ability, displayed in a marked degree. The thanks of Government are also due to the two Directors, Messrs. Reid and Murphy, who supervised the operations, and to the Board, which with the duty of controlling the operations had also the additional task of considering many of the prominent questions as Court of Wards. The excellent services rendered by the officers employed under Mr. Sweeney, especially by Mr. Saunders, who succeeded him as Settlement Officer, have been noted with satisfaction by His Excellency in Council.

By order of the Governor in Council,

J. R. DAIN,

Officiating Secretary to Government.

MEMO No. 4814-15 R.—S-38.

Dated Patna, the 22nd April 1922.

Copy forwarded to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue Bihar and Orissa, for the information of the Board with reference to paragraph 1 / Appointment Department for information with reference to paragraph 9.

By order of the Governor in Council.

S. RAY,

Officiating Under Secretary.

B & O. G. P. (R. & S.) No 4—254+2—25-5-1922—C. E. D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAPS

APPENDICES.

INTRODUCTORY

It is proposed in this report to follow, so far as is practicable, the general plan of Mr. Stevenson-Moore's report on the original survey and settlement. It is not necessary to enter again at length into such matters as early history and early revenue administration, and it will suffice to give, in addition to an account of the revision operations, such features of recent history and development as bring the older report up to date.